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# ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

# AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

FOR

THE YEAR 1914

---

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I

---

WASHINGTON  
1916



## LETTER OF SUBMITTAL.

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SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,  
*Washington, D. C., February 25, 1916.*

*To the Congress of the United States:*

In accordance with the act of incorporation of the American Historical Association, approved January 4, 1889, I have the honor to submit to Congress the annual report of the association for the year 1914. I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

CHARLES D. WALCOTT, *Secretary.*



## ACT OF INCORPORATION.

---

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That Andrew D. White, of Ithaca, in the State of New York; George Bancroft, of Washington, in the District of Columbia; Justin Winsor, of Cambridge, in the State of Massachusetts; William F. Poole, of Chicago, in the State of Illinois; Herbert B. Adams, of Baltimore, in the State of Maryland; Clarence W. Bowen, of Brooklyn, in the State of New York, their associates and successors, are hereby created, in the District of Columbia, a body corporate and politic by the name of the American Historical Association, for the promotion of historical studies, the collection and preservation of historical manuscripts, and for kindred purposes in the interest of American history and of history in America. Said association is authorized to hold real and personal estate in the District of Columbia so far only as may be necessary to its lawful ends to an amount not exceeding five hundred thousand dollars, to adopt a constitution, and make by-laws not inconsistent with law. Said association shall have its principal office at Washington, in the District of Columbia, and may hold its annual meetings in such places as the said incorporators shall determine. Said association shall report annually to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution concerning its proceedings and the condition of historical study in America. Said secretary shall communicate to Congress the whole of such reports, or such portions thereof as he shall see fit. The Regents of the Smithsonian Institution are authorized to permit said association to deposit its collections, manuscripts, books, pamphlets, and other material for history in the Smithsonian Institution or in the National Museum at their discretion, upon such conditions and under such rules as they shall prescribe.

[Approved, January 4, 1889.]



## LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

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AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,

*Washington, D. C., February 17, 1916.*

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith, as provided for by law, volume I of the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1914. This report will be in two volumes. The first volume contains the proceedings of the association during 1914, together with a number of the more important papers read at its last annual meeting.

The second volume of the report will comprise a cumulative index of the papers and reports of this association published during the first 30 years of its existence, 1884-1914. It has long been felt that these volumes, which contain so much material of importance to the historical student, should be made more usable and their exceedingly varied contents more accessible. This service will be performed by the present index. It is proposed to continue this index at suitable intervals.

Very respectfully, yours,

WALDO G. LELAND, *Secretary.*

THE SECRETARY OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,

*Washington, D. C.*



# CONTENTS.

	Page.
I. Report of the proceedings of the thirtieth annual meeting of the American Historical Association.....	27
II. Report of the proceedings of the special meeting and of the eleventh annual meeting of the Pacific coast branch, by W. A. Morris, secretary of the branch.....	77
III. Fresh light upon the history of the earliest Assyrian period, by Robert W. Rogers.....	93
IV. The eastern Mediterranean and early civilization in Europe, by James H. Breasted.....	103
V. A political ideal of the Emperor Hadrian, by William D. Gray.....	113
VI. The influence of the rise of the Ottoman Turks upon the routes of oriental trade, by Albert H. Lybyer.....	125
VII. Some influences of oriental environment in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, by Frederic Duncalf.....	135
VIII. The feudal noble and the church as reflected in the poems of Chrestien de Troyes, by Edgar H. McNeal.....	147
IX. The Turco-Venetian treaty of 1540, by Theodore F. Jones.....	159
X. The House of Commons and disputed elections, by Henry R. Shipman.....	169
XI. Tendencies and opportunities in Napoleonic studies, by George M. Dutcher.....	179
XII. An approach to the study of Napoleon's generalship, by Robert M. Johnston.....	221
XIII. Cabinet meetings under President Polk, by Henry B. Learned.....	229
XIV. Tennessee and national political parties, 1850-1860, by St. George L. Sioussat.....	243
XV. The genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska act, by P. Orman Ray.....	259
XVI. Asiatic trade and the American occupation of the Pacific coast, by Robert G. Cleland.....	281
XVII. Proceedings of the eleventh annual conference of historical societies..	291
The Chicago Historical Society, by Otto L. Schmidt.....	293
Report of committee on cooperation of historical societies.....	301
Research in State history at State universities, by James A. Woodburn.....	304
Restrictions on the use of historical materials, by Lawrence J. Burpee.....	314
Appendix. Reports of historical societies, 1914.....	339
XVIII. Fifteenth report of the public archives commission.....	349
Appendix A. Proceedings of the sixth annual conference of archivists.....	359
Legislation for archives, by Charles H. Rammekamp.....	361
Principles of classification for archives, by Ethel B. Virtue..	373
Appendix B. Preliminary survey of the archives of Minnesota, by Herbert A. Kollar.....	385

## VOLUME II.



# CONSTITUTION.

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## I.

The name of this society shall be The American Historical Association.

## II.

Its object shall be the promotion of historical studies.

## III.

Any person approved by the executive council may become a member by paying \$3, and after the first year may continue a member by paying an annual fee of \$3. On payment of \$50 any person may become a life member, exempt from fees. Persons not resident in the United States may be elected as honorary or corresponding members and be exempt from the payment of fees.

## IV.

The officers shall be a president, two vice presidents, a secretary, a secretary of the council, a curator, a treasurer, and an executive council consisting of the foregoing officers and six other members elected by the association, with the ex-presidents of the association. These officers shall be elected by ballot at each regular annual meeting of the association.

## V.

The executive council shall have charge of the general interests of the association, including the election of members, the calling of meetings, the selection of papers to be read, and the determination of what papers shall be published.

## VI.

This constitution may be amended at any annual meeting, notice of such amendment having been given at the previous annual meeting or the proposed amendment having received the approval of the executive council.





# AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

Organized at Saratoga, N. Y., September 10, 1884. Incorporated by Congress  
January 4, 1889.

---

## OFFICERS ELECTED DECEMBER 30, 1914.

### PRESIDENT :

H. MORSE STEPHENS, M. A., LITT. D.,  
*University of California.*

### VICE PRESIDENTS :

GEORGE LINCOLN BURR, LL. D., LITT. D.,  
*Cornell University.*

WORTHINGTON C. FORD, A. M.,  
*Massachusetts Historical Society.*

### SECRETARY :

WALDO GIFFORD LELAND, A. M.,  
*Carnegie Institution of Washington.*

### TREASURER :

CLARENCE WINTHROP BOWEN, PH. D.,  
*New York.*

### SECRETARY OF THE COUNCIL :

EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE, PH. D.,  
*University of Illinois.*

### CURATOR :

A. HOWARD CLARK, A. M.,  
*Smithsonian Institution.*

### EXECUTIVE COUNCIL :

(In addition to the above-named officers.)

(Ex-Presidents.)

ANDREW DICKSON WHITE, L. H. D., LL. D., D. C. L.,  
*Ithaca, N. Y.*

JAMES BURRILL ANGELL, LL. D.,  
*University of Michigan.*

HENRY ADAMS, LL. D.,  
*Washington, D. C.*

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## AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

JAMES SCHOULER, LL. D.,  
*Boston, Mass.*

JAMES FORD RHODES, LL. D., D. LITT.,  
*Boston, Mass.*

JOHN BACH McMASTER, A. M., PH. D., LITT. D., LL. D.,  
*University of Pennsylvania.*

SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL. D.,  
*New Haven, Conn.*

JOHN FRANKLIN JAMESON, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D.,  
*Carnegie Institution of Washington.*

GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, PH. D., LITT. D.,  
*Yale University.*

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D.,  
*Harvard University.*

FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D.,  
*Harvard University.*

WILLIAM MILLIGAN SLOANE, PH. D., L. H. D., LL. D.,  
*Columbia University.*

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, LL. D., D. C. L.,  
*Oyster Bay, N. Y.*

WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING, PH. D., LL. D.,  
*Columbia University.*

ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, A. M., LL. B.,  
*University of Chicago.*

(Elected Councillors.)

JOHN MARTIN VINCENT, PH. D., LL. D.,  
*Johns Hopkins University.*

FREDERIC BANCROFT, PH. D., LL. D.,  
*Washington, D. C.*

CHARLES HOMER HASKINS, PH. D.,  
*Harvard University.*

EUGENE C. BARKER, PH. D.,  
*University of Texas.*

GUY S. FORD, B. L., PH. D.,  
*University of Minnesota.*

ULRICH B. PHILLIPS, PH. D.,  
*University of Michigan.*

## PACIFIC COAST BRANCH.

---

### OFFICERS ELECTED NOVEMBER 28, 1914.

#### PRESIDENT:

HERBERT E. BOLTON, B. L., PH. D.,  
*University of California.*

#### VICE PRESIDENT:

HENRY L. CANNON, PH. D.,  
*Stanford University.*

#### SECRETARY-TREASURER:

WILLIAM A. MORRIS, PH. D.,  
*University of California.*

#### EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

(In addition to the above-named officers.)

ROCKWELL DENNIS HUNT, PH. D.,  
*University of Southern California.*

JOSEPH SCHAFER, PH. D.,  
*University of Oregon.*

EDWARD MASLIN HULME, A. M.,  
*University of Idaho.*

MAUDE F. STEVENS, A. M.,  
*Palo Alto High School.*



# TERMS OF OFFICE.

(Deceased officers are marked thus : †.)

## EX-PRESIDENTS :

ANDREW DICKSON WHITE, L. H. D., LL. D., D. C. L., 1884-1885  
†GEORGE BANCROFT, LL. D., 1885-1886.  
†JUSTIN WINSOR, LL. D., 1886-1887.  
†WILLIAM FREDERICK POOLE, LL. D., 1887-1888.  
†CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS, LL. D., 1888-1889.  
†JOHN JAY, LL. D., 1889-1890.  
†WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, LL. D., 1890-1891.  
JAMES BURRILL ANGELL, LL. D., 1891-1893.  
HENRY ADAMS, LL. D., 1893-1894.  
†GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, LL. D., 1895.  
†RICHARD SALTER STORRS, D. D., LL. D., 1896.  
JAMES SCHOULER, LL. D., 1897.  
†GEORGE PARK FISHER, D. D., LL. D., 1898.  
JAMES FORD RHODES, LL. D., D. Litt., 1899.  
†EDWARD EGGLESTON, L. H. D., 1900.  
CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL. D., 1901.  
†ALFRED THAYER MAHAN, D. C. L., LL. D., 1902.  
†HENRY CHARLES LEA, LL. D., 1903.  
†GOLDWIN SMITH, D. C. L., LL. D., 1904.  
JOHN BACH McMASTER, Ph. D., Litt. D., LL. D., 1905.  
SIMON E. BALDWIN, LL. D., 1906.  
J. FRANKLIN JAMESON, Ph. D., LL. D., Litt. D., 1907.  
GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, Ph. D., Litt. D., 1908.  
ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, Ph. D., LL. D., Litt. D., 1909.  
FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, Ph. D., LL. D., Litt. D., 1910.  
WILLIAM MILLIGAN SLOANE, Ph. D., L. H. D., LL. D., 1911.  
THEODORE ROOSEVELT, LL. D., D. C. L., 1912.  
WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING, Ph. D., LL. D., 1913.  
ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, A. M., LL. B., 1914.

## EX-VICE PRESIDENTS :

†JUSTIN WINSOR, LL. D., 1884-1886.  
†CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS, LL. D., 1884-1888.  
†WILLIAM FREDERICK POOLE, LL. D., 1886-1887.  
†JOHN JAY, LL. D., 1887-1889.  
†WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, LL. D., 1888-1890.  
JAMES BURRILL ANGELL, LL. D., 1889-1891.  
HENRY ADAMS, LL. D., 1890-1893.  
†EDWARD GAY MASON, A. M., 1891-1894.  
†GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, LL. D., 1894.  
†RICHARD SALTER STORRS, D. D., LL. D., 1895.  
JAMES SCHOULER, LL. D., 1895, 1896.  
†GEORGE PARK FISHER, D. D., LL. D., 1896, 1897.  
JAMES FORD RHODES, LL. D., D. Litt., 1897, 1898.  
†EDWARD EGGLESTON, L. H. D., 1898, 1899.  
†MOSES COIT TYLER, L. H. D., LL. D., 1899, 1900.  
CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL. D., 1900.  
†HERBERT BAXTER ADAMS, Ph. D., LL. D., 1901.  
†ALFRED THAYER MAHAN, D. C. L., LL. D., 1901.  
†HENRY CHARLES LEA, LL. D., 1902.  
†GOLDWIN SMITH, D. C. L., LL. D., 1902, 1903.  
†EDWARD McCRADY, LL. D., 1903.  
JOHN BACH McMASTER, Ph. D., Litt. D., LL. D., 1904.  
SIMON E. BALDWIN, LL. D., 1904, 1905.

J. FRANKLIN JAMESON, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D., 1905, 1906.  
 GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, PH. D., LITT. D., 1906, 1907  
 ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D., 1907, 1908.  
 FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, PH., D., LL. D., LITT. D., 1908, 1909.  
 WILLIAM MILLIGAN SLOANE, PH. D., L. H. D., LL. D., 1909, 1910.  
 THEODORE ROOSEVELT, LL. D., D. C. L., 1910, 1911.  
 WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING, PH. D., LL. D., 1911, 1912.  
 ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, A. M., LL. B., 1912, 1913.  
 H. MORSE STEPHENS, M. A., LITT. D., 1913, 1914.

## SECRETARIES :

†HERBERT BAXTER ADAMS, PH. D., LL. D., 1884-1899.  
 A. HOWARD CLARK, A. M., 1889-1908.  
 CHARLES HOMER HASKINS, PH. D., 1900-1913.  
 WALDO GIFFORD LELAND, A. M., 1908—  
 EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE, PH. D., 1914—

## TREASURER :

CLARENCE WINTHROP BOWEN, PH. D., 1884—

## CURATOR :

A. HOWARD CLARK, A. M., 1889—

## EXECUTIVE COUNCIL :

WILLIAM BARCOCK WEEDEN, A. M., 1884-1886.  
 †CHARLES DEANE, LL. D., 1884-1887.  
 †MOSES COIT TYLER, L. H. D., LL. D., 1884-1885.  
 EPHRAIM EMERTON, PH. D., 1884-1885.  
 FRANKLIN BOWDITCH DEXTER, A. M., LITT. D., 1885-1887.  
 †WILLIAM FRANCIS ALLEN, A. M., 1885-1887.  
 †WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, LL. D., 1886-1888.  
 †RUTHERFORD BIRCHARD HAYES, LL. D., 1887-1888.  
 JOHN W. BURGESS, PH. D., LL. D., 1887-1891.  
 †ARTHUR MARTIN WHEELER, A. M., LL. D., 1887-1889.  
 †GEORGE PARK FISHER, D. D., LL. D., 1888-1891.  
 †GEORGE BROWN GOODE, LL. D., 1889-1896.  
 JOHN GEORGE BOURINOT, C. M. G., D. C. L., LL. D., 1889-1894.  
 JOHN BACH McMASTER, PH. D., LITT. D., LL. D., 1891-1894.  
 GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, PH. D., LITT. D., 1891-1897; 1898-1901.  
 THEODORE ROOSEVELT, LL. D., D. C. L., 1894-1895.  
 †JABEZ LAMAR MONROE CURRY, LL. D., 1894-1895.  
 H. MORSE STEPHENS, M. A., LITT. D., 1895-1899.  
 FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D., 1895-1899; 1901-1904.  
 EDWARD MINER GALLAUDET, PH. D., LL. D., 1896-1897.  
 †MELVILLE WESTON FULLER, LL. D., 1897-1900.  
 ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, PH. D., LITT. D., 1897-1900.  
 ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, A. M., LL. B., 1898-1901; 1903-1906.  
 WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING, PH. D., LL. D., 1899-1902.  
 †PETER WHITE, A. M., 1899-1902.  
 J. FRANKLIN JAMESON, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D., 1900-1903.  
 A. LAWRENCE LOWELL, PH. D., LL. D., 1900-1903.  
 HERBERT PUTNAM, LITT. D., LL. D., 1901-1904.  
 GEORGE LINCOLN BURR, LL. D., 1902-1905.  
 EDWARD POTTS CHEYNEY, LL. D., 1902-1905.  
 †EDWARD G. BOURNE, PH. D., 1903-1906.  
 †GEORGE P. GARRISON, PH. D., 1904-1907.  
 †REUBEN GOLD THWAITES, LL. D., 1904-1907.  
 CHARLES McLEAN ANDREWS, PH. D., L. H. D., 1905-1908.  
 JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON, PH. D., 1905-1908.  
 WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD, A. M., 1906-1909.  
 WILLIAM MacDONALD, PH. D., LL. D., 1906-1909.  
 MAX FARRAND, PH. D., 1907-1910.  
 FRANK HEYWOOD HODDER, PH. M., 1907-1910.  
 EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE, PH. D., 1908-1911.  
 CHARLES HENRY HULL, PH. D., 1908-1911.  
 FRANKLIN LAFAYETTE RILEY, A. M., PH. D., 1909-1912.  
 EDWIN ERLE SPARKS, PH. D., LL. D., 1909-1912.  
 JAMES ALBERT WOODBURN, PH. D., LL. D., 1910-1913.  
 FRED MORROW FLING, PH. D., 1910-1913.  
 HERMAN VANDENBURG AMES, PH. D., 1911-1914.  
 DANA CARLETON MUNRO, A. M., 1911-1914.  
 ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE, PH. D., 1912-1914.  
 JOHN MARTIN VINCENT, PH. D., LL. D., 1912—  
 FREDERIC BANCROFT, PH. D., LL. D., 1913—  
 CHARLES HOMER HASKINS, PH. D., 1913—  
 EUGENE C. BARKER, PH. D., 1914—  
 GUY S. FORD, B. L., PH. D., 1914—  
 ULRICH B. PHILLIPS, PH. D., 1914—

## COMMITTEES—1915.

---

*Committee on program for the thirty-first annual meeting.*—Prof. Charles D. Hazen, Washington, D. C., chairman; James F. Baldwin, John S. Bassett, Carl F. Huth, jr., Robert M. Johnston, John H. Latané, H. Barrett Learned, Miss Ruth Putnam.

*Committee on local arrangements.*—Herbert Putnam, chairman; Frederic Bancroft, Miss Frances G. Davenport, Mrs. John W. Foster, John B. Henderson, David J. Hill, H. Barrett Learned, Waldo G. Leland, Miss Ruth Putnam.

*Committee on program, special meeting, San Francisco, July 21–23, 1915.*—Prof. Frederic L. Thompson, Amherst College, chairman; Eugene C. Barker, Herbert E. Bolton, Max Farrand, Joseph Schafer, Arley B. Show, Frederick J. Teggart, Payson J. Treat, James F. Willard.

*Committee on nominations.*—Prof. Charles H. McIlwain, Harvard University, chairman; Mrs. Lois K. Mathews, Edmond S. Meany, Charles H. Rammelkamp, Alfred H. Stone.

*Editors of the American Historical Review.*—Prof. Edward P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Carl Becker, George L. Burr, J. Franklin Jameson, James H. Robinson, Frederick J. Turner.

*Historical manuscripts commission.*—Gaillard Hunt, Library of Congress, chairman; Charles H. Ambler, Herbert E. Bolton, Archer B. Hulbert, William O. Scroggs, Justin H. Smith.

*Committee on Justin Winsor prize.*—Prof. Carl R. Fish, University of Wisconsin, chairman; George L. Beer, Isaac J. Cox, Allen Johnson, Everett Kimball.

*Committee on Herbert Baxter Adams prize.*—Prof. Laurence M. Larson, University of Illinois, chairman; Sidney B. Fay, William R. Shepherd, Paul van Dyke, Albert B. White.

*Public archives commission.*—Victor H. Paltsits, Esq., New York, N. Y., chairman; Clarence W. Alvord, Charles M. Andrews, Solon J. Buck, George S. Godard, Thomas M. Owen, Alexander S. Salley, jr.

*Committee on bibliography.*—Prof. Ernest C. Richardson, Princeton University, chairman; Walter Lichtenstein, William W. Rockwell, William A. Slade, Bernard C. Steiner, Frederick J. Teggart.

*Committee on publications.*—Prof. Max Farrand, Yale University, chairman; and (*ex officio*) Carl R. Fish, Evarts B. Greene, Gaillard Hunt, J. Franklin Jameson, Laurence M. Larson, Waldo G. Leland, Victor H. Paltsits, Ernest C. Richardson.

*General committee.*—Prof. William E. Lingelbach, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Annie H. Abel, Arthur I. Andrews, William K. Boyd, James M. Callahan, Clarence E. Carter, Carlton H. Hayes, Waldo G. Leland, Robert M. McElroy, William A. Morris, Robert W. Neeser, Edmund S. Noyes, Louis Pelzer, Morgan P. Robinson, Nathaniel W. Stephenson, Eugene M. Violette, Clarence M. Warner.

*Committee on a bibliography of modern English history.*—Prof. Edward P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Wilbur C. Abbott, Arthur L. Cross, Roger B. Merriman, Conyers Read.

*Committee on history in schools.*—Prof. William S. Ferguson, Harvard University, chairman; Victoria Adams, Henry E. Bourne, Henry L. Cannon, Edgar Dawson, Oliver M. Dickerson, Herbert D. Foster, Samuel B. Harding, Margaret McGill, Robert A. Maurer, James Sullivan.

*Conference of historical societies.*—Lyon G. Tyler, chairman; Augustus H. Shearer, secretary.

*Advisory board of the History Teacher's Magazine.*—Prof. Henry Johnson, Teachers College, chairman (reelected to serve three years); Fred M. Fling, George C. Sellery, St. George L. Sioussat, James Sullivan (these four hold over), Anna B. Thompson (elected to serve three years).

*Committee on military and naval history.*—Prof. Robert M. Johnston, Harvard University, chairman; Capt. Arthur L. Conger, Fred M. Fling, Charles O. Paulin, Capt. Oliver L. Spaulding.

*Committee on military history prize.*—Capt. Arthur L. Conger, Army Service Schools, Fort Leavenworth, chairman; Milledge L. Bonham, jr., Allen R. Boyd, Fred M. Fling, Albert Bushnell Hart.

*Committee of nine.*—Prof. Andrew C. McLaughlin, University of Chicago, chairman; Ephraim D. Adams, Robert D. W. Connor, Isaac J. Cox, William A. Dunning, Max Farrand, Winfred T. Root, James Sullivan, and one member to be elected by the committee.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Charles H. Hull, elected to fill place of Mr. James Ford Rhodes, who declined to serve.



## ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITIES.

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The American Historical Association was organized at Saratoga, N. Y., on September 10, 1884, with an enrollment of 40 members, and incorporated by act of Congress of January 4, 1889.

Any person approved by the executive council may become a member. Applications for membership and nominations (by persons already members) of new members should be addressed to the secretary, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

The annual dues are fixed at \$3, payable on September 1 for the year then beginning. Life membership, with exemption from annual dues, may be secured upon payment of \$50.

The publications regularly distributed to members are the *American Historical Review*, the *Annual Report*, and the *Handbook*. The first of these is published quarterly (October, January, April, July) under the direction of a board of editors elected by the executive council. Each number contains 200 or more pages and is composed of articles, documents, reviews of books, and notes and news. The *Annual Report*, printed by order of Congress, is in one or two volumes and contains the proceedings of the annual meetings, the report of the public archives commission with its appendices consisting of inventories, catalogues, etc., of materials in State and other archives, and collections of documents edited by the historical manuscripts commission. The *Handbook*, containing the names, addresses, and professional positions of members, is published at biennial or longer intervals. Back numbers of the *American Historical Review* may be obtained from the Macmillan Co., of New York. Copies of the annual reports of past years, or of separates of articles or publications appearing therein, may be obtained, so far as available, from the secretary of the association.

The prize essays of the association are published in a separate series, one volume appearing each year, and are supplied to members for \$1 each, to non-members for \$1.50.

The *Study of History in Secondary Schools*, being the report of the committee of seven (1899), is published by the Macmillan Co., of New York, at 50 cents.

The *Study of History in Elementary Schools*, being the report of the committee of eight (1909), is published by Charles Scribner's Sons, of New York, at 50 cents.

*Original Narratives of Early American History* is a series of reprints edited for the association by J. F. Jameson and published by Charles Scribner's Sons, of New York, at \$3 a volume.

*Writings on American History* is an annual bibliography compiled by Miss Grace G. Griffin. The volumes for 1912 and succeeding years are published by the Yale University Press. Previous issues can be obtained from the secretary.

The annual meetings of the association are held during the period December 27-31, in various cities. At these meetings there are sessions with formal papers, sessions partaking of the nature of round-table conferences, and conferences of archivists and of historical societies. Annual meetings of other associations, the interests of which are allied to those of the American Historical Association, are generally held at the same time and place.

Committees on archives, on historical manuscripts, on bibliography, on various phases of history teaching, as well as other committees appointed from time to time for special purposes, carry on the activities of the association throughout the year.



## HISTORICAL PRIZES.

[Winsor and Adams prizes.]

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For the encouragement of historical research the American Historical Association regularly offers two prizes, each of \$200—the Justin Winsor prize in American history and the Herbert Baxter Adams prize in European history. Each is awarded biennially (the Winsor prize in the even years and the Adams prize in the odd years) for the best unpublished monograph submitted to the committee of award on or before July 1 of the given year, e. g., by July 1, 1915, for the Adams prize in European history, and by July 1, 1916, for the Winsor prize in American history. The conditions of award are as follows:

I. The prize is intended for writers who have not yet published any considerable work or obtained an established reputation.

II. *A. For the Justin Winsor prize.*—The monograph must be based upon independent and original investigation in American history, by which is meant the history of any of the British colonies in America to 1783, of other territories, continental or insular, which have since been acquired by the United States, of the United States, and of independent Latin America. It may deal with any aspect of that history—social, political, constitutional, religious, economic, ethnological, military, or biographical, though in the last three instances a treatment exclusively ethnological, military, or biographical would be unfavorably received.

*B. For the Herbert Baxter Adams prize.*—The monograph must be based upon independent and original investigation in European history, by which is meant the history of Europe, continental, insular, or colonial, excluding continental French America and British America before 1783. It may deal with any aspect of that history—social, political, constitutional, religious, economic, ethnological, military, or biographical, though in the last three instances a treatment exclusively ethnological, military, or biographical would be unfavorably received.

III. The monograph must present subject matter of more than personal or local interest, and must, as regards its conclusions, be a distinct contribution to knowledge. Its statements must be accurate and the author in his treatment of the facts collected must show originality and power of interpretation.

IV. The monograph must conform to the accepted canons of historical research and criticism.

It must be presented in scientific form.

It must contain references to all authorities.

It must be accompanied by a critical bibliography. Should the bibliography be omitted or should it consist only of a list of titles without critical comments and valuations, the monograph will not be admitted to the competition.

V. The monograph should not exceed 100,000 words in length. The manuscript should be typewritten, and must be neat, correct, and in form ready for the printer.

[In the typewriting of essays competitors are urged to use a strong, rather heavy paper, to have text and notes alike double spaced, to number the notes consecutively for each chapter, and to insert each note in the text immediately after the line in which its index number occurs, separating the note from the text by lines above and below extending across the page. In abbreviating the titles of works cited care should be taken to make the abbreviations clear and consistent. The typographical style as to capitalization, punctuation, spelling, etc., of the volumes already published in the series of Prize Essays should be followed.]

VI. In addition to text, footnotes, and bibliography, the monograph must contain nothing except the name and address of the author and a short introduction setting forth the character of the material and the purpose of the work. After the award has been made the successful competitor may add such personal allusions as are customary in a printed work.

VII. In making the award the committee will consider not only research, accuracy, and originality, but also clearness of expression, logical arrangement, and especially literary form. The successful monograph must be written in good English. The prize will not be awarded unless the work submitted shall be of a high degree of excellence.

VIII. The successful monograph shall be the property of the American Historical Association, which reserves to itself all rights of publication, translation, and sale, both in the United States and in foreign countries.

IX. The manuscript of the successful essay, when finally submitted for printing, must be in such form, typographically (see Rule V) and otherwise, as to require only a reasonable degree of editing in order to prepare it for the press. Such additional editorial work as may be necessary, including any copying of the manuscript, shall be at the expense of the author.

Galley and page proof will be sent to the author for revision; but, should changes be made by him exceeding in cost an aggregate of 10 cents per page of the completed book, such excess shall be borne by him, and the amount will be deducted from the prize.

An adequate index must be provided by the author.

X. The amount of the prize, minus such deductions as may be made under Rule IX, will be paid to the author upon the publication of the essay.

XI. The author shall be entitled to receive 10 bound copies of the printed volume, and to purchase further copies at the rate of \$1 per volume. Such unbound copies, with special title-page, as may be necessary for the fulfillment of thesis requirements, will be furnished at cost, but no copies of the volume will be furnished the author for private sale.

Address all correspondence relative to the Justin Winsor prize to Prof. Claude H. Van Tyne, Ann Arbor, Mich., and all correspondence relative to the Herbert Baxter Adams prize to Prof. Charles D. Hazen, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.

The Justin Winsor prize (which until 1906 was offered annually) has been awarded to the following:

1896. Herman V. Ames, "The proposed amendments to the Constitution of the United States."

1900. William A. Schaper, "Sectionalism and representation in South Carolina," with honorable mention of Mary S. Locke, "Anti-slavery sentiment before 1808."

1901. Ulrich B. Phillips, "Georgia and State rights," with honorable mention of M. Louise Greene, "The struggle for religious liberty in Connecticut."

1902. Charles McCarthy, "The Anti-Masonic Party," with honorable mention of W. Roy Smith, "South Carolina as a Royal Province."

1903. Louise Phelps Kellogg, "The American colonial charter; a study of its relation to English administration, chiefly after 1688."

1904. William R. Manning, "The Nootka Sound controversy," with honorable mention of C. O. Paullin, "The Navy of the American Revolution."

1906. Annie Heloise Abel, "The history of events resulting in Indian consolidation west of the Mississippi River."

1908. Clarence Edwin Carter, "Great Britain and the Illinois country, 1765-1774," with honorable mention of Charles Henry Ambler, "Sectionalism in Virginia, 1776-1861."

1910. Edward Raymond Turner, "The Negro in Pennsylvania—slavery, servitude, freedom, 1639-1861."

1912. Arthur Charles Cole, "The Whig Party in the South."

1914. Mary Wilhelmine Williams, "Anglo-American Isthmian diplomacy, 1815-1915."

From 1897 to 1899 and in 1905 the Justin Winsor prize was not awarded.

The Herbert Baxter Adams prize has been awarded to:

1905. David S. Muzzey, "The Spiritual Franciscans," with honorable mention of Eloise Ellery, "Jean Pierre Brissot."

1907. In equal division, Edward B. Krehbiel, "The interdict: Its history and its operation, with especial attention to the time of Pope Innocent III," and William S. Robertson, "Francisco de Miranda and the revolutionizing of Spanish America."

1909. Wallace Notestein, "A history of witchcraft in England from 1558 to 1718."

1911. Louise Fargo Brown, "The political activities of the Baptists and fifth monarchy men in England during the interregnum."

1913. Violet Barbour, "Henry Bennet, earl of Arlington."

The essays of Messrs. Muzzey, Krehbiel, Carter, Notestein, Turner, Cole, Miss Brown, and Miss Barbour have been published by the association in a series of separate volumes. The earlier Winsor prize essays were printed in the Annual Reports.

A subscription made by friends of the association interested in military history enables it to offer for award in December, 1915, a prize of \$200 for the best essay in the military history of the United States. The conditions are defined as follows:

#### MILITARY HISTORY PRIZE.

A prize of \$200 will be awarded by the American Historical Association in 1915 for the best unpublished monograph in military history submitted to the committee before September 1, 1915.

I. The monograph must be based upon independent and original investigation into some field of the military history of the United States. While the committee will receive any scholarly work on any American war, it would suggest that in the selection of topics for investigation preference be given to the Civil War. The monograph may deal with a campaign, a battle, a phase or aspect of a campaign or battle, with the fortunes of a corps or division during a battle, or with such subjects as the mobilization or organization of volunteer forces, the matériel, transportation, or food supply of an army, or strategy and military policy.

II. The monograph must be a distinct contribution to knowledge.

III. The monograph must (1) be based upon exhaustive research, (2) conform to the canons of historical criticism, (3) be presented in scientific form, (4) contain exact references to sources and secondary works, and (5) be accompanied by a full critical bibliography.

IV. The monograph should not exceed 100,000 words in length. The manuscript should be typewritten, and must be neat, correct, and in form ready for the printer.

[In the typewriting of essays competitors are urged to use a strong, rather heavy paper of letter size, to have both text and notes double spaced; to number the notes consecutively for each chapter, and to insert each note in the text immediately after the line in which its index number occurs, separating the note from the text by lines above and below extending across the page. In abbreviating the titles of works care should be taken to make the abbreviations clear, consistent, and self-explanatory.]

V. In making the award the committee will consider not only research, accuracy, and originality, but also clearness of expression, logical arrangement and literary form. The prize will not be awarded unless the work submitted shall be of a high degree of excellence.

VI. The successful monograph shall remain the property of the author. The American Historical Association assumes no responsibility for publication of the prize essay, but the committee has already received offers respecting its publication which will be communicated to the winner of the prize.

VII. The monograph must be accompanied by the name and address of the author, in a sealed envelope, and a short introduction setting forth the character of the material and the purpose of the work.

Address all correspondence relative to the military history prize to Capt. A. L. Conger, Fort Leavenworth, Kans.

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I. REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE THE THIRTIETH  
ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN  
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

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CHICAGO, DECEMBER 29-31, 1914.

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## THE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION IN CHICAGO.<sup>1</sup>

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Two previous meetings of the American Historical Association had been held in Chicago. That of 1893 occurred in the summer, in connection with the great World's Fair then in progress, and was much overshadowed by that event, with whose brilliant attractions it was impossible for history to compete. That of December, 1904, opening with a blizzard which figures in the memory of those present so vividly as to obscure remembrance of the fine weather that followed, suffered from the amiable attempt toward "recognizing" various institutions by holding sessions in too many places. The committee charged with the arrangements for the sessions of December, 1914, wisely arranged that, so far as was possible, they should all be held under one roof, that of the Auditorium Hotel. Entertainments on the part of the city were wisely kept, by the committee on arrangements, to a minimum of what was offered—a luncheon on the first day, a reception on the first evening, tendered by the Art Institute of Chicago, a tea by the Chicago College Club, and a smoker by the University Club. The Caxton Club and the Chicago Literary Club threw open their rooms, the Chicago Historical Society its building; the Newberry Library gave a special exhibition of rare Americana drawn from the wonderful collection presented to it by the munificence of Mr. Edward E. Ayer.

The only sessions held outside the walls of the Auditorium Hotel and the Fine Arts Building connected with it were those of the first two evenings, when provision had to be made for larger popular audiences. These sessions were held near by, in the Fullerton Hall of the Art Institute of Chicago. On the first, there was an address of welcome by Mr. Charles L. Hutchinson, chairman of the local committee of arrangements, followed by the presidential address of Prof. Andrew C. McLaughlin, of the University of Chicago, president of the association, under the title "American history and American democracy."<sup>2</sup> The exercises were followed by a most agreeable reception, held amid the impressive treasures of Chicago's remarkable art collection. On all these occasions, and throughout the whole

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<sup>1</sup> This account is adapted from the *American Historical Review* for April, 1915.

<sup>2</sup> Printed in the *American Historical Review*, January, 1915.

meeting, the careful forethought of the local committee of arrangements, of its chairman, and of its secretary, Prof. James A. James, of Northwestern University, were everywhere apparent.

With them should be joined, in the grateful recollection of the members, the committee on the program, and its chairman, Prof. James W. Thompson, of the University of Chicago; and first, because of the relative simplicity of the program. With one exception, made for special reasons, there was no time when more than two sessions or sections were going on simultaneously. Abundance of time, the whole of the second afternoon, was allowed for the annual business meeting, in whose proceedings the lack of time has often bred a rate of speed savoring too much of mechanism. There were sessions or sections devoted to ancient history, to medieval history, to the medieval history of England in particular, to modern English history, to the history of Napoleonic Europe, to the history of the relations between Europe and the Orient, and to American history. There was a joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, devoted to western history, the usual conference of the representatives of historical societies, and the usual conference of archivists; while the second evening session was general in character, assembling several papers having especial attraction for a public audience.

The attendance upon the meeting was unusually large. The registration was recorded as 400, and has been surpassed in only two cases, that of the New York meeting in 1909, the association's twenty-fifth anniversary, and that of the Boston meeting of 1912. Naturally, the attendance was chiefly from the Middle West, but not a few came from New York and the East.

The general organization of the program has already been described, and it may be as well, when considering it in detail, to proceed rather in the natural or chronological order of the papers than in the order in which they were arranged on the program. First among the papers in ancient history would come, in such an arrangement, one which did not figure in the conference or section of ancient history, but was given separately, as a brief illustrated lecture before the more public audience of the second evening, Prof. James H. Breasted's brilliant talk on the "Eastern Mediterranean and the earliest civilizations in Europe," which is printed in the present volume.

In the conference proper on ancient history the first paper read was that of Prof. Robert W. Rogers, of Drew Theological Seminary, entitled "Fresh light upon the history of the earliest Assyrian period."<sup>1</sup> Mr. Wallace E. Caldwell, fellow in Columbia University, discussed the "Greek attitude toward peace and war." The earlier Greek poets were in general warlike in sympathies and expression.

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<sup>1</sup> Printed in the present volume.

With the beginning of the fifth century this attitude changed. The poets praised the glories and blessings of peace and set forth in telling phrases the horrors of war, particularly the sufferings caused by the loss of the city's finest men. A feeling for humanity and a breadth of view that sympathized with the sufferings on both sides developed during the Peloponnesian War. During the fourth century the economic arguments as to loss through interference with business and the burdens of war taxes were more prominently advanced. At the same time there came more widespread attempts to prevent war through peace conferences and arbitration, which pointed also to a growing community of interests that made peace more necessary. The modernness of the points of view of the arguments for peace and against war were made particularly evident.

Dr. William D. Gray, of Smith College, in a paper on "Hadrian and his reign,"<sup>1</sup> put forth the view that the cosmopolitanism of Hadrian has been exaggerated. One of his main purposes was to protect the Greco-Roman civilization of the Roman Empire from corrupting influences—particularly from the influences of northern barbarism and of orientalism—and to give to this civilization a more Roman character.

Prof. William L. Westermann, of the University of Wisconsin, in his paper on the "Decline of ancient culture,"<sup>2</sup> rejecting for various reasons six explanations currently offered for the decline of the classical civilization—slavery, depopulation, taxation, the drain of the precious metals to India, Christianity, and the entrance of the barbarians into the Roman Empire—resorted to economic considerations resting on the antithesis between two concurrent systems, not adjusted into harmony by the Romans, that of the industrial city, inherited from the Greeks, and that of the great agricultural estate, inherited from the Hellenistic rulers, and developing into the imperial domain. Decline of industrial freedom, lessened production, reversion to an economy injurious to intellectual vigor and initiative, preceded the decline of ancient culture. An advanced moment in medieval culture was dealt with in a paper by Prof. Edgar H. McNeal, of the Ohio State University, on the "Feudal noble and the church as reflected in the poems of Chrestien de Troyes."<sup>1</sup> Of the same period was the essay by Prof. Frederic Duncalf, of the University of Texas, on "Some effects of environment in the Kingdom of Jerusalem."<sup>1</sup>

Under the title "Roger Bacon, 1214-1914," Prof. Earle W. Dow, of Michigan, presented a commemorative essay, apropos of the seventh centenary of Bacon's birth. In the light of Bacon's principal

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<sup>1</sup> Printed in the present volume.

<sup>2</sup> Printed in the *American Historical Review*, July, 1915.

writings and of recent studies, he traced his intellectual formation and the main lines of his thinking, and considered the quality of his achievement. Despite the limits to that accomplishment which various students have lately pointed out, the fullness and grasp of Bacon's knowledge, the problems and suggestions he passed to others, and his appreciation of the power of observation and experiment, give him a significant part in the earlier development of modern science. And yet it may be more just to Bacon to regard his effort and achievement as lying primarily in the human field—to enroll him chiefly among those who studied to find solutions for pressing problems in the conduct of human affairs.

To illustrate the use which may be made of the material bearing upon the papal tax on clerical incomes, Prof. Lunt, of Cornell, presented, under the title "Papal finance and papal diplomacy in the thirteenth century," an account of the tax imposed by Gregory X in 1274 and the opposition to it. The tenth of England, Wales, Ireland, and perhaps Scotland, was to go to Edward I provided he undertook a crusade. This he announced in 1283 that he could not do. Later he agreed to take the cross, and asked that the tenth be granted to him. The result of the long negotiation which followed was that he received from the Pope a grant, though he did not undertake the crusade. The papacy had paid the expenses of collection, and had borne the brunt of the opposition to the tax, while the king had acquired the larger part of the revenue.

In a session devoted to medieval England, four papers were read. We summarize first that of Prof. James F. Willard, of the University of Colorado, on "Reform of the exchequer under Edward I." During the first half of that reign the revenues of the Crown were received by two departments of the Government, the exchequer of receipt, or lower exchequer, and the wardrobe, the ordinary revenue flowing in general into the lower exchequer and the extraordinary revenue into the wardrobe, which normally received the greater part of the income of the crown. In 1290, under the direction of William de Marchia, the newly appointed treasurer of the exchequer, a revolution was brought about which has hitherto escaped the notice of financial historians. Thereafter the exchequer of receipt was the department of the Government into which the greater part of both the ordinary and extraordinary revenue flowed. This revolution laid the foundation for the future importance of the lower exchequer; it was accompanied by the appearance of several new series of financial records.

The second paper of the group, by Miss Bertha H. Putnam, of Mount Holyoke College, related to "Maximum wages laws for priests after the black death, 1346-1381." A large proportion of the stipendiary clergy died during the great plague; the survivors attempted

to benefit from the national calamity by obtaining increased salaries, precisely as the laboring classes were endeavoring to secure higher wages. Thereupon the great ecclesiastics framed canons specifying maximum salaries for priests, closely resembling the maximum wage laws for laborers, passed by Parliament. By means of manuscript and printed ecclesiastical sources such as the episcopal registers, Miss Putnam followed out the administrative enforcement of these regulations and the legal problems, such as those relating to conflict of jurisdiction.<sup>1</sup>

A paper by Prof. N. M. Trenholme, of Missouri, on "Municipal aspects of the rising of 1381 in England," attempted to bring out in a definite way the important part played by the towns of southeastern England, especially London, in the great popular uprising. The writer took the position that the agrarian discontent was fomented and developed by dissatisfied and radical townsmen. A second and more important matter was the cooperation of the inhabitants of the towns in the revolt, greatly increasing the popular army which advanced on London. In the case of London itself, it was pointed out how a radical element of the Victuallers' party, then in control of the city government, admitted the mob from outside, and how many of the lower elements of London society joined the rebels. Municipal disorders in outside royal boroughs and in towns under mesne lordship were briefly referred to, and the somewhat negative municipal results of the rising were commented on.

Last in this group of papers was one by Prof. James F. Baldwin, of Vassar College, on "Historic cases before the King's council." The records of the council abound in cases which are a reflection of the political and social interests of their time. As an example, the case of *Ughtred v. Musgrave* in 1366 may be taken as a segment of the history of the sheriff—a case in which the council, after a searching examination of specific charges, condemned the influential sheriff of Yorkshire for arresting men without warrant, indictment, or other process of law. It was because of such abuses of power, which were possible through the packing of juries and the procuring of indictments, that the judicial functions of the sheriffs were gradually reduced and given over mainly to the justices of the peace. These materials are valuable not only for the history of law but also for the general historian, and even have their uses for the legal reformer.

The paper by Prof. Albert H. Lybyer, of Illinois, on the "Influence of the rise of the Ottoman Turks upon the routes of oriental trade,"<sup>2</sup> showed that, contrary to a view which has often prevailed,

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<sup>1</sup> Printed in the *American Historical Review*, October, 1915.

<sup>2</sup> Printed in the present volume.

the Ottoman Turks did not greatly, if at all on the whole, increase the difficulties of oriental traffic or make imperative the discovery of the new routes of trade to the East.

For the period between the medieval and the modern, there was a valuable paper by Mr. A. Edward Harvey, of Chicago, on "Economic self-interest in the German anticlericalism of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries." The influence of papal exactions is familiar; but other subjects of common complaint were the tithes, feudal dues and services, charges for the sacraments or other religious performances of the priests, and a multitude of "voluntary" offerings urged by the secular clergy as well as by mendicant friars and nuns. Less familiar were the endowments for anniversaries and other services for the dead, the mortgages requiring perpetual annual payments, the burdens of lease rents, the exemption of the clergy from taxes and tolls and import duties, and the resulting damage to municipal revenues and to competing merchants and craftsmen. While other motives for anticlericalism are equally discernible, the economic factor was much more widely operative in the success of Protestantism than historians have heretofore been able or willing to concede.

In a paper entitled "The Turco-Venetian treaty of 1540,"<sup>1</sup> Mr. Theodore F. Jones, of the University of New York, sketched, largely from letters in Venetian archives, the course of the negotiations between Venice and Turkey from 1538 to 1540.

In a session devoted to the history of modern England four papers were read, chiefly relating to the constitutional history of the seventeenth century. Prof. Henry R. Shipman, of Princeton, presented the subject of the "House of Commons and disputed elections"<sup>1</sup> as an illustration of the development of parliamentary privilege in general. Beginning with a detailed description of the Norfolk election case of 1586, and with allusion to other instances in the last years of Queen Elizabeth, he discussed the doctrine concerning the rights of the Commons laid down by that body in the Fortescue and Goodwin case (1604) and showed the Commons' assertion as to ancient privilege to be without foundation. The Aylesbury election cases in 1704 and that of John Wilkes's reelection in 1770 were used to illustrate the conflicts between the House and the courts. The paper concluded by showing that the underlying cause of the contests was the multiplicity of laws existing together, the law of Parliament and the common law conflicting because the lines between the legislative and the judicial powers of Parliament had not been clearly drawn.

The paper by Prof. Edward R. Turner, of Michigan, on the "Privy Council of 1679"<sup>2</sup> was a discussion of the authorship, pur-

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<sup>1</sup> Printed in the present volume.

<sup>2</sup> Printed in the *English Historical Review*, April, 1915.

poses, and results of the sudden substitution by Charles II, for the old privy council, of a lesser body of 30, consisting only partly of the old members. Temple claims the authorship, and probably put the plan into form. The motive was political, King Charles, in dire straits, trying to placate critics by the change but not intending to abandon the practice of holding private meetings of a select and governing few. The results were disappointing. Parliament received the innovation coldly, the friends of royalty felt aggrieved, the procedure soon came to be much the same as before, and the king soon treated the new council with neglect.

In treating the "Suspension of the habeas corpus act and the Revolution of 1689," Prof. Clarence C. Crawford, of the University of Kansas, called attention first to the close relation between the struggle for constitutional restrictions upon the royal prerogative and the establishment of the guaranties of personal liberty. The paper discussed the legal principles involved in the suspension of the habeas corpus act, the conditions which were believed to justify the arbitrary power of arresting persons upon suspicion of high treason and holding them in prison without benefit of bail or trial, and the methods by which that power was exercised. The habeas corpus act was suspended at nine different periods between 1689 and 1818. The methods and practices employed in 1689, when the machinery of government was badly deranged by the revolution, were made the precedent for all subsequent suspensions of the act.

The fourth of the papers in the session for modern English history, that of Prof. Herbert C. Bell, of Bowdoin College, on "British commercial policy in the West Indies, 1783-1793," dealt with the regulation by the British Government of the trade between the United States and the British West Indies. The scarcity of food and lumber in the West Indies during the Revolutionary War gave additional ground for the assumption that the islands must be permitted to trade freely in raw produce with the United States. But such a departure from the principles of the old commercial system was strongly opposed, particularly by shipowners and by those who apprehended American competition. Pitt's attempt, in the Shelburne administration, to open the trade to the Americans without restriction, was defeated. Under the coalition, the wishes of Fox were overborne by the North section of the cabinet, and the American trade was confined to British ships. Pitt, on becoming prime minister, held a careful investigation, which resulted in the vindication, retention, and permanent adoption of the system established by the coalition, a system advantageous to both planters and shipowners.

Two sessions were devoted to the history of Napoleonic Europe, not unreasonably in view of the centenary of 1815, however different the manner in which that centenary is observed in the world at large from what was expected when the program was first framed. The first of these sessions was devoted to the reading of papers, without discussion—which, indeed, was the prevailing method in the Chicago sessions; the other was a practical conference. In the former, one paper, that of Prof. Guy S. Ford, of Minnesota, related to a subject in Prussian history of the Napoleonic period, Boyen's military law;<sup>1</sup> the other two were of French themes, "An approach to a study of Napoleon's generalship,"<sup>2</sup> by Prof. R. M. Johnston, of Harvard, and the "Senate of the First Empire," by Prof. Victor Coffin, of Wisconsin.

Mr. Coffin, in his study of the imperial senate, described his subject as of interest rather from the political than the institutional point of view; the tracing of its construction and manipulation throws a flood of light on the whole imperial system. But the decline of the senate from the position assigned to it by Siéyès to a condition of absorption by the executive is accompanied by the assignment to it, as a trusty agent, of a constitutional authority beyond even that intended by Siéyès, and of administrative functions of unusual interest. The former was an amplification of the powers indicated by the term "Sénat Conservateur"; the latter were associated with these powers and were operated through the establishment of the sénatoreries. In the divisions of the Empire so-named (83 in number) the leading senators exercised a confidential supervision over all public authorities and activities; the periodical reports that form the record of this supervision constitute an unused and valuable source of information as to the conditions of the period.

In the practical conference, already mentioned, the principal paper was presented by Prof. George M. Dutcher, of Wesleyan University, on "Tendencies and opportunities in Napoleonic studies."<sup>2</sup> Prof. Lingelbach then discussed some of the most important economic studies of the period written in Europe, and emphasized the opportunities for Napoleonic studies in this country. Prof. Ford, of Minnesota, referred to the German phases of the period, but laid stress on the necessity for avoiding narrow views in its study, and for considering the broader relations and currents of historical development. In a similar spirit Prof. Morse Stephens urged the study of the period not as the history of Napoleon, nor of France, nor of any single nation, but as a complete whole.

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<sup>1</sup> Printed in the *American Historical Review*, April, 1915.

<sup>2</sup> Printed in the present volume.



Prof. Colby's paper on "Early relations of England and Belgium"<sup>1</sup> dealt chiefly with events which fall between 1788 and 1870. The first incident to be considered was the revolt of the Austrian Netherlands in 1789-1790. This subject was approached from the standpoint of English relations with Prussia, as reflecting Pitt's unwillingness that the Belgian seacoast should be held either by a power unfriendly to England or by a power so weak as to invite attack. Reference was also made to the bearing which the Belgian situation had on England's attitude toward Prussian ambitions regarding Danzig and Thorn. The greater part of the paper, however, was concerned with the share which England took in events consequent to the Belgian revolution of 1830. The negotiations between Palmerston and Talleyrand were considered in some detail, both as affecting the neutralization of Belgium and as related to the desire of the forward party in France to secure a portion of the Belgian soil through rectification of the frontier. The subsequent development of English public opinion regarding Belgium was also touched on, and a concluding statement was made as to the attitude of Disraeli and Gladstone toward Belgian neutrality, at the outbreak of the Franco-German War.

Last among the papers in European history we may mention two which dealt with Russian affairs. Dr. Robert H. Lord, of Harvard, treated of the "Russo-Chinese treaty of 1860,"<sup>2</sup> one of the principal achievements of Russian diplomacy and a landmark in the history of Russian expansion.

The paper by Prof. Samuel N. Harper, of Chicago, on the "Russian Nationalists," or government party in the Duma, traced the origin of that party back to the official nationalism—"Russia for the Russians"—which existed in autocratic Russia at the end of the nineteenth century, and was itself an outgrowth of Slavophilism. He showed how those representing this variety of opinion, though numerically weak, had been able to acquire power through the reaction against the movements of 1905, and to throw discredit on the non-Russian nationalities of the Empire. He described the legislative restrictions upon Poles, Finns, and other non-Russian elements, which had flowed from this spirit of exclusive nationalism, and the constant protests of the Liberals against it as essentially foreign to the Russian genius.

In American history, one of the most notable papers, surely, was that in which Prof. Frederick J. Turner, of Harvard, analyzed in various fields the "Significance of sectionalism in American history."

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<sup>1</sup>Printed in the *American Historical Review*, October, 1915.

<sup>2</sup>Printed in the present volume.

A regional matter of much interest was discussed in the joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association by Prof. Royal B. Way, of Northwestern University. His paper on "English relations in the Northwest, 1789-1794," took issue with that on "Western posts and the British debts," which Prof. McLaughlin contributed to the proceedings of 1894. The writer believed that British conduct in that period was more open to criticism. He held that the British officials continually deceived the Indians as to the provisions of the treaty of 1783 in respect to Indian lands in the Ohio Valley, persisted in a policy of consolidation of Indian tribes for English advantage, extended their trade, and established new posts, blocked peace between the Indians and the United States, and, by timely supplies, aided the Indian warfare.

Prof. Max Farrand, of Yale, in a paper entitled "One hundred years ago," read in a session specially devoted to American history, described how, just after the War of 1812, there emerged a growing democracy, first becoming conscious of its power. The European wars and the resulting commercial legislation of the United States led to a national protective tariff system. Population moved rapidly westward, and easier communication between East and West became a necessity. There developed in the Middle West a conscious nationality and a national type, which began to express itself in a national literature. A change in religious thinking, greater tolerance, less attention to theological abstractions, mark the period. The effect of the invention of the cotton gin on slavery is a commonplace; the effect of slavery on cotton growing was just as important. But the greatest force at work in the creation of a nation was the development of an internal commerce, which brought with it a feeling of national completeness.

Dr. Henry B. Learned's account of "Cabinet meetings under Polk,"<sup>1</sup> was based largely on Polk's Diary, which reveals glimpses of nearly 400 sessions, held twice a week with remarkable regularity. They probably mark the beginnings of a custom of regular meetings now well established. After commenting briefly on the appointments to the Cabinet, the author dwelt on various practices, such as votes in the Cabinet, the presentation of written opinions, and the question of admitting outsiders to its sessions.

Prof. St. George L. Sioussat, of Vanderbilt University, in a paper on "Tennessee and national political parties, 1850-1860,"<sup>1</sup> analyzed the relations of the Whig and Democratic Parties in Tennessee in the compromise of 1850 and the secession movement of 1849-1851, and devoted special attention to the Nashville convention of 1850.

In the joint session held with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, an interesting feature was a discussion of the origin of

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<sup>1</sup> Printed in the present volume.

the Kansas-Nebraska act. It was opened by a paper by Prof. F. H. Hodder entitled "When the railroads came to Chicago." After making a plea for the study of early railroads, the paper traced Stephen A. Douglas's interest in them. In 1836 he made the first move toward the building of railroads in Illinois. In 1845 he proposed a railroad from Chicago to the Pacific. In 1850, by an alliance with the South, he secured the first grant to the States for railroad purposes and at the same time provided a branch road to Chicago. He continuously supported bills to grant land to Iowa, Missouri, and Arkansas for the construction of railroads to connect with proposed Pacific railroads and in the same connection proposed the organization of the western territory. It is reasonable to suppose that he organized Kansas and Nebraska in 1854 for the purpose for which he had urged organization since 1845.

Prof. P. Orman Ray,<sup>1</sup> of Trinity College, Hartford, in replying to Prof. Hodder, contended that the Kansas-Nebraska act originated in western, particularly Missouri, conditions and, in so far as it can be ascribed to any one man, was due to the influence of Senator Atchison rather than to that of Douglas. Any theory of the genesis of the act must explain why it was passed in this particular year, 1854, and why the provision respecting the Missouri Compromise was added. The answer to both these questions is to be found in the history of the schism in the Democratic Party in Missouri, which culminated in the senatorial fight of 1853-1854. He ascribed to Prof. Hodder's theory a tendency to attach to certain events an importance out of proportion to that felt by contemporaries, an excessive reliance on the pages of the Congressional Globe, and the ignoring of some evidence which conflicted with his view.

In the discussion which followed Prof. James A. Woodburn, of Indiana University, spoke of the fact that other features of the bill had been neglected because of the importance of the repealing section. Mrs. Mathews, of the University of Wisconsin, expressed the feeling that Prof. Ray was emphasizing actual authorship of the bill, Prof. Hodder its genesis; agrarian interests played a part also. Prof. Sioussat maintained that southern railroad interests likewise had an influence in the history of the bill.

In a valuable and suggestive paper on the "Agrarian history of the United States as a subject for research," Prof. William J. Trimble, of the North Dakota Agricultural College, took broad ground for the study, not of the technical development of agriculture alone, but of agricultural history in its relation to the whole circle of economic and social history. He laid just emphasis upon its importance. The leading occupation of the American people has been agriculture, yet the history of our agriculture has received little attention. With

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<sup>1</sup> His paper is printed in the present volume.

the rise of scientific agriculture, however, a distinct demand for agrarian history is arising. Agricultural economists in particular insist that such history is indispensable. Questions of agricultural statesmanship, which go to the heart of our country's life, need urgently the light of agrarian history. Yet scarcely more than a beginning has been made. Information is inadequate and often derived from interested sources. A long process of development is needed and the systematic cooperation of many workers. The work can be done only by real historians, having sympathetic understanding of agriculture and rural problems.

It remains to chronicle the conference of historical societies and the conference of archivists, the proceedings of which are printed in full in the present volume. Both of these were marked by real discussion, which had been conspicuously absent from the other sessions of the association.

The former conference was opened with a paper by the chairman, Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, on the "Chicago Historical Society, its history, its present activities, and its plans for future work." Dr. Dunbar Rowland, chairman of the conference's committee on the cooperation of historical societies and departments, reported that the work of calendaring the documents in the French archives concerning the history of the Mississippi Valley, a work which had been going on in Paris under the direction of Mr. Waldo G. Leland, was nearly completed, and would have been entirely finished but for the outbreak of war in Europe.

Prof. James A. Woodburn, of Indiana University, read a paper on "Research in State history at State universities." He held that the State could properly endow and employ its university for the promotion of the study of its history, and favored especially such activities as the collection and publication of materials, the establishment of scholarships, of research fellowships, or of historical commissions of survey to cooperate with the State historical society. Prof. Eugene C. Barker, of Texas, pointed out the important part which the work of the graduate student might have in such endeavors; Prof. Orin G. Libby, of North Dakota, the value they might incidentally have in bringing university men into contact with the larger community. Prof. Clarence W. Alvord, of Illinois, suggested a division of functions between the historical society and the university, whereby the former might devote itself to the publication of materials, the latter of monographs.

A second discussion grew out of a paper by Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee, of the Ottawa Public Library, on "Restrictions upon use of historical materials." Those who took part in the discussion were Dr. George N. Fuller, of Michigan; Dr. Milo M. Quaife, of Wisconsin; Mr. Victor H. Paltsits, of the New York Public Library;

Prof. Alvord, of Illinois; and the secretary of the conference, Dr. Solon J. Buck, of the Minnesota Historical Society. The prevailing opinion was in favor of the greatest possible liberality. Dr. Quaife spoke of the inexpediency of lending manuscripts; Mr. Paltsits, of the allowable distinctions in treatment, between archival materials and historical papers of private origin.

The conference of archivists, eminently helpful and practical, was attended by about 50 persons. The chairman, Mr. Paltsits, presented a summary report of the Public Archives Commission for 1914. More than two hours were devoted to the consideration of practical problems of archival economy. President Charles H. Rammelkamp, of Illinois College, in a paper on "Legislation for archives," dealt with the fundamental laws that are necessary for the archivist and for the preservation of archives, and reviewed legislation enacted in the various States since 1901. A discussion followed, by Mr. George S. Godard, of Connecticut; Prof. Harlow Lindley, of Indiana; Mr. Ernest W. Winkler, of Texas; Mr. James I. Wyer, jr., of New York; Mr. Edgar R. Harlan, of Iowa; Mr. Leland; and the chairman. A practical paper, illustrated by diagrams, on the "Principles of classification for archives," was presented by Miss Ethel B. Virtue, of the historical department of Iowa. She upheld the principle of origin, with *respect des fonds*, and demonstrated its application in the classification of the archives of Iowa. This subject was discussed by Mr. Lindley, Mr. Godard, and others, with a virtual unanimity for the system propounded. Mr. Leland spoke informally on "Cataloguing of archives," defining the different kinds of catalogues that should obtain. He distinguished sharply between historical manuscripts and archives, and pointed out that rules for cataloguing the former do not apply to the latter; and also showed the differences between catalogues for official purposes and those for historical purposes, the former varying greatly according to the material, the latter best consisting in a succession of catalogues, beginning with the checklist or *état sommaire*, continuing in the more detailed descriptive catalogue or *inventaire analytique*, and culminating in the calendar.

**PROGRAM OF THE THIRTIETH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, HELD IN CHICAGO, DECEMBER 29-31, 1914.**

*Tuesday, December 29.*

9 a. m.: South room, parlor floor. Meeting of the council.

10.30 a. m.: Assembly room, Fine Arts Building. Ancient history. Chairman, Prof. A. T. Olmstead. Robert W. Rogers, Drew Theological Seminary: "Fresh light upon the history of the earliest Assyrian period." William L. Westermann, University of Wisconsin; "The medievalist and the decline of ancient culture." W. D. Gray, Smith College: "Hadrian and his reign."

Wallace E. Caldwell, fellow in ancient history in Columbia University: "The Greek attitude toward peace and war."

10.30 a. m.: South room, ninth floor. Medieval England. Chairman, Prof. Albert B. White. Bertha H. Putnam, Mount Holyoke College: "Maximum wage laws for priests after the black death." James F. Baldwin, Vassar College: "Historic cases before the king's council." James F. Willard, University of Colorado: "A reform of the exchequer under Edward I." Norman H. Trenholme, University of Missouri: "Municipal aspects of the rising of 1381 in England."

1 p. m.: Ninth floor. Luncheon to members of the American Historical Association.

2 p. m.: Assembly room, Fine Arts Building. American history. Chairman, President Andrew C. McLaughlin. Max Farrand, Yale University: "One hundred years ago." St. George L. Sioussat, Vanderbilt University: "Tennessee and national political parties, 1850-1860." Henry Barrett Learned, Washington, D. C.: "Cabinet meetings under Polk." Alfred Holt Stone, Dunleith, Miss.: "The factorage system of the Southern States."

2 p. m.: South room, ninth floor. Napoleonic Europe. Chairman, Prof. William E. Lingelbach. Henry E. Bourne, Western Reserve University: "The men who helped to make the Napoleonic régime." R. M. Johnston, Harvard University: "An approach to a study of Napoleon's generalship." Victor Coffin, University of Wisconsin: "The senate of the First Empire." Guy Stanton Ford, University of Minnesota: "Boyer's military law."

8.15 p. m.: Fullerton Hall, the Art Institute of Chicago. Presidential address. Charles L. Hutchinson, chairman of local committee of arrangements: Address of welcome. A. C. McLaughlin, president of the American Historical Association: "American history and American democracy."

Reception. The Art Institute of Chicago.

### *Wednesday, December 30.*

9 a. m.: South room, parlor floor. Meeting of the council.

9 a. m.: Meeting of committees (at call of chairman).

10.30 a. m.: South room, ninth floor. Modern England. Chairman, Prof. Edward P. Cheyney. Edward R. Turner, University of Michigan: "The Privy Council of 1679." Henry R. Shipman, Princeton University: "The House of Commons and disputed elections." Herbert C. Bell, Bowdoin College: "British commercial policy in the West Indies, 1783-1793." Clarence C. Crawford, University of Kansas: "The suspension of the habeas corpus act and the Revolution of 1689."

10.30 a. m.: Assembly room, Fine Arts Building. Europe and the Orient. Chairman, Prof. Dana C. Munro. Frederic Duncalf, University of Texas: "Some effects of oriental environment in the Kingdom of Jerusalem." Albert H. Lybyer, University of Illinois: "The influence of the rise of the Ottoman Turks upon the routes of oriental trade." Theodore F. Jones, New York University: "The Turco-Venetian treaty of 1540." Robert H. Lord, Harvard University: "The winning of the Amur: A chapter in the history of Russo-Chinese relations."

1 p. m.: Ninth floor. Luncheon.

2 p. m.: Assembly room, Fine Arts Building. Annual meeting.

8.30 p. m.: Fullerton Hall, the Art Institute of Chicago. General history. Chairman, President Andrew C. McLaughlin. Frederick Jackson Turner, Harvard University: "The significance of sectionalism in American history."

Charles W. Colby, McGill University: "The earlier relations of England and Belgium." James Henry Breasted, University of Chicago: "The eastern Mediterranean and the earliest civilization in Europe." Samuel N. Harper, formerly lecturer in Russian history and institutions in University of Liverpool: "The Russian Nationalists."

10 p. m.: The University Club. Smoker.

*Thursday, December 31.*

10.30 a. m.: South room, ninth floor. Conference. Chairman, Prof. H. Morse Stephens. George M. Dutcher, Wesleyan University: "Tendencies and opportunities in Napoleonic studies." Discussion by Victor Coffin, Guy Stanton Ford, R. M. Johnston, and Frank E. Melvin.

10.30 a. m.: Assembly room, Fine Arts Building. Medieval history. Chairman, Prof. George L. Burr. Earle W. Dow, University of Michigan: "Roger Bacon, 1214-1914." William E. Lunt, Cornell University: "Papal finance and royal diplomacy in the thirteenth century: An episode." A. Edward Harvey, University of Chicago: "Economic self-interest in the German anticlericalism of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries." Edgar H. McNeal, Ohio State University: "The feudal noble and the church as reflected in the poems of Chretien de Troyes."

10.30 a. m.: South room, parlor floor. Conference of historical societies. Chairman, Dr. Otto L. Schmidt. Dr. Otto L. Schmidt: "The Chicago Historical Society." Report of the secretary, Solon J. Buck, Minnesota Historical Society. Report of the committee on cooperation of historical departments and societies, Dunbar Rowland, Mississippi department of archives and history. James A. Woodburn, Indiana University: "Research in State history at State universities." Discussion by E. C. Barker, University of Texas; Orin G. Libby, University of North Dakota; and C. W. Alvord, University of Illinois. Lawrence J. Burpee, Ottawa, Canada: "Restrictions on the use of historical materials." Discussion by George N. Fuller, Ann Arbor, Mich.; M. M. Quaife, Wisconsin Historical Society; Victor H. Paltsits, New York Public Library.

1 p. m.: Ninth floor. Luncheon.

2 p. m.: South room, ninth floor. The archivists. Chairman, Victor H. Paltsits. Annual report of the public archives commission. Charles H. Rammelkamp, Illinois College: "Legislation for archives." Discussion opened by Thomas M. Owen, director of the department of history and archives of Alabama. Ethel B. Virtue, historical department of Iowa: "Principles of classification for archives." Discussion by Harlow Lindley, director of the Indiana department of history and archives; George S. Godard, State librarian of Connecticut, followed by a general discussion. Waldo G. Leland, secretary of the American Historical Association: "Cataloguing of archives." (The conference will be organized as a round table for the discussion of the above topics, and a cordial invitation is extended to all persons who can contribute information thereon to participate.)

2 p. m.: North room, ninth floor. Joint session with Mississippi Valley Historical Association. Chairman, I. J. Cox, president of Mississippi Valley Historical Association. R. B. Way, Beloit College: "English relations in the Northwest, 1789-1794." W. J. Trimble, North Dakota Agricultural College: "The agrarian history of the United States as a subject for research." Discussion: "The genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska act." (See article by Prof. F. H. Hodder in *Proceedings of Wisconsin Historical Society*, 1912, pp. 69-86.) Discussion: Led by Frank H. Hodder, University of Kansas, and P. Orman Ray, Trinity

College, to be followed by James A. Woodburn, Mrs. Lois Kimball Mathews, St. George L. Sioussat, Jonas Viles, and H. N. Sherwood. Volunteers are invited to take part in the discussion and will be furnished with a résumé of the points the leaders intend to present. Address the chairman, Prof. I. J. Cox, University of Cincinnati.

#### GENERAL INFORMATION.

Monday, December 28, at 6.30 p. m. Informal dinner of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association.

Tuesday, December 29, at 1 p. m. Auditorium Hotel. Luncheon to members of the American Historical Association.

Tuesday, December 29, at 6 p. m. There will be an informal dinner for women members at the Stratford Hotel, Michigan Avenue and Jackson Boulevard.

Tuesday, December 29, at 9 p. m. Reception, the Art Institute of Chicago, Michigan Boulevard and Adams Street.

Wednesday, December 30, 4 to 6 p. m. The Chicago College Club will give a tea for all members of the American Historical Association in their new rooms, Stevens Building, 16 North Wabash Avenue.

Wednesday, December 30, at 10 p. m. Smoker, the University Club, corner Michigan Boulevard and Monroe Street.

Through the courtesy of the Caxton Club of Chicago and the Chicago Literary Club their rooms are open to members of the American Historical Association during the sessions. These rooms are on the tenth floor of the Fine Arts Building and immediately connect with the Auditorium Hotel, where the meetings will be held, through the assembly room of the Fine Arts Building, which will also be used for meetings.

The Newberry Library (North Clark Street and Walton Place) will have a special exhibit of rare Americana from the Edward E. Ayer collection. Exhibit open 9 a. m. to 5 p. m.

The Chicago Historical Society is located at the corner of North Dearborn and Ontario Streets. "Through-route" cars Nos. 1 and 2, going north on Wabash Avenue, pass close to it.

*Committee on program for the thirtieth annual meeting.*—James Westfall Thompson, chairman; Evarts B. Greene, William E. Lingelbach, Charles H. McIlwain, Albert T. Olmstead, Frederic L. Paxson.

*Committee on local arrangements.*—Charles L. Hutchinson, chairman; James A. James, secretary; Edward E. Ayer, Abram W. Harris, Edmund J. James, Harry Pratt Judson, Otto L. Schmidt.

*Committee on entertainment.*—Edward E. Ayer, Henry Bartholomay, Adolphus C. Bartlett, Augustus C. Becker, Edward T. Blair, Watson F. Blair, Clarence A. Burley, William H. Bush, Edward B. Butler, Henry M. Byllesby, Clyde M. Carr, Charles H. Conover, Charles R. Crane, Charles G. Dawes, William F. Dummer, John V. Farwell, Eugene H. Fishburn, Edwin G. Foreman, John J. Glessner, William O. Goodman, Charles F. Gunther, Ernest A. Hamill, Abram W. Harris, Frederick T. Haskell, Charles L. Hutchinson, Edmund J. James, James A. James, Harry Pratt Judson, Frank G. Logan, Cyrus H. McCormick, Albert F. Madlener, Levy Mayer, George Merryweather, Seymour Morris, Joy Morton, Henry J. Patten, John Barton Payne, Julius Rosenwald, Harry Rubens, Edward L. Ryerson, Martin A. Ryerson, Otto L. Schmidt, Howard Van Doren Shaw, Orson Smith, Solomon A. Smith, John A. Spoor, Albert A. Sprague, Albert A. Sprague, II, Charles H. Wacker, Ezra Warner, jr.



REGISTER OF ATTENDANCE AT THE THIRTIETH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, CHICAGO, ILL., DECEMBER 29-31, 1914.

A.	C.	E.
Abbott, Edith.	Caldwell, H. W.	Ellery, Eloise.
Adams, Victoria A.	Caldwell, W. E.	Elson, Henry W.
Allen, Fredonia (Miss).	Callahan, Jas. M.	Emerton, Ephraim.
Allen, Lucille.	Campbell, Mrs. Jas. H.	
Alvord, Clarence W.	Carpenter, Allen H.	F.
Ambler, Chas. H.	Carson, W. W.	Farr, Shirley.
Anderson, D. R.	Carter, Clarence E.	Farrand, Max.
Anderson, Frank M.	Chadwick, R. D.	Faust, Charles J.
Appleton, W. W.	Chase, Wayland J.	Fay, Sidney B.
Ayer, Edward E.	Cheyney, Edward P.	Fair, Eugene.
Aylsworth, Leon E.	Christie, Francis A.	Fish, Carl R.
	Christophelsmeier, Carl.	Fling, Fred M.
B.	Church, Frederic C.	Flippin, Percy S.
Bacot, D. H.	Clark, Dan E.	Ford, Amelia C.
Baker, John W.	Clark, H. C.	Ford, Guy S.
Balch, E. A.	Cleveland, Cath. C.	Foster, Henry A.
Baldwin, Jas. F.	Coffin, Victor.	Foster, H. D.
Barbour, Violet.	Cole, Arthur C.	Fox, Leonard P.
Barker, E. C.	Colgate, Lathrop.	Freese, L. J.
Barnes, Elizabeth.	Conger, Capt. A. L.	Fuller, George N.
Barton, Alvin L.	Conger, J. L.	
Bassett, J. S.	Connelley, Wm. E.	G.
Bayse, A. H.	Conslanza, Sister Mary.	Garrard, Beulah M.
Baum, H. M.	Coolidge, A. C.	Garrett, Mitchell B.
Becker, Carl.	Cox, Isaac J.	George, Robert H.
Becker, Lucia.	Crawford, C. C.	Gipson, Lawrence H.
Bell, Herbert C.	Cribbs, G. A.	Godard, George S.
Bement, Clarence E.	Crofts, F. S.	Gould, Clarence P.
Benton, Geo. W.	Cross, Arthur L.	Graper, Elmer D.
Bestor, Arthur E.	Crouch, Flora A.	Gray, William D.
Blews, R. R.	Crowther, Elizabeth.	Greene, Evarts B.
Bliss, W. F.	Custer, John S.	Griffith, Elmer C.
Boak, A. E. R.		Gronert, Theo. G.
Bogardus, F. S.	D.	Grove, Mrs. Nettie T.
Bond, Beverley W.		Guilday, Rev. Peter.
Boucher, C. S.	Dale, H. C.	H.
Bowerman, Geo. F.	David, C. W.	Hallinan, Marie A.
Bramhall, Edith C.	Davies, G. C.	Harding, Samuel B.
Breasted, J. H.	Davis, Sarah W.	Harper, Samuel N.
Bretz, J. C.	Davis, William S.	Harris, Thomas L.
Brewer, Helen R.	Dickerson, Oliver M.	Harris, Wilmer C.
Brigham, Clarence S.	Dow, E. W.	Harvey, Harriet A.
Brush, Elizabeth P.	Dowell, E. S.	Haynes, F. E.
Buck, Solon J.	Duncalf, Frederic.	Hearon, Cleo.
Bucks, Olive.	Dutton, Charlotte R.	Heckel, A. K.
Bullock, Mary.	Duncan, D. Shaw.	Henshaw, Lesley.
Burr, Geo. L.	Dunnington, L. L.	
Byrne, E. H.	Dutcher, George M.	

Hershey, Amos S.  
 Hicks, J. D.  
 Hockett, Homer C.  
 Hodder, F. H.  
 Holt, Harris.  
 Hollinbeck, F. J.  
 Hubbard, H. C.  
 Hudson, I. R.  
 Hulbert, A. B.  
 Hull, C. H.  
 Hunter, W. C.  
 Hyde, A. M.

## I.

Ilmonen, Rev. Solomon.

## J.

James, A. P.  
 James, James A.  
 Jameson, J. Franklin.  
 Jenks, W. L.  
 Jernegan, Marcus W.  
 Johnson, Anna N.  
 Johnson, Winifred.  
 Johnston, R. M.  
 Jones, Guernsey.  
 Jones, Theodore F.  
 Jordan, Medora.

## K.

Kellar, Herbert A.  
 Kellogg, Louise P.  
 Kerner, Robert J.  
 Kile, Jessie J.  
 Kingsbury, Joseph L.  
 Klingenhagen, Anna W.  
 Kohlmeier, Albert L.  
 Krey, A. C.

## L.

Larson, Laurence M.  
 Lawrence, Matthew.  
 Learned, Henry B.  
 Lee, Judson F.  
 Leland, Waldo G.  
 Lilly, Faith R.  
 Lingelbach, William E.  
 Lindley, Harlow.  
 Lingley, Charles R.  
 Locke, George H.

Lord, Robert H.  
 Lough, Susan M.  
 Lunt, W. E.  
 Lybyer, Albert H.

## M.

MacDonald, P. W.  
 McDonald, J. G.  
 McElroy, Robert McN.  
 McGregor, J. C.  
 McIlwain, C. H.  
 McLaughlin, A. C.  
 McLean, Ross H.  
 McMahon, Edw.  
 McMurry, D. L.  
 McNeal, E. H.  
 Mace, W. H.  
 Maltby, Martha.  
 Marsh, Frank B.  
 Martin, A. E.  
 Mary Eva, Sister.  
 Mathews, Mrs. Lois K.  
 Maurer, Robert A.  
 Merk, Frederick.  
 Meyerholz, Charles H.  
 Midkiff, J. E.  
 Mitchell, Margaret J.  
 Moore, Charles.  
 Moore, David R.  
 Moran, Thomas F.  
 Morrison, Worthington.  
 Morse, A. E.  
 Munro, Dana C.  
 Myers, Irene T.

## N.

Newkirk, Chauncey F.  
 Northcutt, C. L.  
 Norton, William J.  
 Norwood, J. Nelson.  
 Nussbaum, Frederick L.  
 Nutt, H. D.

## O.

O'Brien, Rt. Rev. Msgr.  
 Ogg, Frederic A.  
 Oldfather, W. A.  
 Oliver, J. W.  
 Olmstead, Albert T.  
 Otterson, Andrew.

## P.

Page, Edward C.  
 Paine, Clarence S.  
 Palmer, Herriott C.  
 Paltsits, Victor H.  
 Parker, Martha.  
 Patten, Henry J.  
 Paxson, Frederic L.  
 Pearce, Elizabeth G.  
 Pease, Theodore C.  
 Peck, Paul.  
 Peine, Arthur F.  
 Pelzer, Louis.  
 Pence, Given J.  
 Perkins, Clarence.  
 Peterson, Conrad.  
 Petrie, George.  
 Payne, Charles E.  
 Pletcher, Nuba M.  
 Plum, H. G.  
 Pooley, William E.  
 Porter, Susan M.  
 Pray, Carl E.  
 Price, Ralph R.  
 Puckett, Erastus P.  
 Putnam, Bertha H.  
 Putnam, Mary B.

## Q.

Quaife, Milo.

## R.

Rammelkamp, Charles H.  
 Ramsdell, Charles W.  
 Randall, James G.  
 Rawl, Ruby E.  
 Raymond, Mary.  
 Read, Conyers.  
 Redstone, Edw. H.  
 Reeves, Jesse S.  
 Reilly, Drusilla M.  
 Richardson, E. C.  
 Rice, Sarah F.  
 Riggs, Sara M.  
 Riker, T. W.  
 Robertson, James R.  
 Robertson, W. S.  
 Robinson, Chalfont.  
 Robinson, James H.  
 Robinson, Morgan P.  
 Rogers, Robert W.

Roll, Charles.	Stancliff, Henry C.	W.
Root, W. T.	Stephens, F. F.	
Rowland, Dunbar.	Stephens, H. Morse.	Walker, Curtis H.
	Stephenson, George M.	Ward, Estelle F.
S.	Stephenson, Oie W.	Warner, Clarence M.
Sampson, F. A.	Stevens, Wayne C.	Warner, Mrs. Clarence M.
Sanborn, John B.	Steward, Theophilus G.	Way, Royal B.
Sanford, Albert H.	Stone, Alfred H.	Weeks, Mabel C.
Scherger, George L.	Stone, Mary H.	Wells, Emma L.
Schlesinger, Arthur M.	Sweet, William H.	Wells, Florence A.
Scott, Arthur P.		Westermann, Wm. L.
Scott, Nancy E.	T.	White, Albert B.
Sears, Louis M.	Terry, Benj. S.	White, Fred C.
Sell, Martha E.	Thomas, S. E.	White, Mrs. Henry A.
Sellery, G. C.	Thompson, Jas. Westfall.	White, Laura A.
Severance, Allen D.	Thorstenberg, Herman J.	Whittlesey, D. S.
Severance, Frank H.	Trevvett, Lily F.	Wilcox, Jennie A.
Shearer, Augustus H.	Trimble, W. J.	Willard, James F.
Shepard, Walter J.	Trenholme, N. M.	Williams, Oscar H.
Shepardson, Francis W.	Fryon, R. M.	Williamson, Oliver R.
Sherwood, H. N.	Turner, E. R.	Wilson, Jean W.
Shilling, D. C.	Turner, Frederick J.	Wing, Herbert J.
Shipman, Henry R.	Turner, Leona L.	Winkler, Ernest W.
Shoemaker, Floyd C.		Winston, Jas. Edw.
Shortridge, Wilson P.	U.	Woodburn, Jas. A.
Shultes, Florence.	Ulrich, Laura F.	Wrench, Jesse.
Sioussat, Mrs. Albert.	Updike, Mrs. Audrey.	Wyckoff, Chas. T.
Sioussat, St. George L.	Upham, Warren.	
Slocum, Percy W.	Utley, Geo. B.	Y.
Smith, C. A.		
Smith, Ernest A.	V.	Young, Gertrude S.
Smith, Justin H.		Yule, La Maude.
Snodgrass, Margaret.	Van Cleve, T. C.	
Spaulding, Capt. O. L., jr.	Van Tyne, C. H.	Z.
Spencer, Henry R.	Vincent, J. M.	
Staadeker, Jennie M.	Violette, E. M.	Zeligzon, Maurice.

**MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, HELD IN THE ASSEMBLY ROOM OF THE FINE ARTS BUILDING, CHICAGO, ILL., DECEMBER 30, 1914.**

The meeting was called to order at 2.15 p. m., President Andrew C. McLaughlin presiding.

The secretary of the association presented his annual report, which showed the present membership of the association to be 2,913, as against 2,843 in December, 1913. The total loss during the year was stated as 205, the total gain as 275, the net gain as 70.

The annual report of the treasurer of the association was read by Mr. Samuel B. Harding, chairman of the auditing committee. The total receipts of the association for the year were shown to have been \$12,469.24, the total disbursements \$12,980.52, an excess of \$511.26 over the receipts. The total assets of the

association were stated to amount to \$26,797.48, a decrease during the year of \$485.64. The amount of cash on hand was stated as \$2,382.96.

The report of the auditing committee, Messrs. S. B. Harding and C. H. Rammelkamp, was presented by Mr. Harding, who stated that the report of the treasurer had been examined and found correct.

An informal report for the Pacific coast branch was presented by Mr. H. Morse Stephens. The branch has held two meetings during the year, a special meeting at Seattle on May 21-23, and the eleventh annual meeting at San Francisco on November 27-28. The present membership of the branch is 276; its expenditures during the year have been \$72.24.

Mr. Stephens presented the following resolution, adopted by the Pacific coast branch at its annual business meeting on November 28:

*Resolved*, That we express our satisfaction that the parent association is to hold its meeting in San Francisco in 1915, and pledge our hearty cooperation in making the meeting a pleasure and a success.

WM. A. MORRIS, *Secretary*.

Mr. Stephens then made brief remarks respecting the special meeting of the association to be held in San Francisco in July, 1915, and outlined the proposed program of sessions and entertainment.

In the absence of the chairman of the historical manuscripts commission the secretary of the council stated that the commission had nearly ready for the printer the report of 1913, being the papers of James Asheton Bayard, of Delaware, and that the report of 1914 would consist of the correspondence of R. M. T. Hunter, of Virginia, edited by Mr. Charles H. Ambler.

An informal report from the public archives commission was presented by its chairman, Mr. Victor H. Paltsits, who indicated briefly what had been done by the commission and referred for a more complete account to the full report to be published in the annual report of the association for 1914.

The chairman of the advisory committee on the publication of the archives of the American Revolution being absent, the president made a short statement respecting the progress made by the National Government in the examination and cataloguing of the Revolutionary archives of the original States.

For the board of editors of the *American Historical Review*, the temporary chairman, Mr. Edward P. Cheyney, made an informal report, announcing the gift to the association by the Review of \$300, and the creation of a new department of "Notes and suggestions," to appear for the first time in the issue of the Review of January, 1915.

A report from the advisory board of editors of the *History Teacher's Magazine* was read by the secretary of the council.

The report of the committee on publications was presented by its chairman, Mr. Max Farrand.

The report of the committee on bibliography was presented by its chairman, Mr. Ernest C. Richardson.

The report of the committee on a bibliography of modern English history was read by Mr. Edward P. Cheyney, chairman of the committee.

Mr. J. Franklin Jameson, general editor of the series of *Original Narratives of Early American History*, reported that the sixteenth volume of the series, containing the narratives relating to witchcraft and edited by Mr. George L. Burr, had been published in the spring. The seventeenth volume containing narratives of the insurrections of about 1688, will appear in the spring of 1915. The eighteenth and nineteenth volumes are to contain narratives of the early Southwest and of the early Northwest.

An informal report was made for the general committee by its chairman, Mr. Frederic L. Paxson. He stated that the efforts of the committee to increase the membership of the association had been centered upon the North Central States, especially upon the region about Chicago. It was recommended that the work of 1915 be carried on mainly in the Central Atlantic States and in the region about Washington.

On behalf of the committee on military and naval history the secretary stated that no report was presented for the current year.

Capt. Arthur L. Conger, chairman of the committee on the military history prize, announced that no award had as yet been made.

For the committee on the Justin Winsor prize, the chairman, Mr. Claude H. Van Tyne, announced that nine essays had been submitted during the year and that the committee had voted to award the Justin Winsor prize for 1914 to Mary Wilhelmine Williams for her essay entitled "Anglo-American Isthmian Diplomacy, 1815-1915."

The secretary of the council reported the following recommendations from the executive council:

- (1) That the meeting of 1916 be held in Cincinnati.
- (2) That a committee of nine be appointed to consider the constitution, organization, and procedure of the association, with instructions to report at the annual meeting of 1915.
- (3) That the committee of nine, in the event of its appointment, be instructed to consider the relationship between the association and the American Historical Review.
- (4) That there be established a standing committee on history in schools.
- (5) That the association continue to support the History Teacher's Magazine for two years more by an annual grant of \$400, the grant to be contingent upon the raising of additional funds to the annual amount of \$600.
- (6) That the association adopt the following rule relating to the payment of annual dues:

"The annual dues for the ensuing 12 months are payable on September 1. Publications will not be sent to members whose dues remain unpaid after October 15. Members whose dues remain unpaid on March 1 shall be dropped from the roll of the association."

Upon motion by Mr. Dunbar Rowland it was voted to adopt the recommendation of the executive council that the annual meeting of 1916 be held in Cincinnati.

Mr. Rowland moved to substitute for the recommendation of the executive council the following resolution:

*Be it resolved by the American Historical Association, in annual meeting assembled, as follows:*

First. That a special committee of 13 members be appointed by the American Historical Association, at this meeting, to consider the constitution, organization, government, finances, and general procedure of the association, the appointment of all committees and boards, and the ownership, control, publication, and methods of the American Historical Review.

Second. That this committee be, and is hereby, instructed to submit to the association, at the regular annual meeting of 1915, a plan by which the activities, control, and government of the association may be made more liberal and more responsive to the needs of the rapidly increasing membership of the association.

Third. That the committee charged with the above duties be, and is, instructed to send a printed copy of its report to all members of the association not later than December 1, 1915.

The point of order being raised that the constitution does not confer upon the association the right to appoint committees, the president ruled that the

meeting was competent to take such action in the present matter as it might see fit.

Mr. Rowland's motion not being seconded, Mr. Van Tyne moved, and it was seconded, that the recommendation of the executive council be adopted.

Notice was given by Mr. Frederic L. Paxson that in the event of Mr. Van Tyne's motion being carried he should move that the appointment of the committee of nine be delegated to the present committee on nominations.

Mr. Rowland renewed his motion and asked that it be voted on first. It being seconded, and put to vote, the noes appeared to have it. A rising vote being demanded the vote stood 31 in favor of the motion and 88 opposed, and so the motion was lost.

Mr. Clarence W. Alvord asked for and obtained unanimous consent to the amendment of Mr. Van Tyne's motion to include the recommendation of the executive council that the committee of nine be instructed to consider the relationship between the association and the American Historical Review.

The motion was then put, as follows:

*Resolved*, That a committee of nine be appointed to consider the constitution, organization, and procedure of the association and the relationship between the association and the American Historical Review, and that the committee be instructed to present a report at the annual meeting of 1915.

The vote being taken, all voting voted "aye"—there were no "noes"—and the motion was declared carried.

Mr. Paxson moved and it was seconded that the appointment of the committee of nine be delegated to the present committee on nominations, subject to confirmation by the association.

Mr. Max Farrand inquired whether the committee on nominations had given consideration to the appointments that it was proposed to delegate to them and were prepared to report on them at this session. Mr. Charles H. Hull, chairman of the committee, said that they had not; they had not regarded the committee of nine as being in any way their concern. Only three members of the nominating committee were now in Chicago. Without having opportunity for consulting them he assumed that they would undertake any task that the association might see fit to lay upon them, but he judged that it would be impossible to prepare a report before the adjournment of the present meeting.

Mr. Guy S. Ford moved, and it was seconded, that Mr. Paxson's motion be amended to substitute Messrs. Rowland and Frederick J. Turner for the two absent members of the committee on nominations.

Upon motion by Mr. George C. Sellery it was voted that when the present meeting should adjourn it should adjourn to meet in the same place at 9 a. m. the following day.

The amendment offered by Mr. Ford being put, it was carried, there being no votes in the negative.

Mr. Paxson's motion, as amended, was read as follows:

*Resolved*, That Messrs. Hull and Dutcher and Mrs. Mathews, the three members of the committee on nominations, together with Messrs. Rowland and F. J. Turner constitute a special committee to appoint, subject to confirmation by the association, the members of the committee of nine.

The question being put, all voting voted "aye"—there were no "noes"—and the motion was declared carried.

It was moved and voted to adopt the recommendation of the executive council for the establishment of a standing committee on history in schools.

It was moved and voted to adopt the recommendation of the executive council respecting the continuance of support to the History Teacher's Magazine.

It was moved and voted to adopt the rule relative to the payment of annual dues as recommended by the executive council.

The following estimate of receipts and expenditures, constituting the budget of the association for 1915, as voted by the executive council, was read by the secretary:

**Estimated receipts:**

Annual dues.....	\$8,550
Investments.....	1,100
Royalties.....	180
Sale of publications.....	670
Grant by American Historical Review.....	300
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>10,800</b>
<b>Deduct.....</b>	<b>575</b>
Unforeseen shrinkage.....	\$200
Held in trust for military history prize.....	250
Held in trust for bibliography of modern English history.....	125
<b>Available for appropriation.....</b>	<b>10,225</b>

**Estimated expenditures:**

<b>Administration expenses.....</b>	<b>\$2,850</b>
Offices of secretary and treasurer.....	\$1,500
Office of secretary of council.....	50
Pacific coast branch.....	75
Expenses of executive council.....	300
Thirtieth annual meeting.....	175
Thirty-first annual meeting.....	150
Miscellaneous.....	100
<b>Publishing activities.....</b>	<b>1,443</b>
General index of papers and reports.....	400
Index of current annual reports.....	100
Committee on publications.....	643
Editorial services.....	300
<b>American Historical Review.....</b>	<b>4,600</b>
<b>Standing committees.....</b>	<b>450</b>
Public archives commission.....	150
Historical manuscripts commission.....	50
Committee on bibliography.....	100
General committee.....	100
Conference of historical societies.....	50
<b>Prizes.....</b>	<b>225</b>
Herbert Baxter Adams prize for 1913.....	200
Expenses of Adams prize committee 1915.....	25
<b>Subsidies.....</b>	<b>600</b>
Writings on American history.....	200
History Teacher's Magazine.....	400
<b>Headquarters in London.....</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>9,768</b>
<b>Estimated surplus.....</b>	<b>457</b>

The elections and appointments to boards, committees, and commissions, as concluded by the executive council, were read by the secretary of the council as follows [\* stars indicate new assignments]:

Board of editors of the American Historical Review: James H. Robinson, reelected for the term of 1915-1920; Carl L. Becker,\* elected for the unexpired term, 1915-1918, of Andrew C. McLaughlin, resigned.

Historical manuscripts commission: Gaillard Hunt,\* C. H. Ambler,\* Archer B. Hulbert, Herbert E. Bolton, W. O. Scroggs, Justin H. Smith.\*

Public archives commission: Victor H. Paltsits, C. W. Alvord,\* C. M. Andrews, S. J. Buck,\* George S. Godard,\* Thomas M. Owen,\* A. S. Salley, jr.

Committee on bibliography: Ernest C. Richardson, Walter Lichtenstein, W. W. Rockwell,\* W. A. Slade,\* B. C. Steiner, F. J. Teggart.

Committee on publications (ex officio with exception of the chairman): Max Farrand, C. R. Fish,\* Gaillard Hunt,\* J. F. Jameson, L. M. Larson,\* Ernest C. Richardson, Victor H. Paltsits, and the secretaries of the council and of the association.

General committee: W. E. Lingelbach,\* Annie H. Abel,\* Arthur I. Andrews, W. K. Boyd,\* J. H. Callahan,\* C. E. Carter,\* Carleton H. Hayes,\* R. M. McElroy,\* R. W. Neeser,\* E. S. Noyes,\* Louis Pelzer, Morgan P. Robinson, N. W. Stephenson,\* E. M. Violette, Clarence M. Warner,\* and the secretaries of the association and of the Pacific coast branch.

Committee on history in schools (new committee): W. S. Ferguson, Victoria A. Adams, H. E. Bourne, H. L. Cannon, Edgar Dawson, O. M. Dickerson, H. D. Foster, S. B. Harding, Margaret McGill, R. A. Maurer, James Sullivan.

Committee on military and naval history: Robert M. Johnston, Capt. A. L. Conger,\* Fred M. Fling, Charles O. Paulin, Capt. O. L. Spaulding.\*

Committee on Justin Winsor prize: C. R. Fish, G. L. Beer,\* I. J. Cox,\* Everett Kimball,\* Allen Johnson.

Committee on Herbert Baxter Adams prize: L. M. Larson, S. B. Fay,\* W. R. Shepherd, Paul Van Dyke, A. B. White.

Committee on the military history prize: Capt. A. L. Conger, Milledge L. Bonham, jr., Allen R. Boyd, F. M. Fling, A. B. Hart.

Conference of historical societies: Lyon G. Tyler,<sup>†</sup> chairman; A. H. Shearer,\* secretary.

Advisory board of editors of the History Teacher's Magazine: Henry Johnson, chairman (reelected to serve three years from Jan. 1, 1915); F. M. Fling, James Sullivan, George C. Sellery, St. George L. Sioussat (these four hold over), Anna B. Thompson\* (elected to serve three years from Jan. 1, 1915).

Committee on a bibliography of modern English history: Edward P. Cheyney, Wilbur C. Abbott,\* Arthur L. Cross, Roger B. Merriman, Conyers Read.\*

Advisory committee on the publication of the archives of the American Revolution: Maj. John Bigelow, F. E. Chadwick, Frederic Bancroft, J. F. Jameson, Justin H. Smith.

Committee on program, special meeting, San Francisco, July 21-23, 1915: Frederic L. Thompson, E. C. Barker, H. E. Bolton, Max Farrand, Joseph Schafer, A. B. Shaw, Frederick J. Teggart, Payson J. Treat, James F. Willard (all new assignments).

Committee on program, thirty-first annual meeting, Washington, 1915: C. D. Hazen, J. S. Bassett, J. F. Baldwin, C. T. Huth, R. M. Johnston, J. H. Latané, H. B. Learned, Ruth Putnam (all new assignments).

Committee on local arrangements: Herbert Putnam, Frederic Bancroft, J. B. Henderson, David J. Hill, H. B. Learned, with power to add to the membership (all new assignments).

The report of the committee on nominations, which had been printed and distributed, was presented by the chairman, Mr. Charles H. Hull, who asked that it be considered as read.

The nominations made by the committee were as follows:

For president: H. Morse Stephens.

For first vice president: George L. Burr.

For second vice president: Worthington C. Ford.

For secretary: Waldo G. Leland.

For treasurer: Clarence W. Bowen.

For curator: A. Howard Clark.

For secretary of the council: Evarts B. Greene.

For members of the executive council: Frederic Bancroft, Eugene C. Barker, Guy Stanton Ford, Charles H. Haskins, Ulrich B. Phillips, J. M. Vincent.

The president called for further nominations from the floor, but none were made. It was moved that the secretary of the association be instructed, by unanimous consent, to cast the ballot of the meeting for the candidates nominated by the committee.

Objection being made by Mr. Rowland, the president ordered that a ballot be taken, and appointed Messrs. I. J. Cox, D. R. Anderson, S. B. Harding, and Harlow Lindley to serve as tellers.

The vote having been taken, the result of the balloting was announced by the tellers as follows:

For president: H. Morse Stephens, 129 votes (elected); Dunbar Rowland, 1 vote.



For first vice president: George L. Burr, 132 votes (elected).

For second vice president: Worthington C. Ford, 124 votes (elected); E. P. Cheyney, 2 votes; Charles M. Andrews, 1 vote; Ephraim Emerton, 1 vote; F. H. Hodder, 1 vote; D. C. Munro, 1 vote.

For secretary: Waldo G. Leland, 132 votes (reelected).

For treasurer: Clarence W. Bowen, 132 votes (reelected).

For curator: A. Howard Clark, 131 votes (reelected).

For secretary of the council: Evarts B. Greene, 132 votes (reelected).

For members of the executive council (6 to be elected): Guy S. Ford, 131 votes (elected); Frederic Bancroft, 129 votes (reelected); Eugene C. Barker, 128 votes (elected); Ulrich B. Phillips, 125 votes (elected); J. M. Vincent, 125 votes (reelected); Charles H. Haskins, 121 votes (reelected); James A. James, 4 votes; Dunbar Rowland, 4 votes; S. B. Harding, 3 votes; G. C. Sellery, 2 votes; H. E. Bourne, 1 vote; A. C. Coolidge, 1 vote; I. J. Cox, 1 vote; W. E. Dodd, 1 vote; Earle W. Dow, 1 vote; Ephraim Emerton, 1 vote; S. B. Fay, 1 vote; Carl R. Fish, 1 vote; C. D. Hazen, 1 vote; J. H. Latané, 1 vote; Charles McIlwain, 1 vote; B. F. Shambaugh, 1 vote; J. W. Thompson, 1 vote; C. H. Van Tyne, 1 vote; J. F. Willard, 1 vote.

The committee on resolutions, Messrs. C. R. Fish, G. S. Ford, and Charles W. Ramsdell, offered the following resolutions, which were adopted:

The American Historical Association expresses its grief and sense of loss at the death of Alfred Thayer Mahan, rear admiral of the United States Navy and ex-president of this association.

By the publication, extending over the years 1883 to 1914, of a series of studies of naval history, he revolutionized the views of that subject held not only in this country but in the world. Secure in an unsurpassed knowledge of this difficult and intricate field, he extended his vision to the bases upon which naval power rests and to the relations of naval power to colonies, commerce, and national safety. The profundity of his views and the lucidity of his reasoning attracted the attention of statesmen of all nations, and more than any American scholar of his day he has affected the course of world politics. Full of years and of honors, he closed in 1914 a career eminent for practical naval efficiency, original historical contribution, and significant influence in the history of his own time.

The American Historical Association, while enjoying a most successful meeting, wishes to thank those who have contributed to make it so. To the committee on entertainment, to the University Club of Chicago, to the College Club of Chicago, to the Caxton Club, to the Chicago Literary Club, and to the Art Institute of Chicago, special thanks are gratefully voted, and the secretary is requested to communicate the same to the authorities of the several institutions mentioned.

To the committee on local arrangements the association wishes to express its appreciation, not only for the care and attention which have required and concealed so much labor, but also for the skill with which they have so concentrated the sessions and so arranged the social functions as to allow the members to devote all their time and energies to the purposes of the meeting. The association not only wishes that its thanks may be conveyed to the committee but hopes that future meetings of the association may profit by their example.

Upon motion by Mr. Farrand it was voted that the special committee, which had been instructed to recommend the appointment of the committee of nine, should also be instructed to recommend, subject to acceptance by the association at its adjourned meeting, the appointments to the committee on nominations for 1915, one of said appointments to be from the committee on nominations for 1914.

It was moved by Mr. Alvord that a standing instruction be given to the successive committees on nominations to appoint their successors and to print these appointments, together with the nominations.

It was moved and voted that Mr. Alvord's motion be laid upon the table.

It was moved, but the motion was not seconded, that the committee on nominations be instructed to make two nominations for each office.

Upon motion by Mr. Solon J. Buck, it was voted that the printed report of the committee on nominations for 1914 be referred to the committee of nine for consideration.

Upon motion by Mr. Jameson, it was voted to instruct the committee on nominations for 1915 to follow the procedure recommended in the report of the committee on nominations for 1914, namely: (1) To invite every member of the association to express his or her preferences respecting every office to be filled by election. (2) To cause its nominations to be published in advance. (3) To prepare, for distribution to attending members upon their registration at the meeting, a printed ballot, which, in addition to the committee's nominations, shall contain such other names as may be proposed, in writing, to the chairman of the committee by 20 or more members, and which shall also provide, under each office, a blank space for voting upon such further nominations as may be individually presented on the floor of the business meeting.

The meeting then adjourned until 9 a. m. the following day.

**MINUTES OF THE ADJOURNED BUSINESS MEETING OF THE  
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, HELD IN THE ASSEMBLY  
ROOM OF THE FINE ARTS BUILDING, CHICAGO, ILL., ON DE-  
CEMBER 31, 1914.**

The meeting was called to order at 9.15 a. m. by the first vice president, Mr. H. Morse Stephens.

President McLaughlin took the chair.

Mr. Charles H. Hull, chairman of the special committee to recommend appointments to the committee of nine and to the committee on nominations for 1915, presented the following report:

*Mr. President, ladies, and gentlemen of the American Historical Association:*

To your committee, appointed yesterday afternoon, you assigned a twofold task: First, to report to you a list of persons who, if approved by you, shall constitute a committee of nine to consider the constitution, organization, and procedure of the association, and to report thereupon at the annual meeting in 1915; and second, to recommend five persons, one of them a member of this year's nominating committee, who, if approved by you, shall constitute the nominating committee for the ensuing year.

In selecting the names to be recommended for each of these lists your committee have endeavored to secure a reasonable diversity of residence and historical interest. But whereas, for the nominating committee they endeavored also to name persons not now otherwise in the service of the association as officers or committeemen, they did not consider when framing the list proposed for the special and exceptional committee of nine the general argument against pluralities to carry weight. On the contrary, your committee observing that the constitution, organization, and procedure which the committee of nine are to consider are themselves matters of a century's growth, have thought that a proper understanding of them, needful for their wise and helpful consideration, would be facilitated by constituting the committee of nine partly of persons long conversant with the affairs of the association, and have accordingly included three former presidents in the list recommended. But, being mindful also that the report to be made may well influence the procedure of the association for years to come, your committee have included in the list recommended the names of younger members of the association also.

With this explanation they submit, as recommended for the committee of nine, the names, alphabetically, of Messrs. Ephraim D. Adams, Stanford University, California; R. D. W. Connor, Historical Commission of North Carolina; Isaac J. Cox, University of Cincinnati; William A. Dunning, Columbia University, New York City; Max Farrand, Yale University, Connecticut; Andrew C. Mc-

Laughlin, University of Chicago; James Ford Rhodes, Boston, Mass.; W. T. Root, University of Wisconsin; and James Sullivan, principal of the Boys' High School, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Also for nominating committee: Mrs. Lois K. Mathews, of the University of Wisconsin, a member of this year's nominating committee; Mr. E. S. Meany, of the State University of Washington; Mr. Alfred H. Stone, of Dunleith, Miss.; President C. H. Rammelkamp, of Illinois College; Mr. Charles H. McIlwain, of Harvard University, as chairman.

It is further recommended that the committee of nine and the nominating committee be each empowered to fill such vacancies as may arise in their numbers, if any, during the year.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

CHARLES H. HULL, *Chairman*.  
G. M. DUTCHER.  
LOIS K. MATHEWS.  
DUNBAR ROWLAND.  
FREDERICK J. TURNER.

CHICAGO, December 31, 1914.

It was moved and voted that the report be adopted.

The meeting then adjourned.

WALDO G. LELAND, *Secretary*.

## REPORTS OF OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES.

### REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

*Office.*—Since January, 1913, the clerical work of the treasurer's office has been carried on in the office of the secretary. This arrangement, which was made at the suggestion of the treasurer, is in no way a consolidation of the two offices. The work of the treasurer's office is directed entirely by the treasurer; all money collected is forwarded at once to New York; the banking arrangements have not been modified in any way whatsoever, and the treasurer remains as heretofore, in entire charge, subject to the votes of the council and of the association, of the finances of the association. The arrangement was effected solely in the interests of efficiency and economy in the conduct of the association's affairs, and to avoid a useless duplication of purely clerical work. Since the arrangement has been in operation a saving of more than \$300 has been effected over the average expenses of the two offices (\$1,613.57) for the four years preceding. During 1914 the expenses have amounted to \$1,488.07 (clerical, \$1,025.95; supplies, \$462.12).

*Publications.*—The following publications have been issued by this office during the present year: Annual report, 1912, one volume; prize essay for 1912, Cole's "Whig Party in the South"; reprint of the first Adams prize essay, Muzzey's "Spiritual Franciscans." Of the annual report for 1913 the first volume is part in galley, part in page proof, and the second volume, containing the Bayard papers, is on the point of going to press. The prize essay for 1913, Miss Violet Barbour's "Earl of Arlington" is now on the press and should be issued in January or February.

*Deaths.*—In the death of Admiral Mahan, the association has suffered the loss of a former president and of one of its most eminent members. The loss to the cause of history has been not less severe. Admiral Mahan's fame was perhaps even greater abroad than in America, but by this association his great worth as a historian was no less appreciated than his endearing personal qualities.

*Membership.*—Particular attention is invited to the statistics of membership and to the conditions that they may reveal. The present (Dec. 15) total

membership of the association is 2,913, a gain over 1913 of 70. Of this total, 2,578 are annual personal members, 122 are life members, and 213 are institutional members, 127 members are delinquent for more than one year in the payment of their dues, while 610 have not paid the current dues. The total loss has been 205 (30 by death, 102 by resignation, 73 by being dropped for nonpayment of dues). The total number of new members has been 275.

The geographical distribution of membership is as follows: New England, 549; North Atlantic States, 808; South Atlantic States, 153; North Central States, 607; South Central States, 109; West Central States, 300; Pacific Coast Branch (including Rocky Mountain and Coast States) 276; Alaska and insular territories and possessions, 9; Foreign, 107.

A survey of the membership statistics of the last few years shows that from 1908 to 1910, the membership increased very rapidly (due in part, no doubt to the attractions of the anniversary celebration of 1909) from 2,318 to 2,925. There was then a falling off to 2,843, last year. This loss has now nearly been made good and there seems every reason to believe that the membership can be raised to 3,000 during the coming year. The normal annual loss at present seems to be about 250 members, the normal annual gain of new members about the same number. This annual gain, however, would be much less without the systematic efforts of the general committee. To insure an annual gain sufficient to offset the loss and bring about a small increase, every member should interest himself or herself. It is doubtless more advantageous to have a relatively permanent membership with a small annual increase than to have a much larger fluctuating membership inflated by spasmodic booms and depleted by the inevitable falling off that follows an unhealthy or an unnatural growth. To every member in attendance at the present meeting will be sent nomination blanks, and it is to be hoped that many of these will be put to use. The association is not, and it is to be presumed, does not desire to be a huge aggregation of members, whose only common interest is subscription to a periodical. On the other hand, the work of the association can best be extended, its influence increased, and its service to the cause of historical studies be most advanced, if it is strong in the number of its members who are genuinely interested in the objects for which it exists. These considerations should lead to a desire to secure new members, combined with a certain selection of those persons to whom invitations may appropriately be addressed.

Respectfully submitted.

WALDO G. LELAND, *Secretary.*

CHICAGO, December 30, 1914.

#### REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

##### RECEIPTS.

Balance Dec. 23, 1913.....	\$2, 894. 24
Annual dues:	
2,389, at \$3.....	\$7, 167. 00
2, at \$2.....	4. 00
1, at \$2.92.....	2. 92
1, at \$3.03.....	3. 03
4, at \$3.05.....	12. 20
22, at \$3.10.....	68. 20
2, at \$3.15.....	6. 30
2, at \$3.25.....	6. 50
1, at \$3.75.....	3. 75
1, at \$4.80.....	4. 80
	<hr/>
	7, 278. 70
Life memberships, 2, at \$50.....	100. 00

Rebates, American Historical Review-----	\$300.00
Income from investments:	
Mortgage loan, 6 months at 4½ and 6 months at 4½ per cent.--	875.00
American Exchange National Bank stock, 20 shares, dividends at 10 per cent-----	200.00
Royalty on Study of History in Schools-----	22.02
Royalty on Report of Committee of Eight-----	326.07
Sales of publications-----	761.50
Miscellaneous-----	105.95
Borrowed from Clarence W. Bowen-----	2,500.00
	<hr/> \$12,469.24
	<hr/> 15,363.48

## DISBURSEMENTS.

1914.

Dec. 23. Offices of secretary and treasurer:	
Postage and supplies, vouchers 2, 29, 36, 38, 40, 58, 76, 86, 87, 105, 110, 121, 129, 132, 137, 142, 151, 164-----	\$462.12
Clerical services, vouchers 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 19, 20, 35, 39, 41, 59, 60, 67, 68, 75, 77, 78, 85, 106, 107, 108, 122, 123, 130, 133, 143, 152, 165, 166, 179, 187-----	1,025.95
	<hr/> \$1,488.07
Secretary of the council, vouchers 33, 47, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 97, 147, 148, 168, 171-----	78.30
Pacific coast branch, voucher 15-----	17.15
American Historical Review, vouchers, 10, 22, 23, 48, 55, 56, 89, 95, 96, 103, 125, 126, 127, 134, 144, 158, 161-----	4,560.40
Public archives commission, vouchers 13, 44, 45, 70, 109, 114, 115-----	215.90
Historical manuscripts commission, vouchers 90, 98, 99, 100, 117, 118, 139, 156-----	195.80
Justin Winsor prize committee, vouchers 79, 94-----	182.65
Herbert B. Adams prize committee, voucher 79-----	6.65
Committee on bibliography, voucher 186-----	50.00
Committee on a bibliography of modern English history, vouchers 71, 92, 93-----	182.35
Committee on indexing papers and reports, voucher 32-----	60.00
Publication committee, vouchers 61, 83, 91, 113, 124, 145-----	1,127.72
Bibliography of Writings on American History, voucher 46-----	200.00
History Teacher's Magazine, vouchers 80, 153-----	600.00
General committee and conference of historical societies, vouchers 12, 14, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 31, 49, 50, 52, 53, 54, 69, 72, 73, 82, 101, 102, 111, 112, 119, 138, 154, 157-----	280.23
Indexing annual reports, vouchers 88, 183-----	100.00
Expenses executive council, vouchers 16, 42, 169, 170, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 180, 181, 184-----	380.17
Editorial work, vouchers 1, 37, 57, 74, 84, 104, 120, 128, 131, 141, 150, 163-----	800.00
Expenses twenty-ninth annual meeting, vouchers 9, 18, 34, 43-----	197.69
Expenses thirtieth annual meeting, vouchers 146, 159, 160, 162, 167, 172-----	129.78
Collection charges, vouchers 81, 116, 149, 182-----	15.70
Miscellaneous expenses, vouchers 11, 17, 21, 30, 51, 135, 136, 140, 155, 178, 185-----	2,611.96
	<hr/> 12,980.52
Disbursements-----	<hr/> 12,980.52
Balance cash on hand-----	<hr/> 2,382.96
	<hr/> 15,363.48
Net receipts, 1914-----	<hr/> 9,969.24
Net disbursements, 1914-----	<hr/> 10,480.52
Excess of disbursements over receipts-----	<hr/> <hr/> 511.28

## Assets of the association:

Bond and mortgage on real estate at No. 24 East Ninety-fifth Street, New York, N. Y.	\$20,000.00
Accrued interest on above from Sept. 29 to Dec. 23	214.52
20 shares American Exchange National Bank stock, at 210	4,200.00
Cash on hand	2,382.96

26,797.48

Assets, Dec. 23, 1913	27,283.12
A decrease during the year of	485.64

Respectfully submitted.

CLARENCE W. BOWEN, *Treasurer.*

WASHINGTON, December 23, 1914.

## REPORT OF THE AUDIT CO. OF NEW YORK.

CLARENCE W. BOWEN, Esq.,

*Treasurer American Historical Association,**5 East Sixty-third Street, New York City.*

DEAR SIR: Agreeably to your request, we have made an audit of the cash records of the treasurer of the American Historical Association for the period from December 20, 1913, to December 23, 1914.

The results of this audit are presented, attached hereto, in an exhibit termed: "Abstract of cash receipts and disbursements, as shown by the cash records, for the period from December 20, 1913, to December 23, 1914."

Receipted vouchers were examined for all disbursements shown and those missing for the previous year were seen by us.

We have reconciled the statement of the National Park Bank, dated December 18, 1914, and deposits made subsequent to that date, and after allowing for outstanding checks find the balance at the credit of the association to be \$2,882.96, including deposits of \$49.20 and \$102 not yet recorded in the cash book.

## We have examined—

Mortgage on 24 East Ninety-fifth Street	\$20,000.00
20 shares American Exchange National Bank stock (for which the last sale was at \$210)	4,200.00
Both in the name of the association.	
Accrued interest on mortgage to date	214.52
Cash on deposit in National Park Bank	2,382.96

Total mortgage and interest American Exchange National Bank stock and cash as above	26,797.48
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Very truly, yours,

THE AUDIT COMPANY OF NEW YORK.

A. W. DUNNING, *President.*H. I. LUNDQUIST, *Secretary.*

NEW YORK, December 23, 1914.

*Abstract of cash receipts and disbursements as shown by the cash records for the period from Dec. 20, 1913, to Dec. 23, 1914.*

## RECEIPTS.

Balance, Dec. 17, 1913	\$2,894.24
Annual Dues:	
2,389 at \$3.	\$7,167.00
2 at \$2.	4.00
1 at \$2.92	2.92
1 at \$3.03	3.03
4 at \$3.05	12.20
23 at \$3.10	68.20
2 at \$3.15	6.30
2 at \$3.25	6.50
1 at \$3.75	3.75
1 at \$4.80	4.80

7,278.70

Life memberships, 2 at \$50.....	\$100.00
Rebates, American Historical Review.....	300.00
Income from investments:	
Mortgage loan, \$20,000—	
Six months at 4½.....	\$425.00
Six months at 4½.....	450.00
	<hr/>
	875.00
American Exchange National Bank stock 20 shares, dividends at 10 per cent.....	200.00
	<hr/>
	1,075.00
Royalties:	
On Study of History in Schools.....	22.02
On Report of committee of eight.....	326.07
	<hr/>
	348.09
Sales of publications.....	761.50
Miscellaneous:	
C. H. Hayes.....	105.85
Adams Express Co., refund.....	.10
	<hr/>
	105.95
Borrowed from Clarence W. Bowen (see contra).....	2,500.00
	<hr/>
	\$12,469.24
	<hr/>
	15,363.48

## DISBURSEMENTS.

Offices of secretary and treasurer:	
Clerk hire.....	\$1,025.95
Postage and supplies.....	462.12
	<hr/>
	\$1,488.07
Secretary of the council.....	78.30
Pacific coast branch.....	17.15
American Historical Review.....	4,560.40
Public archives commission.....	215.90
Historical manuscripts commission.....	195.80
Justin Winsor prize committee.....	182.65
Herbert Baxter Adams prize committee.....	6.65
Committee on bibliography.....	50.00
Committee on bibliography of modern English history.....	182.35
Committee on indexing papers and reports.....	60.00
Publication committee.....	1,127.72
Bibliography of Writings on American History.....	200.00
History Teacher's Magazine.....	600.00
General committee and conference of historical societies.....	280.23
Indexing annual reports (1912, 1913-I).....	100.00
Expenses, executive council.....	380.17
Editorial work.....	300.00
Expenses, twenty-ninth annual meeting.....	197.69
Expenses, thirtieth annual meeting.....	129.78
Collection charges.....	15.70
Miscellaneous expenses:	
Interest on loan, C. W. Bowen.....	37.50
Auditing.....	42.86
Sundries.....	31.60
	<hr/>
	111.96
Repayment of Clarence W. Bowen loan (see contra).....	2,500.00
	<hr/>
Total payments.....	12,980.52
Balance, Dec. 23, 1914, deposited in National Park Bank.....	2,382.96
	<hr/>
	15,363.48

This exhibit is subject to the text of our report, dated December 23, 1914.

## REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF THE COUNCIL.

The council has held three meetings—the first, as usual, in New York on the Saturday after Thanksgiving, and the others on December 29 and 30. In accordance with the vote of the council on November 28 the minutes of the New York meeting have been printed, and those of December 29 were sent to the

press with a view to distribution at this meeting, but have been delayed on account of the pressure of business.

The following recommendations and announcements are reported:

1. *Annual meeting of 1916.*—The council renews its recommendation to the association that the annual meeting for 1916 be held in Cincinnati. Cordial invitations were received from the Ontario Historical Society and others proposing a meeting in Ottawa in that year, but the council did not see its way clear to reconsider its recommendation in favor of Cincinnati.

Invitations were also received from Richmond to hold a part of the meeting of 1915 in that city. The council does not, however, see its way clear to recommend the proposed division of the program between Washington and Richmond.

2. *Recommendation respecting the constitution of the association.*—This association is now holding its thirtieth annual meeting. Under the brief and simple constitution adopted 30 years ago and now in force, with slight changes, the association has achieved results of which all its members are proud. In view, however, of the great expansion in the membership and the activities of the association, which appears to justify a reconsideration of its organization and procedure, the council recommends to the association the appointment of a committee of nine to consider the constitution, organization, and procedure of the association, with instructions to report at the annual meeting of 1915.

The council also recommends that, if the committee of nine above named be appointed, its functions shall include a consideration of the relations between the American Historical Association and the American Historical Review.

3. *Committee on history in schools.*—The council has had before it a request from the college entrance examination board for a "fuller definition of the history requirement." It has also received from the Pacific coast branch and from members of the New England History Teachers' Association communications requesting some action on this subject. Meantime a report received from the present committee on the preparation of teachers of history in schools indicates that not much progress may be expected in the work of that committee in the near future. The council has therefore voted to recommend to the association the establishment, in place of the present committee on the preparation of teachers of history in schools, of a standing committee on history in schools, to which may be referred from time to time such questions as may involve the interests of historical teaching in schools, and in particular the above-mentioned request of the college entrance examination board.

4. *The History Teacher's Magazine.*—The advisory board of the History Teacher's Magazine having made a statement indicating the need of further financial assistance from the association, the council has voted to recommend to the association that an appropriation of \$400 per annum for two years be made to the History Teacher's Magazine, conditional upon the raising of an additional guaranty fund of \$600, continuing in other respects the arrangement adopted by this association in December, 1911.

5. *Payment of dues.*—The council has voted to recommend to the association the following rule respecting nonpayment of dues:

The annual dues for the ensuing 12 months are payable on September 1. Publications will not be sent to members whose dues remain unpaid after October 15. Members whose dues remain unpaid on March 1 shall be dropped from the roll of the association.

6. *Budget for 1915.*—The budget will be reported by the secretary.



7. *Appointment of committees.*—The following assignments and committee appointments have been made by the council for the year 1915 (*italic indicates new members of committees*) :

Editors of the American Historical Review: George L. Burr, Edward P. Cheyney, J. Franklin Jameson, Frederick J. Turner (these four hold over); James Harvey Robinson, reelected to serve six years from January 1, 1915; Carl Becker, elected to serve two years from January 1, 1915, to complete the unexpired term of A. C. McLaughlin.

Historical manuscripts commission: *Gaillard Hunt*, C. H. Ambler, Archer B. Hulbert, Herbert E. Bolton, W. O. Scroggs, *Justin H. Smith*.

Committee on the Justin Winsor prize: C. R. Fish, G. L. Beer, I. J. Cox, *Everett Kimball*, Allen Johnson.

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams prize: L. M. Larson, S. B. Fay, W. R. Shepherd, Paul Van Dyke, A. B. White.

Public archives commission: Victor H. Paltsits, C. W. Alvord, C. M. Andrews, S. J. Buck, *George S. Godard*, *Thomas M. Owen*, A. S. Salley, jr.

Committee on bibliography: Ernest C. Richardson, Walter Lichtenstein, W. W. Rockwell, W. A. Slade, B. C. Steiner, F. J. Teggart.

Committee on publications (ex officio with the exception of the chairman): Max Farrand, C. R. Fish, *Gaillard Hunt*, J. F. Jameson, L. M. Larson, Ernest C. Richardson, Victor H. Paltsits, and the secretaries of the council and of the association.

General committee: W. E. Lingelbach, *Annie H. Abel*, Arthur I. Andrews, W. K. Boyd, J. M. Callahan, C. E. Carter, *Carleton H. Hayes*, R. M. McElroy, R. W. Neeser, E. S. Noyes, Louis Pelzer, Morgan P. Robinson, N. W. Stephenson, E. M. Violette, *Clarence M. Warner*, and the secretaries of the association and of the Pacific coast branch.

Committee on a bibliography of modern English history: Edward P. Cheyney, W. C. Abbott, A. L. Cross, R. B. Merriman, *Conyers Read*.

Committee on history in schools (subject to the establishment of such a committee by the association): W. S. Ferguson, Victoria A. Adams, H. E. Bourne, H. L. Cannon, Edgar Dawson, O. M. Dickerson, H. D. Foster, S. B. Harding, Margaret McGill, R. A. Maurer, James Sullivan.

Conference of historical societies: *Lyon G. Tyler*, chairman; A. H. Shearer, secretary.

Advisory board of editors of the History Teacher's Magazine: Henry Johnson, chairman (reelected to serve three years from Jan. 1, 1915); F. M. Fling, James Sullivan, George C. Sellery, St. George L. Sioussat (these four hold over), *Anna B. Thompson* (elected to serve three years from Jan. 1, 1915).

Committee on program: C. D. Hazen, J. S. Bassett, J. F. Baldwin, C. F. Huth, R. M. Johnston, H. B. Learned, J. H. Latané, Ruth Putnam.

Committee on local arrangements: Herbert Putnam, Frederic Bancroft, David J. Hill, J. B. Henderson, H. B. Learned, with power to add to the membership.

Committee on the military history prize: Capt. A. L. Conger, Milledge L. Bonham, jr., Allen R. Boyd, F. M. Fling, A. B. Hart.

Committee on military and naval history: R. M. Johnston, F. M. Fling, Charles O. Paullin, *Capt. A. L. Conger*, *Capt. O. L. Spaulding*.

Committee on program, special meeting, San Francisco, July 20-24, 1915: Frederic L. Thompson, E. C. Barker, H. E. Bolton, Max Farrand, Joseph Schafer, A. B. Show, Frederick J. Teggart, Payson J. Treat, James F. Willard.

Respectfully submitted.

EVARTS B. GREENE,  
*Secretary of the Council.*

CHICAGO, December 30, 1914.

REPORT BY H. MORSE STEPHENS UPON THE SPECIAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION  
TO BE HELD IN CALIFORNIA IN 1915.

At the last meeting of the council of the association it was resolved that an effort should be made by a postal-card canvass to determine the best date for holding the special meeting of the American Historical Association to be held in California, and to further that end a copy of the mailing list of the American Historical Review was sent to California. But inquiry on the Pacific coast showed that the only possible month in which a large attendance could be expected was the month of July, 1915. The universities and schools in California open in the month of August and the teachers of history could not possibly attend a meeting in the month of September. Some professors of history, especially from the Middle West, would be able to come to a meeting in September after teaching in summer schools, but it would be practically impossible to gather an audience for them. The early part of August will be taken up with the meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Therefore, at the request of the authorities of the Panama-Pacific Exposition, and in the light of the considerations just set forth, it is resolved to recommend to the council of the American Historical Association that the special meeting be held in the latter part of July.

With regard to the place of meeting, it is recommended that the meeting should cover three days—one in San Francisco, one in Berkeley, and one in Palo Alto. Headquarters will be opened in San Francisco, but there will also be additional headquarters for those who care to stay upon the eastern side of the bay in Berkeley.

The program committee makes the following suggestions as to the disposition of the meetings:

The opening meeting, with a reception to visiting members, a dinner in one of the exposition restaurants, and a presidential address upon the "Conflict of European nations in the Pacific Ocean," would be designed to bring the visiting members together and to show them the beauties of the exposition buildings at night and would be held upon the evening of Tuesday, July 20.

On the following day, July 21, there will be three sessions held in the exposition buildings in San Francisco, and the day will be set apart by the authorities as the American Historical Association day. It is suggested that the morning session be devoted to papers on the Spanish-American States and the Pacific Ocean, and that papers should be asked for from historical authorities in Mexico, Peru, and Chile. This session will be under the charge of Prof. Herbert E. Bolton, of the University of California. After the meeting a luncheon would be given to the Spanish-American delegates in one of the exposition buildings. The afternoon session would be devoted to papers on the United States and the Pacific Ocean, and papers would be read upon the particular relations with the Pacific Ocean of California, Oregon, Washington, Alaska, and the Hawaiian Islands. For a public session in the evening an effort is to be made to obtain a paper from Prof. Rafael Altamira, the greatest living Spanish historian.

It is proposed that the meetings for Thursday, July 22, be held at Berkeley under the superintendence of the history department of the University of California. The morning session, to be held in one of the buildings of the university, would be devoted to the problems connected with the teaching of history, and especially of general American and western American history. It is hoped that the professors from eastern universities who have accepted invitations to teach in the summer school at Berkeley under the plan to be mentioned later

will be kind enough to take the leading part in this session. This will be followed by a luncheon at the Faculty Club. The afternoon session will be devoted to papers upon the exploration of the Pacific Ocean, illustrated by the documents of the Bancroft Library, under the direction of Prof. F. J. Teggart, associate professor of Pacific coast history in the University of California and curator of the Bancroft Library. The evening session will be held in one of the exposition buildings in San Francisco, and will have as its chief feature a paper on the Panama Canal by Rudolph J. Taussig, secretary to the directors of the Panama-Pacific Exposition and a regent of the State university.

The sessions on Friday, July 23, will be held at Stanford University under the direction of its department of history. It is proposed that the morning session shall be devoted to Australia and the Pacific Ocean, and be under the direction of Prof. Payson J. Treat, of Stanford University, to be illustrated by the historical material upon Australia, presented to Stanford University by Mr. Thomas Welton Stanford. After a luncheon at Stanford University, the afternoon session will be devoted to a consideration of, and to the reading of papers upon, Japan and the Pacific Ocean, under the direction of Prof. Ichihashi, of Stanford University.

For Saturday, July 24, arrangements will be made for excursions to Mount Tamalpais, to the Bohemian Club Grove, etc.

A special effort is to be made to take advantage of the meeting of the American Historical Association to obtain the services of six eastern professors of history to take part in the summer school of the University of California at Berkeley, each of them to lecture for one week and to give the results of the latest knowledge in his department. It is upon this feature of the summer school that reliance is placed for an effective session of the teachers of the Pacific coast. From the educational standpoint much is expected upon the Pacific coast from this session, which will enable the teachers of California to meet the men whose books they have long studied and taught from.

Another feature of the proposed Panama-Pacific historical congress is to be found in the proposed meeting of the American Asiatic Association on Monday and Tuesday, July 19 and 20. It is hoped that the American Asiatic Association will be able to arrange for Monday, July 19, sessions upon Chinese history and the relations of China with the Pacific Ocean and upon the relations of other Asiatic powers. On Monday evening would be held the annual banquet of the American Asiatic Association, with the presidential address upon Asiatic interest in the Pacific Ocean. On Tuesday morning, July 20, it is proposed that there should be held a further session of the American Asiatic Association, to deal with the Philippine Islands and their history as part of the history of the Pacific Ocean area under Spain and the United States. Arrangements for this meeting of the American Asiatic Association are still tentative, but if arrangements can be made along these lines they will lead up to the contribution of the American Historical Association's special meeting in California.

#### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS.

The committee on publications is able to present an encouraging report. Just before the last annual meeting—that is, in December, 1913—Volume I of the annual report for 1911 was distributed. Volume II was distributed in January, 1914.

Owing to the Yale University Press taking over the publication of Writings on American History, the printing of the annual reports has been greatly facilitated. That of 1912, in one volume, was distributed in September, 1914.

Volume I of 1918 is in page proof and probably will be distributed some time in March. Volume II, the Bayard Papers, is about to be sent to the Public Printer.

*Prize essays.*—Muzzey's prize essay, the first of the series, "The Spiritual Franciscans," has been reprinted in the same form as the others, and is now obtainable at 75 cents by those who do not already possess it, or by those who wish to have their set complete and uniform.

Miss Barbour's essay, which received the Herbert Baxter Adams prize in 1913, "Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington," has been read in proof and is now being printed. It should be ready for distribution in February.

The committee on publications was given a single appropriation of \$1,000 to see if with that and the receipts of all sales of association publications it could not finance its work (the main expense being that of publishing the prize essays) without drawing on the funds of the association for any further support.

Our total receipts last year amounted to \$1,105.39, and our disbursements to \$1,127.72, a deficit for the year of less than \$23. The important point is that we are accumulating a stock of published essays, so that the total receipts tend to increase each year. In another year these receipts should be large enough to pay for the cost of publishing the current essays, and the committee ought to be able to show a profit. But we need the support of individual members of the association in purchasing copies of our publications. We ought to sell 600 copies of each of the prize essays to come out even.

Members will be interested in the following statistics of the series:

Krehbiel, 487 copies sold, profit-----	\$165.54
Carter, 523 copies sold, profit-----	87.42
Notestein, 582 copies sold, loss-----	317.14
Turner, 386 copies sold, loss-----	289.95
Brown, 326 copies sold, loss-----	265.50
Cole, 323 copies sold, loss-----	467.56
Muzzey (reprint), 161 copies sold.	

Respectfully submitted.

MAX FARRAND, *Chairman.*

CHICAGO, December 30, 1914.

#### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Matters under consideration by this committee include a Joint Finding List of Historical Periodicals, a classified index to Collections on European History, a list of Collections on American History, and a Bibliography of American Travels.

It is a matter of great congratulation that the Library of Congress has been able to take up the matter of a joint finding list of periodicals in American libraries and is progressing with the same. This is by far the most satisfactory of the three solutions of the matter begun on the initiative of the council of this association and taken up for them by the executive board of the American Library Association.

This, however, fulfills only one of the objects sought to be gained by the Collections on European History. At a time when this was first issued there were more than 300 sets which could not be found in any library in this country and Harvard, which had the largest number, lacked nearly 1,000 out of 2,200. At the present time the number which can not be found in any library has been very greatly reduced, and each of four geographical localities have added several hundred to their resources, Harvard having added 700 or 800 sets. To serve this other need of suggesting such historical periodicals, commonly cited as do

not occur in American libraries or occur rarely, a brief title check list is in somewhat advanced state of preparation.

Classed index to the European Historical Collection was held up by the absence of Dr. Walter Lichtenstein in South America and the illness of Dr. Shearer. It is hoped to make a combined classed index of the collections and periodicals.

Some material has been gathered toward a check list of Collections on American History.

The Bibliography of American Travels is being carried on by a subcommittee of which Dr. Bernard C. Steiner is chairman. This committee reports that its collection now contains about 3,000 titles printed on Library of Congress cards and a list of perhaps 1,500 additional titles, a list of which is being prepared for distribution among libraries which have undertaken to catalogue and secure the printing of cards for such additional works. The problem of printing this bibliography waits on sufficient funds, but in the meantime it secures to libraries the possibility of getting a card bibliography and of getting cards with which to catalogue their books on the subject. It will certainly also be possible to publish a short title check list of these titles.

Respectfully submitted.

E. C. RICHARDSON, *Chairman.*

CHICAGO, December 30, 1914.

#### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MODERN ENGLISH HISTORY.

The material promised by this committee for Volumes I and II of the bibliography has already been sent to the general editor in London, Dr. Prothero. Interest in the war has led to letting this material lie unutilized and to the postponement of progress on the work. The committee has felt that it must either suspend its activities until the end of the war leaves the English committee free to bring its part into combination with the American committee and then to proceed to the speedy publication of the first two volumes; or else, by means of such pressure as can be properly put on the English committee, lay out with them a general program for the completion of the third volume, and then proceed to a preparation of our contribution to that volume. We would thus have that much more of the material ready when the English collaborators resume their work, and all three volumes might be brought to completion and published at the same time.

There is no need for further appropriation at the present time, but the committee understands that appropriations formerly made and unexpended will be available at a later time when the residue of the committee's expenses will need to be met.

Respectfully submitted,

E. P. CHEYNEY, *Chairman.*

CHICAGO, December 30, 1914.

#### REPORT OF THE ADVISORY BOARD OF EDITORS OF THE HISTORY TEACHER'S MAGAZINE.

The receipts of the History Teacher's Magazine from November 25, 1913, to November 25, 1914, were as follows:

##### From subscriptions:

699 at \$2-----	\$1,398.00
353 at \$1.70-----	600.10
921 at \$1-----	921.00
13 at various rates-----	23.41
<hr/> 1,986	<hr/>
Total-----	2,942.51
20000°—16—5	

From advertisements .....	\$377. 68
From guaranty fund .....	600. 00
From American Historical Association .....	600. 00
	<hr/>
	4, 520. 19

The increase in the number of subscribers was 383 and the increase in receipts from subscribers was \$567.96. The net increase in receipts from all sources was \$509.24.

The expenditures were:

Printing .....	\$1, 990. 02
Payment for contributed articles .....	729. 76
Managing editor .....	600. 00
Clerical assistance, postage, advertising, etc .....	707.84
	<hr/>
Total .....	4, 027. 62

There was an increase of \$253.26 in the amount paid to contributors and a net increase of \$339.50 in total expenditures.

*Summary of financial condition.*

Cash on hand Nov. 25, 1913 .....	\$625. 68
Total receipts, Nov. 25, 1913, to Nov. 25, 1914 .....	4, 520. 19
	<hr/>
	5, 145. 85
Total expenditures, Nov. 25, 1913, to Nov. 25, 1914 .....	4, 027. 62
	<hr/>
Balance on hand .....	1, 118. 23

As the financial arrangements made by the association for reviving the magazine and for assisting in its publication expire with the present year, the fact of chief interest and significance is that the enterprise has not become self-supporting. The magazine has from the beginning been widely and thoroughly advertised. It has had the good will of history teachers associations and of progressive teachers of history in all parts of the country. The increase in subscriptions during the year has been encouraging. But there is reason to think that the present number, about 2,000, must be accepted as an approximate measure of the response to be expected for some years to come. Eventually, in all probability the number of subscribers will be materially increased. The magazine is itself the chief agent in spreading light, which will in time reach from the more to less progressive schools and create a wider demand for its services.

To continue the magazine with the present remuneration to the managing editor will, so far as can now be foreseen, require for some years to come outside assistance to the extent of at least \$1,000 a year. Of this amount \$200 can be counted upon as already assured. The New England History Teachers' Association and the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland will, it is assumed, each continue to appropriate \$100 annually.

The problem of how to raise the additional \$800 has been under serious consideration for some weeks, but no definite statement of results can as yet be made. It is the opinion of the advisory board, as it must be the opinion of all who have the interests of history teaching at heart, that the magazine should be continued, and, as a necessary guarantee of the maintenance of the present high standards, that it should continue under its present managing editor.

Respectfully submitted.

HENRY JOHNSON, *Chairman.*

CHICAGO, December 30, 1914.

## REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS.

*To the members of the American Historical Association.*

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: By your action taken last year at Charleston you not only designated the undersigned as your nominating committee, who, in accordance with the custom of the association, should present to you at this time a list of persons in their judgment fitted to fill the elective offices of the association for the coming year: but you also, in effect, constituted us a special committee, charged to formulate and report to you "a plan by which the general opinion of the association on nominations might be more fully elicited." In consequence of our double task we find it necessary to impose on your patience with a longer report than your nominating committees have heretofore presented.

From the very adjournment of the business meeting at Charleston we have sought opportunities for discussing with members of the association the duties imposed upon us. In the April number of the American Historical Review we published a general request for suggestions. Less than half a dozen members responded. Unable to infer the general opinion from so scanty a representation, we prepared a circular which the treasurer obligingly sent to every member with the September bills. Nearly 3,000 blanks were thus distributed; 222 of them have been returned to us. Among the suggestions which they conveyed were many that clearly fell outside the competence of our committee. All such we transmitted to the secretary of the council, at his request, and we understand that careful consideration has been given to them, and that the council will report a recommendation for dealing further with them. Meanwhile, we, not being in any sense a committee on constitutional revision, have confined our efforts to the matters clearly referred to us—to specific nominations for the coming year, and to a plan of nominating thereafter which may, we hope, afford the general opinion free scope to make itself known.

Turning first to the plan of nominating hereafter, we have to report that of the 222 blanks returned to us 40 made no positive answer to our first question—whether or not the interests of the association suggest a substantial change in its method of nominating officers. Of the remaining 182, there were 49, or 27 per cent, that favored a change, and 133, or 73 per cent, that opposed a change. Of the 49 members favoring a change, 32, or a little under two-thirds, gave descriptions more or less definite of the method of nomination or of election that they would prefer. The methods thus suggested were of great diversity and we were not able to discover in them an appreciable trend toward any particular device. In connection with them we have read attentively the correspondence concerning the matter published last winter in the Nation, and also Mr. H. A. Aikens's detailed description, in Science for May 15 last, of "The government of learned societies," and have found ourselves forced to the conclusion that while many methods of nomination have worked fairly well, there is no method that affords a guarantee of satisfaction. Our own suggestion is, therefore, submitted with diffidence. We offer it not as a panacea, but as an experiment.

In our opinion a learned society of diverse and scattered membership like ours will do well, on the whole, to avail itself of such judgment as a representative nominating committee can form after deliberate survey of the whole field. Both the prevailing practice of similar societies and the preponderant vote of our own members support us in recommending that the committee device be not abandoned. We are, however, of opinion that the nominating committee should be chosen a year in advance, not by the council, but by the business meeting, and by such form of election as the meeting shall from time to time approve.

Our experience with this year's circular, which evoked relatively numerous expressions of approval, leads us to recommend, further, that the nominating committee at some convenient opportunity, perhaps at the time of the September bills, invite every member to express his preference or preferences regarding every office to be filled by election at the next business meeting. We assume that the replies, unless they shall be far more numerous than heretofore in the association's experience, will be treated not as instructions, but merely as suggestions. Even so, we are confident that no nominating committee of this association, when making its report, will fail to assign to such preferences all the weight that their character as "the general opinion of the association" can entitle them to claim. How great that shall be must depend in part upon the proportion of members who care to reply.

Even with the guidance thus afforded it, a nominating committee may fail to gauge correctly "the general opinion of the association on nominations." We recommend therefore that the committee's nominations be published in advance, perhaps by printing them in the program, and that the committee prepare, for distribution to attending members, upon their registration at the meeting, a printed ballot, which, in addition to the committee's nominations, shall contain such other names as may be proposed, in writing, to the chairman of the committee, by 20 or more members, and shall also provide, under each office, a blank space for voting upon such further nominations as may be individually presented on the floor of the business meeting.

In offering these suggestions we have purposely refrained from giving them a highly definite formulation, because, in our judgment, the association, if pleased to approve them in principle, will show its wisdom by leaving the administrative minutiae of the plan to be worked out experimentally by the next nominating committee, instead of attempting to settle all such details in advance.

Turning now to the question of this year's nominations, we would first mention the doubt expressed to us by a number of members concerning the advisability of the practice, which in our circular we had assumed that the association would continue to follow, of advancing the incumbents of the vice presidential offices, from time to time, toward or to the presidency. We wish it distinctly understood that we take up this question now as a matter of principle, wholly irrespective of the persons who may have occupied or may occupy those offices. Regarding it thus, and without expressing any opinion whether or not, if starting in a clear field, we should urge the adoption of that plan, we can not overlook the actual circumstance that, save when interfered with by death, it has been pursued as the unbroken practice of the association for more than 20 years. In consequence of this long period of uniform conduct a presumption seems to us to arise that the association has of late intended its vice presidents to make a customary course of office, and, in consequence, that a nominating committee would be unwarranted in diverging from the practice, even if it desired to do so, save upon specific warrant by the association itself. In order, however, to open the way for a departure hereafter, in case the association shall think it wise to depart, we have secured from the gentleman whom we are about to nominate for second vice president a ready consent that his nomination to the office, and if, as we hope, he shall be elected, his election also, may be regarded as transactions complete in themselves, leaving the association absolutely unpledged next year so far as he is concerned. That, however, is by no means to be taken as implying an opinion on our part that he should not be advanced. In presenting names for membership in the council we have been guided by the desire to distribute the nominations with reference



to geographical location and to their fields of historical study. We can not be too emphatic in repeating that we have approached this entire question solely as one of principle, not one of persons.

We have the honor to nominate: For president, H. Morse Stephens; for first vice president, George L. Burr; for second vice president, Worthington C. Ford; for secretary, Waldo G. Leland; for treasurer, Clarence W. Bowen; for curator, A. Howard Clark; for secretary of the council, Evarts B. Greene; for members of the council, Frederic Bancroft, Eugene C. Barker, Guy Stanton Ford, Charles H. Haskins, Ulrich B. Phillips, J. M. Vincent.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

CHARLES H. HULL, *Chairman.*

G. M. DUTCHER.

J. H. T. MCPHERSON.

LOIS K. MATHEWS.

JOSEPH SCHAFER.

CHICAGO, December 30, 1914.

(Messrs. McPherson and Schafer were not present at the last meeting of the committee, but had expressed by letter their concurrence in the proposed report.)

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE  
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, HELD AT THE METRO-  
POLITAN CLUB, NEW YORK CITY, NOVEMBER 28, 1914.

The council met at 10 a. m. with President McLaughlin in the chair.

Present: Messrs. Stephens, Burr, Leland, Bowen, McMaster, Jameson, Hart, Turner, Dunning, Ames, Munro, Coolidge, Vincent, Bancroft, Haskins, and the secretary.

The following chairmen of committees also attended the meeting: Messrs. Ford, Paltsits, Hazen, Johnson, Richardson, Farrand, Cheyney, Thompson, and Bigelow.

The secretary of the association presented his annual report, showing that the total membership was 2,911 as against 2,834 in November, 1913, and 2,820 in November, 1912.

The secretary reported the receipt of invitations to send delegates to the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans, January 8 to 10, 1915, under the auspices of the Louisiana Historical Society, and to the International Congress of Genealogy to be held in San Francisco, July 26 to 31, 1915, under the auspices of the California Genealogical Society. The president was authorized to appoint delegates to these and similar gatherings.

The secretary was authorized to make arrangements for standardizing and printing the stationery used by officers and committees of the association.

The secretary having reported the receipt of a collection of 14 medals presented to the association by Adolphe Carranza, of Buenos Aires, the secretary of the council was instructed to write a letter of thanks to the donor. It was further voted that the collection be deposited in the Library of Congress or in the Bureau of American Republics, as might be determined by the secretary of the association.

The request of the secretary for an appropriation of \$120 for the purpose of securing a room for the storage of records and stock was referred to the secretary and the treasurer for further investigation and report.

The secretary of the council reported briefly.

The treasurer presented the following report:

<b>Assets, Dec. 23, 1913:</b>	
Cash on hand-----	\$2,894.24
Bond and mortgage, real estate at 24 East Ninety-fifth Street, New York, N. Y.-----	20,000.00
Accrued interest on above from Sept. 29 to Dec. 29, 1913-----	188.88
20 shares American Exchange National Bank stock, at 210--	4,200.00
	<hr/> \$27,283.12
<b>Assets, Nov. 25, 1914:</b>	
Cash on hand-----	1,106.98
Bond and mortgage, real estate at 24 East Ninety-fifth Street, New York, N. Y.-----	20,000.00
Accrued interest on above, at 4½ per cent, from Sept. 29 to Nov. 28, 1914-----	150.00
20 shares American Exchange National Bank stock, at 200--	4,000.00
	<hr/> 25,256.98
Showing a decrease in assets since Dec. 23, 1913, of-----	2,026.14
<b>Receipts, Dec. 23, 1913, to Nov. 25, 1914:</b>	
Dividends-----	200.00
Interest on mortgage-----	875.00
Annual dues-----	6,057.85
Publications-----	818.80
Loan-----	2,500.00
Miscellaneous receipts-----	105.95
	<hr/> 10,557.60
<b>Balance on hand Dec. 23, 1913-----</b>	<b>2,894.24</b>
	<hr/> <hr/> 13,451.84
<b>Net payments-----</b>	<b>9,844.86</b>
<b>Net receipts-----</b>	<b>8,057.60</b>
	<hr/>
<b>Excess of payments over receipts-----</b>	<b>1,787.26</b>

The treasurer, the secretary of the association, and the secretary of the council were appointed a committee on the budget to report at the December meeting, it being understood that the financial recommendations of the several officers and committees should be referred to this committee before final action.

Prof. Stephens presented a brief report on the work of the Pacific coast branch.

Reports were received from the following standing and special committees: Historical manuscripts commission, public archives commission, committee on the Justin Winsor prize, editors of the American Historical Review, board of advisory editors of the History Teacher's Magazine, committee on bibliography, committee on publications, general committee, editor of the reprints of original narratives of early American history, committee on a bibliography of modern English history, committee on indexing the papers and proceedings of the association, committee on the military history prize, committee on program for the Chicago meeting, advisory committee on the publication of the archives of the American Revolution, and the committee on headquarters in London and Paris.

Prof. C. H. Hull, chairman of the committee on nominations, made a brief informal statement regarding the opinions of members of the association as brought out in the recent correspondence of that committee. After some discussion it was voted that the council recommend to the association, at the business meeting in Chicago, the appointment of a committee of nine to consider the constitution, organization, and procedure of the association, with

instructions to report at the annual meeting of 1915. It was also voted that this item be included in the docket for that meeting.

It was voted that the minutes of the November and December meetings of the council be printed and distributed, so far as time permits, before the business meeting of the association. The president and secretary of the association and the secretary of the council were appointed a committee to prepare for publication the minutes of the council as provided for in the foregoing vote.

A request from Prof. A. B. Hart, as committee on the indexing of the reports of the association, for an appropriation of \$750 was referred to the budget committee. The committee on publications was also instructed to consider the question of the mode of publishing the index, and if possible to report at the December meeting.

The advisory board of editors of the History Teacher's Magazine having made a statement indicating the need of continued financial assistance from the association, it was voted that in the opinion of the council the History Teacher's Magazine ought to be continued if possible. The committee on the budget was instructed to consider ways and means of carrying out the foregoing resolution and to report at the December meeting.

Prof. E. P. Cheyney, chairman of the committee on a bibliography of modern English history, reported that the outbreak of the war in Europe had interrupted the progress of the work of the English collaborators. The committee was therefore authorized at its discretion to suspend its activities during the coming year. The budget committee was instructed to report upon the state of the fund arising from appropriations and gifts for the preparation of this bibliography.

The secretary of the association and the secretary of the council reported invitations for the meetings of 1915 and 1916 from various cities including Baltimore, St. Louis, and Cincinnati. An invitation to hold a meeting in Philadelphia was presented by Prof. Cheyney. Reference was also made to a suggestion that the association meet in Toronto. In accordance with the action of the council in November, 1913, it was voted to recommend that the annual meeting of the association for 1916 be held in Cincinnati. It was also voted that in the opinion of the council the meeting for 1917 should be held in Philadelphia.

The subject of the proposed summer meeting in San Francisco in 1915 was then discussed. The secretary announced the resignation of Prof. E. D. Adams, of Leland Stanford University, chairman of the program committee. Prof. H. Morse Stephens then presented a preliminary report on the arrangements for this meeting, with the understanding that more definite proposals would be presented at the December meeting.

A request for an appropriation of \$25 in addition to the usual appropriation for the Pacific coast branch was approved.

It was voted to refer to the budget committee, with the indorsement of the council, the proposed continuance of the appropriation of \$200 for the Writings on American History.

It was voted that the special advisory committee on the publication of the archives of the American Revolution be continued for another year.

The committee on headquarters in London and Paris was requested to report on possible means of maintaining the headquarters in London without appropriations from the association.

The secretary presented the request of the college entrance examination board for a fuller definition of the history requirement. Discussion of the subject was postponed until the December meeting.

The relations of the association with the American Society of Church History were briefly discussed, and the secretary was instructed to write a letter asking the society to consider a meeting with the association in Washington in 1915.

The secretary of the association was authorized to prepare for distribution at the opening of the annual business meeting a reprint of certain introductory sections of the annual report, giving information regarding the organization of the association.

The president and secretary of the association, Mr. Munro, and the secretary of the council were appointed a committee on appointments to report at the Chicago meeting.

Having continued its discussion through luncheon, the council adjourned at 5.30 p. m. to meet at the Auditorium Hotel in Chicago December 30, 1914, at 9 a. m.

EVARTS B. GREENE, *Secretary of the Council.*

# MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, HELD IN CHICAGO, DECEMBER 29, 1914.

The council met at 10 a. m., President McLaughlin in the chair.

Present: Messrs. Turner, Bancroft, Munro, Burr, Coolidge, Stephens, Jameson, Leland, Vincent, and the secretary.

The committee on appointments presented its report, and the following assignments were approved:

*Historical manuscripts commission.*—Gaillard Hunt, C. H. Ambler, Archer B. Hulbert, Herbert E. Bolton, W. O. Scroggs, Justin H. Smith.

*Committee on Justin Winsor prize.*—C. R. Fish, G. L. Beer, I. J. Cox, Everett Kimball, Allen Johnson.

*Committee on Herbert Baxter Adams prize.*—L. M. Larson, S. B. Fay, W. R. Shepherd, Paul Van Dyke, A. B. White.

*Public archives commission.*—Victor H. Paltsits, C. W. Alvord, C. M. Andrews, S. J. Buck, George S. Godard, Thomas M. Owen, A. S. Salley, jr.

*Committee on bibliography.*—Ernest C. Richardson, Walter Lichtenstein, W. W. Rockwell, W. A. Slade, B. C. Steiner, F. J. Teggart.

*Committee on publications* (ex officio with exception of the chairman).—Max Farrand, C. R. Fish, Gaillard Hunt, J. F. Jameson, L. M. Larson, Ernest C. Richardson, Victor H. Paltsits, and the secretaries of the council and of the association.

*General committee.*—W. E. Lingelbach, Annie H. Abel, Arthur I. Andrews, W. K. Boyd, J. H. Callahan, C. E. Carter, Carleton H. Hayes, R. M. McElroy, R. W. Neeser, E. S. Noyes, Louis Pelzer, Morgan P. Robinson, N. W. Stephenson, E. M. Violette, Clarence M. Warner, and the secretaries of the association and of the Pacific coast branch.

*Committee on history in schools* (subject to the establishment of such a committee by the association).—W. S. Ferguson, Victoria A. Adams, H. E. Bourne, H. L. Cannon, Edgar Dawson, O. M. Dickerson, H. D. Foster, S. B. Harding, Margaret McGill, R. A. Maurer, James Sullivan.

*Conference of historical societies.*—Lyon G. Tyler, chairman; A. H. Shearer, secretary.

*Advisory board of editors of the History Teacher's Magazine.*—Henry Johnson, chairman (reelected to serve three years from Jan. 1, 1915); F. M. Fling, James Sullivan, George C. Sellery, St. George L. Sioussat (these four hold over), Anna B. Thompson (elected to serve three years from Jan. 1, 1915).

*Committee on program, thirty-first annual meeting, Washington, 1915.*—C. D. Hazen, J. S. Bassett, J. F. Baldwin, C. T. Huth, R. M. Johnston, H. B. Learned, J. H. Latané, Ruth Putnam.

*Committee on local arrangements.*—Herbert Putnam, Frederic Bancroft, David J. Hill, J. B. Henderson, H. B. Learned, with power to add to the membership.

*Committee on the military history prize.*—Capt. A. L. Conger, Milledge L. Bonham, jr., Allen R. Boyd, F. M. Fling, A. B. Hart.

*Committee on program, special meeting, San Francisco, July 20-24, 1915.*—Frederic L. Thompson, E. C. Barker, H. E. Bolton, Max Farrand, Joseph Schafer, A. B. Show, Frederick J. Teggart, Payson J. Treat, James F. Willard.

The resignations of Messrs. A. C. McLaughlin and George L. Burr from the board of editors of the *American Historical Review* were presented. The council voted to accept the resignation of Mr. McLaughlin, but declined to accept that of Mr. Burr. It was voted to defer final action on the choice of editors until the meeting of December 30.

The committee on the budget presented the following estimates of receipts and expenditures for 1915:

Estimated receipts:

Annual dues.....	\$8, 550
Income from investments.....	1, 100
Royalties.....	180
Sales of publications.....	670
Grant from American Historical Review.....	300
Total.....	10, 800
Deduct.....	1, 575
Available for appropriation.....	10, 225

Estimated expenditures:

Offices of secretary and treasurer.....	1, 500
Office of secretary of the council.....	50
Pacific coast branch.....	75
Expenses of executive council.....	300
Expenses of thirtieth annual meeting.....	175
Expenses of thirty-first annual meeting.....	150
Miscellaneous.....	100
General index to papers and reports.....	400
Index to annual reports, 1913-14.....	100
Committee on publications.....	643
Editorial work.....	300
American Historical Review.....	4, 600
Public archives commission.....	150
Historical manuscripts commission.....	50
Committee on bibliography.....	100
General committee.....	100
Conference of historical societies.....	50
Herbert Baxter Adams prize, award and expenses of committee.....	225
Subsidy to annual bibliography of Writings on American History.....	200
Subsidy to History Teacher's Magazine.....	400
Expenses of headquarters in London.....	100
Total.....	9, 768

The council voted to adopt as the budget for 1915 the estimates of expenditures as presented by the committee, but with the provision that the appropriation of \$400 in support of the History Teacher's Magazine be contingent upon the rais-

<sup>1</sup> There are deducted \$200 for unforeseen shrinkage, \$250 held in trust for military history prize, \$125 held in trust for bibliography of modern English history.

ing of an additional fund of \$600, and that the appropriation be repeated in 1916, subject to the same provision.

The president, the secretary of the council, and the secretary of the association were appointed a committee on the selection of matter to be printed for distribution at the business meeting of the association.

It was voted not to continue the committee on the preparation of teachers of history in schools, and to recommend to the association the establishment of a standing committee on history in schools. It was further voted, subject to the adoption of the above recommendation, that the persons named in the foregoing list of committees constitute the members of this committee for 1915.

It was voted to refer to the proposed committee on history in schools the request of the college entrance examination board "for a fuller definition of the history requirement."

The secretary reported a request from the president of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association for the appointment of a committee to confer with a similar committee of that organization on the relations of the two associations. It was voted that a committee of two be appointed by the Chair for this purpose.

A request from the Conference of Historical Societies for action looking "toward the preparation of a comprehensive survey of the organization and activities of historical agencies in the United States and Canada" was referred to a committee of two to be appointed for this purpose by the Chair.

It was voted to invite the Naval Historical Society and the Columbia Historical Society to participate in the annual meeting of 1915.

On motion of the secretary, it was voted to recommend to the association the adoption of the following rule respecting the payment of annual dues:

The annual dues for the ensuing 12 months are payable on September 1. Publications will not be sent to members whose dues remain unpaid after October 15. Members whose dues remain unpaid on March 1 shall be dropped from the roll of the association.

The secretary presented an invitation from Mr. Clarence M. Warner on behalf of the Ontario Historical Society, indorsed by officials of the Canadian Government and others, to hold the annual meeting of 1916 in Ottawa, Canada. The secretary was instructed to express to Mr. Warner the thanks of the council for the invitation, and its regret that previous action will prevent the council from recommending acceptance at this time.

The council thereupon adjourned to meet Wednesday, December 30, at 9 a. m.

EVARTS B. GREENE, *Secretary of the Council.*

#### MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION HELD IN CHICAGO, DECEMBER 30, 1914.

The council met at 9 a. m., with President McLaughlin in the chair.

Present: Messrs. Bancroft, Burr, Coolidge, Jameson, Leland, Munro, Stephens, Turner, Vincent, and the secretary.

The appointment of committees was taken up as unfinished business and completed as follows:

*Committee on military and naval history.*—R. M. Johnston, F. M. Fling, Charles O. Paullin, Capt. A. L. Conger, Capt. O. L. Spaulding.

*Committee on a bibliography of modern English history.*—Edward P. Cheyney, A. L. Cross, R. B. Merriman, Conyers Read, W. C. Abbott.

*Board of editors of the American Historical Review.*—(Messrs. Burr, Cheyney, Jameson, Turner, hold over); James Harvey Robinson, reelected for a

term of six years from January 1, 1915; Carl Becker, elected for the unexpired term of A. C. McLaughlin (two years from January 1, 1915).

The following communication from the board of editors of the American Historical Review respecting the tenure of office of the editors was received, and after some discussion was deferred for consideration at the November meeting of the council:

CHICAGO, December 29, 1914.

SECRETARY OF THE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

DEAR SIR: At the meeting of the board of editors of the American Historical Review November 29, 1914, it was voted that the board of editors stand ready to modify arrangements between the Review and the council of the association in such a way that the editors would be hereafter elected for a term of three years instead of six, provided, in the judgment of the council, such a modification would be for the interest of the association.

Respectfully, yours,

FREDERICK J. TURNER,  
*Secretary of the Board of Editors.*

The general subject of the relations of the association with the American Historical Review being then under consideration, it was voted that the council recommend to the association that if the proposed committee of nine to consider the constitution and organization of the association be appointed, its functions shall include a consideration of the relations between the American Historical Association and the American Historical Review.

The council voted to make no nominations for members of the committee on nominations.

A request having been received from citizens of Richmond and others for a division of the annual meeting of 1915 between Washington and Richmond, the secretary was instructed to convey the thanks of the council for the courtesies offered, but to say that the council does not see its way clear to recommend any change in the action already taken by the association respecting the annual meeting in Washington.

Mr. Jameson presented a communication from Mr. Hart respecting the preparation of the index to the annual reports of the association, which was referred to the committee on the indexing of the reports of the association, with the understanding that no new arrangement should be made involving additional expenditure in 1915.

Adjourned.

EVARTS B. GREENE, *Secretary of the Council.*





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II. REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SPECIAL MEETING  
AND OF THE ELEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE  
PACIFIC COAST BRANCH OF THE AMERICAN  
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

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SEATTLE, WASH., MAY 21-23, 1914.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., NOVEMBER 27-28, 1914.

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By W. A. MORRIS,  
*Secretary of the Branch.*



PROCEEDINGS OF THE SPECIAL MEETING AND OF THE ELEVENTH  
ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PACIFIC COAST BRANCH OF THE AMER-  
ICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

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By W. A. MORRIS.

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I. SPECIAL MEETING, SEATTLE, MAY 21-23, 1914.

A special meeting of the Pacific coast branch of the American Historical Association was held Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, May 21, 22, and 23, in Seattle, at the University of Washington. The president, Prof. Edmond S. Meany, presided.

The two papers of the Thursday morning session were by Mr. Herbert I. Priestley, of the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, Cal., and by Mr. Thompson C. Elliott, of Walla Walla. Mr. Priestley's paper, which was entitled "The log of the *Princesa*," and which in the absence of its author was read by the secretary, dealt with the Spanish version, recorded by Martínez, of incidents attending the seizure in 1789 of British ships at Nootka Sound. The document upon which the paper was based is an especially important source for the history of the Nootka Sound conflict, as it is strictly contemporaneous with the events which it relates. It gives another statement of the case by an active, though naturally prejudiced, participant, but which, even in the final copy, is of earlier date than any action in the case by the Mexican viceroy. According to the viewpoint of the paper, the pretended Portuguese register of the ship *Iphigeneia* was not the "harmless trick meant solely to deceive Celestials" which Manning believed it to be. Furthermore, it was held that the circumstantial account which Martínez gives of a quarrel with Colnett seems to show that the acute situation was caused quite as much by the arrogance of Colnett as by misunderstanding on the part of the interpreter. At the conclusion of the reading of the paper, the president made some interesting statements regarding the topography of Vancouver Island.

Mr. Elliott's topic was "Fur trading posts in the Columbia River Basin prior to 1811." After an introduction in which as a matter of background he called attention to the direction which the Columbia takes in British Columbia, first north and then south, suggesting also notice of the northern railway lines of Washington and

Idaho for an understanding of early routes of travel, he proceeded to give an account of the establishments of the first trading posts in this region.

At the beginning of the afternoon session Dr. Ralph H. Lutz, of the University of Washington, presented a paper on "Schleiden's diplomacy in connection with the American Civil War." Schleiden, it was explained, was a native of Schleswig, who represented the city of Bremen in Washington at the outbreak of the Civil War. A strong member of the foreign diplomatic corps, he gave a dinner in honor of Lincoln two days prior to the inauguration, and in the interest of the Hanseatic carrying trade strove to maintain peace in America. He availed himself of the British courier service, and in 1864 was transferred to the Court of St. James. The paper was based on documents in the archives of Bremen.

The paper of Mr. C. A. Sprague, assistant State superintendent of schools for Washington, had as its title "The Spanish-American War and the War of 1812." It aimed, so Mr. Sprague stated, at interpretation rather than investigation. He held that, although the events of the two wars are in striking contrast, yet each terminated an older period of politics and brought a new period of nationalism. The period before the War of 1812 was characterized by the intensely individualistic spirit of the American Revolution. Means of communication were poor, ministers narrow, editors embittered. The War of 1812 was the great force in establishing nationality. The destruction of oversea commerce led to the upbuilding of domestic commerce and to the nationalistic system of Clay, who is the hero of the period. The rising tide of nationalism is also marked by the decisions of the Supreme Court. Only when slavery seemed in danger did Calhoun desert the movement.

Prior to 1898, Mr. Sprague maintained, political life looked back to the Civil War. The fast-cooling embers of sectional hate were fanned for political purposes. Civil service was opposed until the rebels were out and the Civil War veterans in. This aided the formation of political machines and promoted corruption. In the South the Confederate veterans held the stage. There was stagnation of political thought. After 1898 again appeared a new nationalism. The Navy, always a nationalizing force, as in the War of 1812, had been the center of attention. When the United States became a world power and interest turned to the Panama Canal and The Hague conferences the economic doctrine of *laissez faire* went down. The West again blazed the path of nationalism. Nearly every proposal of the Populist platform of 1892 has now been adopted. As in 1812 the center shifted from Virginia, so after 1898 it shifted to the central and western Mississippi Valley.

In the absence of Prof. Edward M. Hulme, of the University of Idaho, his paper on "The fundamental factor in the Renaissance" was read by Prof. O. H. Richardson. The insistence upon individuality, Prof. Hulme held, was the greatest of the factors that gave rise to the Renaissance. The implicit faith and unquestioning obedience of the Middle Ages were destructive of individuality, which was also restricted in political and industrial matters. The story of the Renaissance, it was maintained, is that of the revival of the individual. This had made itself strongly felt in religion by the age of St. Francis. The Crusades had much to do with it. The Goliardi were its forerunners, and the lyric poets of Provence in the twelfth century had struck the note of modernity. In the city republics of the Italian peninsula individuality found opportunity to unfold. This caused men to question the authority of external control and inspired them to develop their latent powers beyond the restricting confines of authority. It was this also which made them ready to question conventional standards of conduct and endowed them with confidence in their own powers.

The concluding paper of the afternoon session was read by Prof. John P. O'Hara, of the University of Oregon. Its title was "Natural law and the American homestead act." Prof. O'Hara stated that the mental furniture which we associate with the American Revolution existed in one feature 75 years later. The movement for free homesteads was greatly advanced by the upholders of natural right. The issue took form in the third decade of the nineteenth century. It is possible to see in the defeat by the Northern States of Benton's move of 1828, a struggle between manufacturers desiring cheap labor and laborers seeking to escape the competition of this market. Here the argument of natural right had weight. A corresponding democratic movement for free education aided Horace Mann. In sketching the campaign for free lands, it was shown that after the conversion of Horace Greely to the movement in 1845 it went forward by leaps and bounds. At one time 600 papers subscribed to its program. After 1853 the House was in the habit of passing homestead acts to be rejected by the Senate. The Republican Party, it was stated, began its life as a workingman's party, and the homestead act was passed at the first session of Congress after the inauguration of Lincoln.

The Friday morning session opened with a paper by Prof. Alice E. Page, of Willamette University, on "The history of the Oxford University Press." In tracing the early history of the oldest provincial press in Great Britain, Prof. Page held that its first book probably dates from 1478. The second Oxford Press was abolished in 1519 by Wolsey.

Prof. Max P. Cushing, of Reed College, in a paper on "Holbach and the French Revolution," adopted the point of view that the French Revolution is one phase of a long struggle between radicalism and conservatism. Holbach, then, stands at one pole of thought at the end of a long development of thought. Among his associates and friends were not only Diderot and the French literary circle of his time, but also Wilkes, Hume, Lord Shelburne, Franklin, and Beccaria. His salon seems to have been the intellectual center of Paris. His philosophy was a very human one. An atheist who went as far as possible in the materialistic and nonreligious point of view, he wrote in a heavy German style and showed little originality. His works to which he never signed his name, had to be printed in Holland. In France they were often burned and their sellers imprisoned. They were translated into languages other than French. Hebert and the atheists of the French Revolution seem to have been influenced by him as were the whole group known as the Ideologists and the English poet Shelley. He represents a school of thought and his influence, it was held, shows that the French Revolution was not an isolated event.

Prof. Joseph Schafer, of the University of Oregon, contributed the third paper of the morning session, which was entitled "The basis of interest in history." It began with a contrast between the history of the eighteenth century and that of the present time. The eighteenth-century ideal of an historian was that of culture, ripe years, urbanity. Gibbon's "Decline and Fall" was one of the most popular works of the last quarter of the century. Yet the present-day individual is prone to characterize Gibbon unfavorably as did Carlyle. History was once the monopoly of aristocratic writers and for a favored few. Now, it is the possession of the vast majority. Mankind since Gibbon's time has achieved a new outlook. In the eighteenth century social merit counted. To-day history is the study that makes clear the controlling influence of dynamic principles.

Inquiry as to the historical-mindedness of the voter, Prof. Schafer believed, gives no reassuring answer. In no subject except English does home influence count for so much as in history. Teaching must be leveled to the experience of the individual. The resources for the study of social history in the remote school district, where pupils memorize paragraphs from Swinton's "History of the United States," are sometimes great. State and local historical societies can do much to improve the situation. Their material may well be employed in schools. The difficulty is that we give children what we are interested in, not what they are interested in.

The program for Friday afternoon was provided by the proposed Pacific coast branch of the American Political Science Association. Prof. W. F. Ogburn, of Reed College, in his paper on "Direct gov-

ernment in Oregon," suggested a scientific method for making the political and social sciences exact sciences by the use of statistics. Applying his method to 60 bills and 40 constitutional amendments submitted to the voters of Oregon, he concluded that the average vote in Oregon is fairly uniform as compared with the fluctuating vote in Switzerland; that money bills are somewhat more easily rejected than others; that publication of arguments is not associated with large votes; that length of measures has nothing to do with the size of the vote; and that the quality of measures seems to be the great determining force. In State and city referendums Prof. Ogburn found that 65 per cent of the recommendations of the Portland Oregonian and 70 per cent of those of the Taxpayers' League had been adopted.

Prof. R. C. Clark, of the University of Oregon, in his paper on "The teaching of Latin-American history and institutions in American universities," advocated a systematic study of the people to the south of us. He believed that the point of approach should be Spanish and Portuguese history and institutions, and that, except in institutions where special collections of material have been made, there should be given short courses of but two or three hours for a semester.

Prof. L. B. Shippee, of the State College of Washington, in his paper on "Commonwealth legislatures," discussed the proposed commission form of government for States, concluding that the time is not yet ripe for the introduction of such a plan, since it presupposes a larger use of the initiative and referendum than that to which the public is at present committed.

Prof. W. G. Beach, of the University of Washington, presented the concluding paper of the session, which was on "Law and opportunity." He contended that despite the popular idea of America as a land of opportunity law has not always preserved opportunity. Law does not as yet give expression to the philosophical idea of society. Permanent opportunity, he believed, must come with restraint on the individual for the sake of society. Leisure exploitation, represented by the saloon and the street, must be overcome. The socializing of intelligence is of importance, for a large measure of new knowledge is not utilized. Freedom of discussion is necessary to this. The instrumentalities of communication must be controlled in the interest of social welfare, and the university and the library, as people's workshops, must become socialized. If for any class opportunity is wanting, democracy is dead.

The dinner was held Friday evening at the Hotel Washington Annex, Prof. O. H. Richardson, of the University of Washington, presiding. The president of the Pacific coast branch, Prof. Meany, gave an address, and Prof. Robert C. Clark, of the University of

Oregon, spoke on behalf of the Political Science Association. Among those who were called upon and responded were Profs. Ogburn, of Reed College; Page, of Willamette University; Jackson, of the State College of Washington; Young, of the University of Utah; President Bushnell, of Pacific University; and the secretary, representing the University of California.

The last session, that on Saturday morning, began with an address by President C. J. Bushnell, of Pacific University, which bore the title "Perspective in history" and in which was advocated in the teaching of history the laying of stress on social history and the evolution of social functions.

Prof. Leroy F. Jackson, of the State College of Washington, in a paper on "Training for citizenship" adopted the view that it is impossible to teach patriotism by reason and study, since it is emotional. He believed that civic training has had the wrong motive, that of aiding discipline, and that history and civics must have civic training as an end. It is the high school that trains for citizenship, just as it is the graduate school that trains for scholarship. A great difficulty is that the untrained teacher can not inspire, the trained will not. Secondary teaching should give the student knowledge of the society of his own age and appreciation of social growth and its nature. The tracing of social growth will afford a saving perspective which is the greatest service of history. The study of our age statically will develop ability to study rather than to memorize. The subject matter of the present high-school course Prof. Jackson considered inadequate to subserve these ends.

The discussion which followed was led by Miss Adella M. Parker, of the Broadway High School, Seattle. Miss Parker emphasized the need of expression by young people and stated that universities are too little inclined to make students handle real problems. She regarded a knowledge of economics as essential in the secondary school and believed that boards of education, who have been loath to encourage free discussion of live economic topics, should provide places for free speech.

The secretary urged as against the advocacy of specific programs of reform the greater value to citizenship of training high-school pupils to form correct judgments from data, and made a plea for the study of history with this end in view. He commended the paper which had been read for showing the value of a study of the past and thus avoiding the heresy that only the present has value to the student.

Prof. Lull, of the department of education of the University of Washington, maintained that history must be reevaluated for high-school purposes, and that the contact of the past must be made with the student in the present.



The last paper of the session was by Principal H. N. Gridley, of the Daniel Bagley School, Seattle, who took as his topic "Pacific coast history in the American history course." He favored special attention in the grade school to the history of the Pacific coast on the ground that this region is a laboratory of political experiment and, like Plymouth, contains in miniature the elements of national growth.

A committee on resolutions, consisting of President Bushnell and Profs. Jackson and Page, reported resolutions expressing hearty appreciation of the work of the program committee, of the cordial and thoughtful hospitality of the Seattle members, and of the inspiration of the sessions, and also expressing approval of the present-day movement in secondary and higher education to produce intelligent citizenship through a consciousness of social growth and its relation to present-day problems. After the adoption of these resolutions adjournment was taken.

## II. ELEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING, SAN FRANCISCO, NOVEMBER 27-28, 1914.

The eleventh annual meeting of the Pacific coast branch was held in San Francisco on Friday afternoon and on Saturday morning and afternoon, November 27 and 28, 1914. The Friday session convened at 2.30 o'clock in the red room of the Bellevue Hotel. The Saturday sessions, at 10 and 2.30 o'clock, were held at the Girls' High School. The annual dinner, which was on Friday evening, was held at the Bellevue. Throughout the sessions Prof. Edmond S. Meany, the president of the branch, was in the chair.

The first paper of the Friday session, entitled "English royal income in the thirteenth century," was read by Prof. Henry L. Cannon, of Stanford University. He sought to present the new information imparted in a document found in the British record office under the label, "K. R. Exchequer Miscellanea, 1-23 Henry III." After pointing out through internal evidence that this document probably belongs to the year 1275, he suggested the privy council as the probable place of origin. Having quoted Prof. Ramsay's "Dawn of the Constitution" to the effect that it is impossible without great labor to present the figures for the various sources of royal income for the time of Edward I, he called attention to the fact that this manuscript purports to give an estimate of all the various sources of income for that year, and that the sum of the amounts given adds up close to 25,000 pounds, which is what one would expect. It is hoped that this interesting discovery will be published *in extenso* in the near future.

The next paper, which was on "Japanese naturalization and the California anti-alien land law," was by Prof. Roy Malcom, of the

University of Southern California. He held immigration statistics to show that Japan had lived up to the agreement of 1907 to prohibit direct immigration of laborers to the United States. The Japanese population of California in 1910 was estimated at 55,000, of whom 5,000 were merchants, 1,000 were students, 20,000 were farm hands, the remainder being distributed in small numbers among various occupations. This great preponderance of farm laborers is due to the fact that for centuries the Japanese have been an agricultural people. They began going to the Sacramento and Santa Clara valleys in the eighties, soon after the passage of the first Chinese exclusion act. There were present in California in 1913 about 57,000 Japanese owning only 12,726 acres of land. The land law passed by the California Legislature in the spring of that year aimed to prohibit the ownership of land for agricultural purposes to persons ineligible to citizenship. There was incorporated a provision that all aliens may own lands to the extent of treaty agreements between the United States and other powers and may also lease lands. Baron Chinda, the Japanese ambassador, has held that this prevents transmission to the heirs of Japanese of lands lawfully acquired and has cited a treaty provision on the point. This our Government has never answered. Secretary Bryan has declared that the intent of the law is to respect the treaty, and that aliens have the full privilege of suing in the Federal courts.

Turning to the actual status of the Japanese as regards citizenship, Prof. Malcom showed that they have never been excluded from naturalization by specific statute, but that the question has thus far been an ethnological one, the courts holding that the term "white person" in the naturalization law excluded the Japanese. Yet both State and Federal courts have occasionally naturalized Japanese. Among the number is Dr. Miyakawa, a prominent publicist of New York City. In conclusion it was stated that the question may be settled in favor of the Japanese either through the passage by Congress of a law conferring the privilege of naturalization or through an interpretation by the Supreme Court of the United States of the term "white person" so as to include the Japanese.

The concluding paper of the session was on "The Anglo-Saxon sheriff," and was presented by the secretary, Prof. William A. Morris, of the University of California. He stated that a satisfactory account of the development and functions of the office of sheriff prior to the year 1066 has never been written. The meagerness and scrappiness of the source of the material will leave much to be desired in any account; but, until that material has been fully utilized, one certainly may not profess to understand the old English administrative system nor to appraise the respective importance of the Norman

and the Anglo-Saxon elements which combined to form the English state. Recent investigation finds no foundation for the belief that the sheriff was a primitive or even an ancient official of the Anglo-Saxon state. The king's reeves of the later laws obviously include sheriffs; but it is next to impossible to make the identification in any specific instance. The charters, the Domesday evidence relative to the reign of Edward the Confessor, and a few monastic annals and records are the actual sources which must be used.

The office, it was stated, can be traced with certainty only from about Edgar's time. As president of the shire court and as military leader, the sheriff was the subordinate of the earl, while in exercising the police and fiscal functions of his reeveship he was personal agent of the king. Thus, by the reign of Edward the Confessor he is rapidly taking over the whole administration of the shire. His recorded history, so it was maintained, shows the impossibility of the antagonism of interest which some have assumed between his office and that of earl. In the period when earls were the strongest political power in the State their functions could have been taken over by sheriffs only with their consent. Whether or not the explanation lies in a measure of control over the sheriff by the earl, in actual practice as well as in theory the former was the king's reeve, who was his personal appointee and who received direction from him. Herein, it was believed, may be seen the germ of most of the centralizing measures of William the Conqueror.

At the annual dinner Prof. Ephraim D. Adams, of Stanford University, presided. The president, Prof. Edmond S. Meany, of the University of Washington, delivered the annual address, taking as his subject "The name of the American war, 1861-1865."

Among those who were called upon and responded were Prof. F. L. Thompson, of Amherst College; Hon. John F. Davis and Mr. Zoeth S. Eldredge, of San Francisco; Miss Mary H. Cutler, of Mills College; Prof. Roy Malcom, of the University of Southern California; Prof. Herbert E. Bolton, of the University of California; and Prof. Payson J. Treat, of Stanford University. Prof. F. J. Teggart made announcement regarding the proposed program for the session of the American Historical Association in July, 1915, in San Francisco.

The Saturday morning session opened with a paper from Prof. Edward B. Krehbiel, of Stanford University, who took as the title of his paper "Electoral maps of the United Kingdom." By the use of maps he showed the party preferences of constituencies in the general elections of 1886, 1895, and 1906. A comparison of maps was then made to illustrate sectional change and permanence of party supremacy during the period in question. The paper was concluded by a discussion and explanation of local political tendencies within the United Kingdom.

In the absence of Prof. Robert G. Cleland, of Occidental College, his paper on "Asiatic trade and American occupation of the Pacific Coast"<sup>1</sup> was read by Mr. Charles E. Chapman. It attempted to show that much of the sentiment in regard to western expansion was created by a desire on the part of the people of the United States to secure a commanding position on the Pacific Ocean for the control of oriental trade. This influence was effective both in regard to the acquisition of California and the settlement of Oregon. American interest in the occupation of Oregon had its beginning in commercial motives. Jefferson cherished a desire to secure for this country a share in the oriental trade and encouraged projects looking in that direction. Prof. Cleland found evidence to show that this was the real aim of the Lewis and Clark expedition. Floyd's argument for the occupation of the Pacific coast was the same, and Benton declared his belief in the practicability of bringing Asiatic commerce to the Mississippi Valley. From 1800 to 1850 this was one of the most valuable branches of our foreign commerce. The influence of the same motive in the annexation of California is more apparent than in the case of Oregon. It was urged by Waddy Thompson, our minister to Mexico, when he attempted to purchase California. The evidence, so it was held, shows Polk's conception of the value of this territory from the commercial standpoint. The idea was placed in the foreground by both Polk and Buchanan and explains the reason for their desire to possess the harbor of San Francisco.

In the third and last paper of the morning, which was contributed by Prof. Frederick J. Teggart, of the University of California, and was entitled "The components of history," it was maintained that the word "history" still retains the double significance attached to it by the Greeks and implies both historical investigation and historiography. In modern scholarship there is an evident tendency to assert the paramountcy of investigation, and this has led to confusion of thought, particularly in the claim of a radical change in history in the nineteenth century. History has perfected its technique; it has not changed its nature. Modern scholarship assumes that historical investigation is scientific and that historical composition is art. Up to the present, however, investigation has not been placed on an independent footing; it is still ancillary to historiography. Historical investigation is not scientific; it simply provides materials for composition.

The critical school of the nineteenth century did not inquire into the nature and aims of historiographic art. Art involves the factors of expression and form. To determine the nature of these factors in history writing, it is necessary to make a study of origins. Art is based upon the personal experience of the artist. In the age of

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<sup>1</sup> Printed in the present volume.

the historian this experience is of two kinds: First, what he has read in documents; second, what he has seen in the political life of his time. The second is the more important factor of the two, and historiography in the hands of the great writer becomes the expression of the consciousness of nationality. The claim that history is a science, "no less and no more," points to the existence of a new spirit which is out of harmony with the old order, but which has not yet become self-conscious of its aims. The essential thing to-day is that this spirit be fostered, but first of all it must be understood that the obstacle to a science of history is the subordination of investigation to historiography.

A short business session concluded the proceedings of the morning. Under the order of committee reports, the secretary gave an account of his endeavors, as a member of the general committee of the American Historical Association, to increase interest and extend membership in the association in the Pacific Coast States. The auditing committee, consisting of E. E. Robinson, C. E. Chapman, and Miss E. I. Hawkins, reported that they had examined the accounts of the secretary-treasurer and found the same in good order. The report was adopted. The committee on resolutions, consisting of E. B. Krehbiel, P. J. Treat, and Miss Agnes Howe, reported the following:

*Resolved*, That we express our appreciation to the board of education of San Francisco for granting us the use of the Girls' High School Building for our sessions.

*Resolved*, That we express our thanks to Dr. A. W. Scott for his personal interest and aid in our meetings.

*Resolved*, That we declare our gratitude to Hon. John F. Davis for giving his services to the committee on arrangements, though not a member of our association.

*Resolved*, That we express our satisfaction that the parent association is to hold its meetings in San Francisco in 1915, and pledge our hearty cooperation in making the meeting a pleasure and a success: Finally, be it

*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to the secretary of the board of education of San Francisco, to Dr. A. W. Scott, to Hon. J. F. Davis, and to the secretary of the national association.

The resolutions were adopted.

The committee on nominations, consisting of A. B. Show, Roy Malcom, R. F. Scholz, Miss Anna Fraser, and H. I. Priestley, reported the following nominations:

For president, Prof. Herbert E. Bolton.

For vice president, Prof. Henry L. Cannon.

For secretary, Prof. William A. Morris.

For members of the council, in addition to the above, Prof. R. D. Hunt, Prof. Joseph Schafer, Prof. Edward M. Hulme, and Miss Maude F. Stevens.

On motion the secretary was instructed to cast the ballot for these nominees, and they were declared elected for the ensuing year.

The outgoing president was chosen to serve as the representative of the branch at the next meeting of the council of the American Historical Association. In case of his inability to attend, the council of the branch was authorized to fill the vacancy.

A proposal was presented that the Pacific coast branch become a member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. On motion the matter was referred to the council for report.

A communication was read from Prof. Herbert D. Foster, of the New England History Teachers' Association, inquiring whether this body would consider the proposition to request the American Historical Association, through its council, to appoint a committee to report to the association upon a fuller definition of the content of each of the fields of history recommended by the association through the published reports of the committees of seven and five. On motion the council of the Pacific coast branch was authorized to memorialize the council of the American Historical Association to appoint such a committee. The business session then adjourned.

The Saturday afternoon session was devoted to a discussion of high-school courses in European history. Miss Grace Kretsinger, of the Berkeley High School, read a report on the tenth-grade course of study in her school, a course which covers both ancient and medieval history, one term being devoted to each. Her argument favored the presentation of the leading facts of civilization and the omission of much of the detail often taught. She believed that such a course is not too difficult and that the importance of the detail covered is clearly perceived. She found that medieval history was considered by the students much more difficult than ancient history.

Miss Elizabeth Kelsey, also of the Berkeley High School, described the eleventh-grade course, which, in that school, covers modern history. She found that the first problem to be met in giving the course was a lack of suitable textbooks, and had been able to solve it by using two. The work is so planned as to eliminate a separate course in English history. Much of the time during the first half year is required by textbook work, but in the second half year the textbook is used as a guide. A part of the work of this term consists in preparing a paper.

Miss Anna Fraser, vice principal of the Oakland High School, spoke on the one-year course in general history. She did not favor the course as a substitute for other courses, as she preferred for the high school a two-year course in European history. But she considered a one-year course better than none at all, and better than one broken period followed by no other. It was her experience that many students take no European history, because they dislike either

the ancient or the medieval and modern course alone. The teacher who gives the general course must be experienced, but can not well be a specialist on any one of the periods covered. Stress should be on biography rather than institutional material, and the course should not be offered to students in their first high-school year.

In the discussion which followed the three reports, Mr. W. J. Cooper, vice principal of the Berkeley High School, held that the true objective in the teaching of high-school history is the training of citizens who must have a background for judgments. He did not recommend the Berkeley course everywhere, for conditions vary with localities. But he believed that if a student gives up the study of European history after he has begun he can best do so at the end of the medieval period.

Prof. A. B. Shaw stated that the opposition to a four-year history course in secondary schools comes from those who emphasize vocational training, something in which he himself believed. But he considered history also a practical subject. As to the study of general history, he was afraid of the broad generalization that gives a willingness to express large opinions on any subject. To secure fit pupils for such a course is itself a problem. He agreed that a one-year course is better than none, but was not inclined too soon to give ground.

Prof. E. D. Adams regarded a four-year history course in secondary schools worth while only when in each year it can connect with the pupils' surroundings or life of to-day or the future. He stated that in some parts of the United States four-year history courses in secondary schools are rare, and believed that in this respect California held a preeminent position. He suggested an experience meeting on methods to create intellectual eagerness rather than a discussion of means to avoid the teaching of history.

After several others had taken part in the discussion, the president gave a few words of farewell, and the meeting adjourned.





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III. FRESH LIGHT UPON THE HISTORY OF THE EARLIEST  
ASSYRIAN PERIOD.

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By ROBERT W. ROGERS,  
*Professor in Drew Theological Seminary.*

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## FRESH LIGHT UPON THE HISTORY OF THE EARLIEST ASSYRIAN PERIOD.

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By Prof. ROBERT W. ROGERS, Ph. D. (Leipzig); Litt. D. (Dublin).

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I have had occasion and opportunity recently, in Europe, to investigate afresh the origins of Assyrian history, and am venturing to hope that a simple statement of the results may not tax your patience and need not overlap the bounds of 20 minutes. I shall not confuse the narrow lines of our knowledge by overmuch mention of our former knowledge, but content my enthusiasm by stating the case as it now seems to form, in the light of newly acquired or freshly assembled evidence.

I wish first to say something of the origin of this fresh light, and of the methods of its discovery.

On September 18, 1903, Dr. Robert Koldewey, representing the Deutsche Orient Gesellschaft, began excavations at Kalah Shergat, a mound on the western bank of the Tigris, near the junction of the lower Zab. In the first trenches there were found tablets of Shalmaneser I (1300 B. C.) and Ashurnazirpal II (884-858 B. C.), which seemed to awaken a hope that the spades had struck into the remains of a royal palace. Then came some records of a much later day, only to be succeeded by two little stone inscriptions of Irishum, on one of which he calls himself the builder of the Temple of Adad. Here, then, was a reach of historical record for this one temple of more than 13 centuries—Irishum to Esarhaddon. The ruins of a temple with such a history may well be worth the explorer's best devotion.

On November 10, 1903, Koldewey returned to Babylon, and Walter Andrae, who had just returned from a leave of absence in Germany, was left to carry on the excavations in Kalah Shergat, which was known to cover the remains of the city of Asshur, oldest capital city of the Assyrian people. From that time until April 20, 1914, have these excavations continued, with a patience and persistence beyond all praise, and with characteristic German thoroughness and scientific precision.

In the northern part of the mound stretching from east to west were found a series of great buildings. These were the remains

of a palace of Shalmaneser I (circa 1300 B. C.), and just north of it the rather poor pieces of a Temple of Aspur, then east of these two a Zikurrat, and then the Palace of Ashurnazirpal (884-858 B. C.) with an interesting inscription of the king.<sup>1</sup> Yet further to the west stood the great temple dedicated to the gods Anu and Adad, and beyond that again the new Palace of Tukulti-Ninib I (circa 1289 B. C.). In the long course of the years Andrae and his helpers have dug out the major part of the temple, and have found within its great spaces inscriptions enough to show the broad lines of its history. It was begun by Ashurrishishi (circa 1150 B. C.) and finished by Tiglathpileser I (circa 1120 B. C.), his son. The brief inscriptions of the former were found written in an archaic cuneiform script, and scattered in many places were broken pieces of a large prism of the latter. Somewhere in these same ruins Layard and Rassam had found three such prisms which had already gone to the British Museum, and the fourth, containing a duplicate account of the king's campaigns, and also a record of his building of this temple is now recovered by Andrae.<sup>2</sup> From this prism it would appear that the temple had been begun by Shamshi-Adad I (circa 2000 B. C.), and had then, when in bad repair, been razed by Ashurdan, grandfather of Tiglathpileser, partly rebuilt by Ashurrishishi, whom, however, Tiglathpileser does not mention as having built at all. Then two centuries and a half passed by and the temple which Tiglathpileser had erected was fallen into ruins, and Shalmaneser III (858-823 B. C.) rebuilt it, leaving within the simple records of his work which have also yielded themselves up to Andrae's search.<sup>3</sup>

West of the great temple Andrae found a number of private houses belonging to the late Assyrian period and very interesting as revealing something of the housing of the period. Every one had its paved court in front, with living rooms behind. The floor of these rooms was beaten soil, the walls were very thin, in most instances consisting of one stone only in thickness, and were plastered above and covered with asphalt at the bottom. The doors swung on hinges, and every

<sup>1</sup> Messerschmidt-Delitzsch, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur* 1, No. 25, Leipzig, 1911.

<sup>2</sup> "We [Layard and Rassam] were also fortunate enough to discover buried in the solid sun-dried brick masonry about 10 feet underground the annals of Tiglathpileser I, recorded on the terra-cotta cylinders, all bearing almost the same text. The first was discovered by Sir Henry Layard at the beginning of 1852; the second, exactly like it, I dug out in the following year during my own mission; and the third I also discovered at the end of the same year on my second expedition to that ruin \* \* \*. These three cylinders were found placed about 30 feet apart at three of the corners of an almost perfectly square platform. They were buried in solid masonry on the same level, and so I fully expected that we should find the fourth in the other corner; but though I dug away and examined the whole structure, I could find no trace of another cylinder." *Asshur and the Land of Nimrod*, p. 20. It was this fourth which Andrae had now found more than 50 years later. Andrae, *Der Anu-Adad Temple in Assur*. Leipzig, 1909, pp. 32 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Andrae, *op. cit.*, pp. 40 ff.

house had its proper sewer connections. Some of them had graves beneath which seem to have been used as burial places while the house was inhabited above.<sup>1</sup>

In 1909 the Asshur expedition while driving trenches to seek for the remains of large structures, came upon a long line of Assyrian *stelae*. The first discovered bore the name of Shalmaneser III, with his relationship to father and grandfather; then came inscriptions in like form of Ashurrisishi II (circa 960 B. C.) and of Tiglathpileser III, his son; then came one of Tukulti-Ninib I (circa 1289 B. C.), and then most interesting of all, Sammuramat (Semiramis),<sup>2</sup> wife of Shamshi-Adad V (823-810 B. C.), and mother of Adad-Nirari IV (810-781 B. C.), and after these, one of Ashurnazirpal III (884-858 B. C.). No less than 55 of these large *stelae*, varying from 6 to 11 feet in height and made of sandstone, basalt, or alabaster, were recovered.<sup>3</sup>

During the year 1910 the Ashur Temple on the northeastern corner of the city and near the Tigris was excavated completely, revealing its entire ground plan. Records enough were secured to give a general view of its history extending over many centuries. There were small and rather doubtful remains of the time of Ushpia (circa 2300 B. C.), more abundant foundation walls of Irishum (circa 2200 B. C.), and then the newer foundations of Shamshi-Adad I, whose ground plan was considered by his successors to be so well laid that none of them was bold enough to change it. During the reign of Shalmaneser I the temple had been burnt down and was then reerected by him with his palace so closely adjoining that the remains of the two buildings may scarcely be distinguished at the angle of their junction. At one of the doors were found enameled bricks of Tiglathpileser II (circa 1050 B. C.), while Sargon II (722-705 B. C.) had performed a similar office for another, and had repaved a court, while his son Sennacherib had extended the temple on its eastern corner. Here then were the remains of a temple on which skillful and devout hands had been building for more than thirteen centuries. No former excavator had ever seen so many centuries unroll before him in any single temple.

Before this great temple was an open square or plaza, and on its opposite side, facing its greater neighbor, stood a smaller temple dedicated to Sin and Shamash, and near by it lay a clay record of its erection by Ashurnirari I (circa 1900 B. C.), while not far away

<sup>1</sup> For these houses see the statements of Andrae in *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient Gesellschaft*, No. 31, May, 1906.

<sup>2</sup> On these see the preliminary reports by Andrae in *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient Gesellschaft*, No. 42, December, 1909, and on the Semiramis, compare Lehmann-Haupt, *Die historische Semiramis und ihre Zeit*. Tübingen, 1910. For the complete edition of all the *stela* see Andrae, *Die Stelenreihen in Assur*, Leipzig, 1913.

were found hundreds of unbaked tablets of the eleventh and twelfth centuries B. C.<sup>1</sup>

More surprising than either of these was the unearthing of the oldest Ishtar temple, whose foundation must have been laid in the third millenium before Christ. Within it were found Sumerian statues and other remains of their work sufficient to demonstrate that Asshur must have been inhabited in the Sumerian period. The plastic remains closely resemble those found by de Sarzec at Tello.

In the same temple was found a magnificent inscription of Tukulti-Ninib I (circa 1289 B. C.), who restored the temple in his day, building somewhat south of the older foundation, and referred to a previous restoration made by Ilushuma 720 years earlier. This important monument barely missed discovery at the hands of Rassam, one of whose tunnels passed within 8 inches of it.<sup>2</sup> Such are the fortunes of archæological exploration.

Scarcely had Andrae and his skillful helpers finished these works when they came upon another and more startling discovery, for the spades had struck into a series of tombs whose general character marked them as probably royal and not private. Andrae's acumen speedily identified the most westerly one as the tomb which once had contained the remains of Shamshi-Adad V (823-810 B. C.), husband of Semiramis, while another was soon determined to be that of Ashurnazirpal III (884-859 B. C.), a portion of whose great basalt sarcophagus was still in place, while not far away the massive sarcophagus of Ashurbelkala (circa 1100 B. C.) remained in almost perfect condition.

The discovery of these royal tombs appeals most strongly to the imagination. Before this Assyriology had seemed so poor in comparison with Egyptology, which has from the beginning been able to point to its long series of royal tombs, nay, even to the mummied remains of the greatest of Egyptian kings. There is no probability that Assyrian discoveries will ever be able to match these, but the reproach that neither Assyria nor Babylonia had even one royal tomb to show has been taken away.

With this spectacular discovery excavation at Asshur ceased, and on April 20, 1914, Andrae reported that the work was concluded. No such thorough excavation of any site in that valley had ever before been made. Andrae had indeed erected an imperishable monument to his patience, skill, and industry.

I have sketched at considerable length, perhaps too broadly, the story of the excavations which have given us our fresh view of the earliest history of Assyria. I have had, perhaps, an unusual oppor-

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<sup>1</sup> *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, No. 51, p. 47; No. 54, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

tunity for studying the inscriptions which Andrae has brought to light. I have seen many of the objects which he has recovered, through the courtesy and unfailing kindness of my dear friend and former teacher, Prof. Friedrich Delitzsch, in Berlin. The others I have studied in the original Assyrian texts. I wish now very briefly to report to you the picture of the early history which they present to my mind.

Nothing is known of the period when the first Semitic settlers entered Assyria. The country must have already had inhabitants, who may, perhaps, have belonged to some one of the ancient stocks who inhabited, in historic times, the Kurdish or Elamite Mountains. The oldest traditions of the Semitics, echoed down the ages by the Hebrews,<sup>1</sup> connect the earliest Semitic invaders of Assyria with the old culture land of Babylonia, and with these agree also the few scattered facts which have come down to us from the dim past. The earliest Assyrian rulers known to us bear the title "*patesi*." The word is Sumerian and must have come from the Sumerian people in Babylonia. There is no exact equivalent for it in the English tongue, but the meaning of it comes out with reasonable clearness.

It is a religious title of authority. It expresses the idea of earthly rule under the heavenly power of a god. The man who bore it was ruler of men or of lands as vice-gerent of the Deity. He was *patesi* of the land of Assyria, because he was *patesi* of its great god Ashur. The word was Sumerian, indeed, and so forms a slender link binding early Assyrian civilization with Babylonia.

The Assyrians rendered the word "*patesi*," or perhaps read it, "*ishakku*," which seems to mean in itself about the same thing as *patesi* with probably a little less religious color. When the early Assyrian rulers desired to emphasize the religious side of their office as ruler they were wont to call themselves *shangu*, which means priest. We do not know when these Assyrian rulers began to use the title "*sharru*," which is the usual and ordinary word for king, but quite frequently after it came into use a ruler called himself *patesi* at one time and *sharru* at another. He was still the representative of his god on earth, and so was *patesi*; he was also the war lord over men, and so might bring out of the Semitic Babylonian usage the word "*sharru*," and so entitle himself as he set out upon conquest.

The earliest Semitic settlement known to us was at Asshur. The spot was well chosen. It lay on the west bank of the Tigris nearly

<sup>1</sup> Witness the stories of the Tower of Babel, in Babylonia, and the direct statement of the ancient legend in the words: "And Cush begat Nimrod: he began to be a mighty one in the earth . . . And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Akkad, and Calneh in the land of Shinar. Out of that land he went forth into Assyria and builded Nineveh, and Rehoboth-Ir, and Calah, and Resen between Nineveh and Calah (the same is a great city)." Genesis x: 8-12.

halfway between the Upper and the Lower Zab Rivers, which pour their muddy waters into the Tigris from the east. The ground on which the city was to stand was high and rocky and along its eastern side ran the deep, swift Tigris. On the north the rocky heights fell off abruptly to the plain, with here and there rifts through which one might clamber down from the city. It would be easy to defend the northern side against any hostile approach, and the more especially because an arm of the Tigris swept by this rocky base, which though early sanded and silted might easily be turned into a protecting moat of water. Far away to the north stretched fertile soil, and yet better was the land east of the river, which rose in gentle undulations toward the distant foothills. Far away to the north were snow-capped mountains, a natural boundary for a new commonwealth. West of the city the defense was almost equally easy, for only two small valleys led downward from the city's height, while westward as well as northward was goodly land inviting the husbandman to till it and supply the new city with food.<sup>1</sup>

Hither more than 2,000 years before Christ came men who founded a city, and built within it a temple to the god Ashur, bearing the high-sounding title Ekhsarsagkurkura, "house of the mountain of the lands." We know not what else they built nor how they lived. The earliest ruler among them whose name is known to us was Ushpia, whose name is not Semitic, but may be derived from the people of some other race from mountain lands above, whom we have already supposed to be the earlier occupants of the country. No inscription of his has reached our eyes, if indeed any were written, and he remains a shadowy figure against the distant horizon.

Soon after Ushpia came Kikia, who began the building of the city wall. How far his work extended we can not now discover. It had slipped away and fallen before the fourteenth century, as Shalmaneser I testifies. But beneath the forecourt of the Temple of Ekhsarsagkurkura are yet to be seen a few archaic remains which may go back to this earliest period. The *patesis* who followed Kikia also were wall builders, and to them may go back the earliest parts of the north wall of the city, which once ran on the rocky edge, and high though it was above the plain, bore towers, and at one dangerous spot was built double and supplied with casemates.<sup>2</sup>

In some of these early days were also built the first defenses on the northwest, where was a sort of inner wall, defended on the outside by massive bastions, and on the south were somewhat similar defenses. Rude and dangerous enemies must have threatened this

<sup>1</sup> The description of the site here given owes most to Walter Andrae, *Die Festungswerke von Assur*, 1913, p. 1., but there are items in it drawn from Gertrude Lowthian Bell, *Amurath to Amurath*, p. 221.

<sup>2</sup> Walter Andrae, *Die Festungswerke von Assur*, p. 3.



old city, or its builders would scarce have defended it so mightily, but who these foes may have been we know not; they are yet more ghostly than these *patesis* who built the walls, whose foundations may yet be seen.

After Kikia come others bearing strange and ill-sounding names, some of them perhaps of the early stock, others Sumerian, and among them very early a *patesi*, with the Semitic name Shalim-akhum, harbinger of the day when all the kings should have naught but Semitic names. His son was Ilushuma, and of him there is the very definite historical recollection that he was at war with the first king, Sumu-abu, of the first dynasty of Babylon. This would give us as the period of Ilushuma about 2220 B. C. We do not know the issue of the conflict, but perhaps we shall not be far astray if we presume an Assyrian defeat. for the mention of war is in a chronicle<sup>1</sup> written to record Babylonian achievements and little likely to record conflicts that ended in defeat, and to the support of this conclusion also comes the fact that only a little later one of Sumuabi's successors, Hammurapi, actually exercised authority over Assyria. But of the time of which I now speak it is significant of the rapid and substantial growth of Assyrian power that Ilushuma should dare at all to measure strength with the venerable kingdom of the south.

After Ilushuma came his son Irishum, or Erishum, to rule, the times being stable enough to insure the succession in the same blood. Irishum dug a canal into the city, perhaps to supply it with water, and left behind him two inscriptions written in good Semitic words and in archaic cuneiform characters. The remains of his canal, filled with the débris of the ages, are still discernible, but the bricks with which he built a temple to Adad have probably succumbed to time. Later kings thought he lived and did his work about 2039 B. C., but the date can not be reconciled with the data of the chronicle, which makes his father a contemporary of Sumu-abu, and he may have lived about 2200 B. C. However that may be, his figure has some substance, for we know that he wrought two great works and left behind contributions both to civilization and to religion, and we are even able to read upon documents of his own day of his deeds. In him has begun the written history of Assyria.

Passing over the next two *patesis* Ikunum and Sharruken I we come shortly to Shamshi-Adad I, who was a contemporary of Hammurapi, greatest of the kings of early Babylonia. With Shamshi-Adad I there begins the more narrative form of inscription, still written indeed in archaic cuneiform characters, but with a certain freedom of space and order about it. He has indeed great things to tell. He may recount how the temple of the god En-lil,

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<sup>1</sup> King, *Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings*, II, p. 14.

erected by Irishum, had "fallen to ruins," and was now reerected by himself. He now rebuilt it and roofed it with cedars, and its mud brick walls did he adorn with silver, gold, and lapis lazuli. In his day we come upon times of riches and of culture indeed. But he went deeper into everyday life and records, if indeed he did not establish by law the standard prices in his city. "For one shekel of silver, two *gur* of grain; for one shekel of silver twenty five mana of wool; for one shekel of silver, twelve *ka* of oil." In this same inscription he boasts of having received the tribute of other kings; so begins with him the great art of tribute collecting which later kings were to carry to so high a point, and with him also begins the Assyrian form of royal boasting. More wonderful still, he claims to have set up a memorial stela on the shore of the great sea, and one pauses to ask, in surprise: Does he really mean the Mediterranean? Yet in spite of his boasts he seems to have been under some sort of bondage to Hammurapi,<sup>1</sup> who claims to have had troops stationed in his country.

These names are all that remain of the history of the early government of Assyria. At this period the chief city was Asshur, then and long after the residence of the ruler. There is no hint in these early texts of hegemony over other cities; though Nineveh certainly, and other cities probably, were then in existence. The population was probably small, consisting, in its ruling classes at least, of colonists from Babylonia. There were, as we have seen, earlier settlers among whom the Semitic invaders found home, as there were in Babylonia when the Semites first appeared in that land, but of them we have no certain knowledge. It is an indistinct picture which we get of these times in the temperate northern land, but it is a picture of civilized men who dwelt in cities, and built temples in which to worship their gods, and who carried on some form of government at times independent, at others in a tributary or other subject relation to the great culture land which they had left in the south. The later Assyrian people had but faint memory of these times, and to them, as to us, they were ancient days.

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<sup>1</sup> For the inscription, see Messerschmidt, *op. cit.* No. 2, and compare Luckenbill, *op. cit.* pp. 166 ff. For Hammurapi's contemporaneity, see Ranke, *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, VI, 1, p. 9 (No. 26), and for his claim of authority in Assyria, see his letter, or military dispatch, in *King, Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, III, 3 ff.

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IV. THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN AND EARLY CIVILIZATION  
IN EUROPE.

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By JAMES HENRY BREASTED,  
*Professor in the University of Chicago.*

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## THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN AND EARLY CIVILIZATION IN EUROPE,<sup>1</sup>

By JAMES HENRY BREASTED.

It has long been recognized that the Hellenistic age, following upon the death of Alexander, was a chapter in *Mediterranean* history, although our textbooks still continue to dismember it and divide it up into Greek and Roman history. But a fabric of civilization was interwoven across the Mediterranean in an epoch much remoter than the Hellenistic age. Civilization began in the Orient, and the earliest civilization in Europe was received from the Orient. The objections long maintained by conservative classicists were based primarily on the assumption that navigation across the eastern end of the Mediterranean was not common until well within the first millennium B. C. This assumption is now disproven by the discovery of a fleet of eight ships depicted on the walls of a pyramid-temple of Abusir (south of Gizeh, in Egypt)—a fleet sent forth by Sahure, King of Egypt in the twenty-eight century B. C. It brought back Phoenician captives and Phoenician pottery, and among other plunder appear several bears, animals unknown in Egypt but common in the Lebanon. It is evident that these, the earliest seagoing ships of which any representation has survived, have just returned to Egypt from a voyage to Phoenicia. Two centuries earlier, in the thirtieth century B. C., a fleet of 40 Egyptian ships returned to Egypt from the same region laden with cedar of Lebanon. Such ships were at least nearly 200 feet long, and they must have trafficked widely across the eastern Mediterranean from 3000 B. C. onward.

All Europe was at this time in a stage of neolithic barbarism. There was but one thoroughly centralized and highly civilized state on the Mediterranean in the thirtieth century B. C. It had grown up on the Nile, by a slow development traceable for over 1,000 years before 3000 B. C. It already had much to contribute. It is no accident that civilization first appeared in Europe in the Greek islands, in Crete, the island nearest to the Nile delta. Many contributions to civilization, however, lie in a realm so intangible, so completely supramaterial that they can not be traced in any surviving

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<sup>1</sup> This address was delivered with illustrations, without which the sequences presented in the first half especially are less clear and evident.

early remains. Such contributions will always elude us. In the absence of written documents in Europe during the earlier part of the age under discussion we can only follow those influences which found expression in material and tangible form. It is surprising how such materials have been neglected. The fragments of prehistoric bronzes uncovered by the German *classicists* in their excavation of Olympia were thrown aside in complete indifference, and, having been accidentally discovered lying among the rubbish by Sophus Müller, the Danish archaeologist, they were taken by him to Copenhagen, where they now rest in the royal museum there.

Realizing the impossibility of presenting a complete cross section of the early cultures which arose in the early eastern Mediterranean region, I propose to select a few of the surviving material evidences demonstrating the existence and the character of the cultural influences setting from the Orient toward Europe. I desire first to put before you a number of architectural sequences, each of which began in the Orient (Egypt and Asia), and, passing thence to Europe, furnished to European civilization a fundamental form, which culminated in the western world, sometimes as late as the Middle Ages. Following these we may then add other influences not so easily traceable in monumental remains.

### *I. The clerestory and the basilica cathedral.*

Recent excavations have uncovered the pyramid-temple of the Second Pyramid of Gizeh (twenty-ninth century B. C.), and the remains confirm earlier known evidence that the building contained a clerestory hall with light chutes which were elementary clerestory windows. This germ developed and culminated 1,600 years later in Egypt in the colossal colonnaded hall of Karnak—a fully-developed basilica with nave, clerestory windows, and side aisles. The tripartite arrangement of higher roof over the axis, and lower roof on either hand over the side aisles, with roof windows occupying the difference in level—is too complicated to have been invented by two peoples independently. When we find buildings of this type appearing in Greece in the Hellenistic age it is evident therefore whence the form came into Greece. The earliest definite example known to me was found by the French some years ago on the island of Delos.<sup>1</sup> The building dates probably from the third century B. C. The basilica at Pompeii is probably not much later. As a place of public business it is well known that this type of building became common in

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<sup>1</sup> The alleged basilica restored by Sir Arthur Evans in the royal villa near the palace of Knossos, in Crete (Annual Brit. School at Athens, IX, fig. 89, p. 144 ff. and pl. I), is an exceedingly doubtful case. It had windows (if at all) only on one side, and its axis was at right angles to the main axis of the hall. If this clerestory really existed, it is another valuable example of the influence of Egypt in Crete and far antedates the basilica on Delos.

Rome after 200 B. C. Its influence upon cathedral construction is too familiar to need mention, but if we add the early basilica cathedral of St. Peter's at Rome (fourth century A. D.) we have an unbroken architectural series covering some 3,300 years and reaching from the Nile by way of Greece to Christian Italy.

## *II. The Assyrian palace front and the Roman triumphal arch.*

Another architectural series beginning in the Orient and culminating in the west is to be found in the development started by the Assyrian palace front. It is probably early Babylonian, but the buildings thus far disclosed by excavation in Babylonia are too fragmentary to permit the complete restoration of such a front. We may begin with the type in Assyria, where it is unquestionable. There we have well-preserved royal palaces in which the front displays a great arched doorway as the main entrance, with two smaller arched entrances one on each side of the central arch. The example employed in this comparison was built in the eighth century B. C. The Persians refused to adopt the arch from Babylonia or Assyria, but their successors, the Parthians, adopted this middle member of the Assyrian palace front, and one of these Parthian examples is still well preserved at Hatra just west of the Tigris at Assur, the ancient capital of Assyria. It belongs to the early Christian age, but is unquestionably the local development of the earlier Assyrian form. At first glance one would almost mistake it for a Roman triumphal arch, with its arrangement of three arches, the highest in the middle, and the two lower on each side. Here again the germinal form, developed on the Tigris, passed in a thousand years to the Tiber.

## *III. The Babylonian temple tower and the Christian church spire.*

Recent excavation and survey on the Tigris have enabled us to arrange a similar sequence leading from the Babylonian temple tower to the campanile and the modern church spire. The brick tower that rose beside the ancient Babylonian temple can be traced far back in the third millennium B. C. This tower was a rectangular mass of tapering masonry, around which wound an ascending ramp or causeway, which was not spiral, because the building around which it passes was square. It was a building of this type which gave rise to the tradition of the Tower of Babel. At Samarra, in Mesopotamia, a massive stone minaret with a winding ascent around the outside shows how this traditional form influenced the form of the tower attached to the Moslem house of worship. This Samarra tower is round, but the tradition of a square base long persisted. It is still found in the minaret of the mosque of Ibn Tulun, in Cairo, where two important transitions are observable—the square lower portion of the tower is terraced; the upper portion is round. Al-

though Ibn Tulun's mosque dates from about 876 A. D., the form of his minaret represents a much earlier stage of development, which had already been reached when the Hellenistic architects of the Ptolemies built the Pharos, the famous lighthouse of Alexandria, in the early third century B. C. Here the square lower portion is already terraced and the transition to the round section at the top is made by an intervening hexagonal section. It is a type which lasted long. It is found commonly in the minarets of the Mameluke mosques of Egypt, especially those of the fourteenth century A. D., and it passed over to many a church spire in Europe, like that of San Giovanni at Parma.

Here again we have a long sequence of architectural inheritance and development of over 4,000 years, reaching from the Tigris to the Tiber.

#### *IV. The origin of European writing.*

One of the most important evidences of oriental influence in Europe is early European writing. No system of writing was ever originated on the Continent of Europe, and whatever may have been the origin of Cretan writing, it arose long after literary culture was widespread in the east and in closest contact with that culture. Heretofore in tracing the connection between the Orient and the earliest writing in Europe scholars have devoted themselves solely to the forms of the signs and letters. The physical process and the material equipment employed have received no attention. Yet they are of prime importance in the solution of the problem. Two physical processes of writing passed from the Orient into the Mediterranean world. One of these methods was that of incision with a stylus on a soft surface. This method arose in Babylonia and employed a clay tablet as the soft surface. It was perpetuated in the Mediterranean by the clay tablets found by Evans in Crete and later by the wax tablet of the Roman gentleman. It was an inconvenient process in actual operation and produced an inconvenient document when once written. The other method was that of employing a reed point to apply a dark fluid to the surface of a vegetable membrane. This method arose on the Nile and was in use there before the middle of the fourth millennium B. C. The membrane employed was the convenient papyrus paper invented by the Egyptians. The scribe's other equipment consisted of a pen box, into which he thrust his reed pens. This box was likewise a palette for mixing his rather thick ink, which was kept in two little recesses at the end of the box, one for the black and one for the red ink of the rubrics, a method of emphasizing the head of a paragraph which has also descended to us from the Nile. With this equipment the Egyptian scribe wrote by a process which is still the prevailing



physical process of writing throughout the civilized world; the other method of incising on a soft surface declined and disappeared in the Orient in the last pre-Christian century.

The victory of pen, ink, and paper was a slow one. Both of the methods of writing above described are represented on the monuments of Assyria, in use side by side; but in all the extant discussions of the origin of European writing these representations are nowhere employed, nor is there even a reference to them. In seventeen different reliefs of the eighth and seventh centuries B. C., the Assyrian artist shows us two scribes making a record of the spoil of the vanquished. One of these scribes writes with a stylus on a clap tablet; the other with a reed pen on a roll. This roll can be nothing else than Egyptian papyrus, which has made its way into Asia.

Furthermore, another relief discovered in the German excavations at Senjerli in North Syria shows us a Syrian prince of the eighth century B. C. enthroned with his secretary before him. This functionary carries in one hand an Egyptian pen box already described. Thus both the Egyptian material equipment and physical process of writing made their way into Asia. If any further evidence were needed it is furnished by the still unpublished Hebrew ostraca from Samaria, discovered by the Harvard expedition. They belong to the eighth and ninth centuries B. C. They are fragments of pottery bearing writing in ink done with an Egyptian reed pen. They are the earliest surviving examples of writing with pen and ink in Asia.

Finally, when we read in an Egyptian document of the twelfth century B. C. a statement of the exportation of Egyptian papyrus to the flourishing Phœnician port of Byblos; when we consider further that the oldest Greek word for papyrus is "byblos" (occurring in derivative form in Homer, referring to the papyrus fiber cordage of a ship, and in Herodotus and Æschylus to a "book"), it is evident that the material equipment for writing was passing from Egypt to the Greek world by way of Syria at a very early date.

The question now arises, In making the journey from Egypt around the eastern end of the Mediterranean, did this material equipment for writing entirely part company with the phonetic system of writing employed on the Nile? It is not probable. Moreover the new Hebrew ostraca from Samaria employ the Egyptian cursive numerals and we can hardly doubt that these numerals were accompanied by the Egyptian cursive alphabetic signs already long employed by the Egyptians in the spelling of foreign proper names. This alphabet is still the only one known to us, offering a complete series of alphabetic signs, one for each consonant of the Semitic

alphabet. All this new evidence<sup>1</sup> compels us to return to the old, but now widely rejected, hypothesis of an Egyptian origin of that familiar Phœnician alphabet received by Greece and Europe.

Our honored modern historians, adept in large problems of state, accustomed to the skillful dissection of bulky state archives, and the critical reconstruction of the policies of great statesmen, are probably inclined to regard such musty researches as of very moderate antiquarian interest and of slight historical importance. Perhaps we may gently remind such hearers that they would have had no state archives to dissect but for the developments which we have been endeavoring to trace. Nevertheless I hasten in conclusion to the orthodox political rubric.

*V. The oriental conception of the state and its relation to later Europe.*

On the earliest seals of Babylonia, as far back as the twenty-ninth or thirtieth centuries B. C., we find depicted a symbol of the state, a kind of national standard which, like a coat of arms, represents the state. Thus the standard of Lagash, in lower Babylonia, was a lion-headed eagle with outspread wings and with clutching talons fleshed in the backs of two lions. These animals in turn throw back their heads and fix their teeth in the wings of the eagle. Here are two of the fundamentals of ancient art—violent action and antithetic or balanced composition. This early Babylonian lapidary art revels in both.

These rampant animals emerging here so early on the Euphrates are therefore the lineal ancestors of the antithetic and violently agitated animal figures which play so large a part in the decorative heraldic art of Europe. It is quite possible and easy to trace the eagle and the lions of Lagash through Asia Minor and the Mediterranean to the double eagle of Austria and Russia, or the eagles and lions of Saxony, or the lions of Bavaria. It is superfluous to add that these carry us over to our own American eagle, of which the eagle of Lagash is the earliest ancestor. This ancient ancestry of European heraldic art, however, is not our main interest at this point. We find the early Sumerian monuments of Babylonia depicting the god of the city-kingdom bearing in his mighty grasp this heraldic symbol of the city or state. This scene, in the transparent symbolism of the Orient, epitomizes the early oriental polity, picturing to us the victorious state upheld in the guiding and protecting hand of the god who is its head. But this is a purely ideal scene—one that never existed except in sculpture.

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<sup>1</sup> When the new Hebrew documents from Samaria have been published it will be necessary to compare them exhaustively with the Egyptian cursive alphabet. I hope in another place to examine the claims of Sir Arthur Evans for Cretan writing as the source of the so-called Phœnician alphabet.

It was possible, however, to express the same relationship between the god and the state in an actual scene, by employing a symbol of the god instead of a symbol of the state, and by putting this symbol of the god into the hands of a human representative of the state. But here we must remember that this actual practice was more than mere symbolism. There was early transubstantiation here. The oriental believed without qualification that he was thus introducing the potent presence of the god into earthly scenes and making him effective in earthly crises. On Egyptian sculptures as far back as the thirty-fifth century B. C. we find symbols of the gods borne in procession at the celebration of a victory. But this was not enough. The god must be present and assist in the actual battle. We find in the Egyptian battle array a chariot bearing the symbol of Amon, which was actually driven into the midst of the fray. Thutmose III in the fifteenth century B. C., in his annals of his wars in Asia, speaks of bearing Amon at the head of the column. We recall the similar use of the sacred ark by the Hebrews when they sent it into battle against the Philistines. The Assyrian sculptures exhibit the same thing and, what is even more important, we find one sculpture showing us the Assyrian camp with the chariot bearing the sacred standards in one corner, where the priests are engaged in sacrificing to them as to the god of the state, by the aid of whose visible presence victory was certain. Such a custom was purely oriental. The eagle standard of Jupiter Optimus borne at the head of the Roman legion can hardly have had any other origin;<sup>1</sup> and we all recall the secret rites in the cult of the destroying eagle with the practice of which Cicero charges Catiline. We remember, too, that Constantine, thinking to honor the newly triumphant faith, made a battle standard bearing a symbol of the Christ at the top, and this standard led the legions into battle. He furthermore made for it a portable tent shrine to be set up in the camp of the legions, like that which we have seen in the Assyrian camp; and he appointed ministrants who should maintain a cult and ritual ceremonies here in honor of the battle Christ. Thus did the Roman emperor convert the Prince of Peace into an oriental war god.

This visible leadership of the god in the crisis of battle was but one function in his guidance of the oriental state. He was the source of the king's legal authority as the head of the state, and I know of no monument of the early east which more forcibly pictures this concept of the state than the shaft which bears the laws of Hammurapi, the oldest surviving code of law. The 3,600 lines of text containing the code, engraved around the shaft below, are surmounted by a noble relief scene in which the Babylonian king is depicted receiv-

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<sup>1</sup> See the remarks of Schaefer on this whole question in *Klio*, VI.

ing the code from the sun god. There is an intimate coalition here which makes the king the infallible representative of the god, a representative whom no mortal would venture to challenge.

We have here a state which is a divine institution administered by a ruler who is the recognized agent of divinity. In his *Holy Roman Empire* (3d ed., p. 3), James Bryce remarks, that "in order to make clear out of what elements the imperial system was formed we might be required \* \* \* to travel back to that Jewish theocratic polity, whose influence on the minds of the mediæval priesthood was necessarily so profound." Had this distinguished writer's studies chanced to carry him back into the remoter reaches of the ancient Orient he would of course have discerned that what he calls "Jewish theocratic polity" was in fact only a very late manifestation of a conception of the state common to the whole early east thousands of years before the Hebrew theocratic monarchy arose.<sup>1</sup>

It should be noticed that this conception of the state accepted absolute monarchy as a matter of course and never raised the question or entered upon a discussion of the proper form of the state. With the decline and final disappearance of the economic initiative and democratic responsibilities of the individual citizen in the later Roman Empire, it was this oriental conception of the state, in the form of monarchical absolutism, ruling by divine right, which triumphed in Europe for centuries. In spite of democratic progress in modern Europe, this ancient oriental notion of the nature of a sovereign's rights still persists and is taken seriously by at least one of the warring European rulers. Indeed the definiteness with which all the European belligerents of 1914 continue to announce their alliance with the heavenly powers, must raise a conflict of treaty obligations very embarrassing to the celestial chancellery. But this hoary oriental concept of the state, although much modified by democratic tendencies, did not stop on the other side of the Atlantic. Its influence is still discernible in the early New England town meeting, although our Pilgrim forefathers little dreamed that in the distant vista behind the venerable figure of Moses, dominating their assemblies, there loomed the remote and colossal shadows of Cheops and Hammurapi.

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<sup>1</sup> There were of course differences between the Egyptian and the Babylonian conception of the state as a theocracy, but these can not be taken up in this rapid sketch.

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V. A POLITICAL IDEAL OF THE EMPEROR HADRIAN.

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## A POLITICAL IDEAL OF THE EMPEROR HADRIAN.

By WILLIAM DODGE GRAY.

While collecting material for a life of Hadrian, which I hope some day to complete, I have arrived at a theory in regard to his administration which I have not found clearly and fully stated in any of the accounts of his reign, and which has provided me with a clue to the meaning of, and a bond between, many of his apparently heterogeneous acts.<sup>1</sup> It is this: One of Hadrian's main purposes was to protect the Graeco-Roman civilization of the Roman Empire from corrupting influences, particularly from the influences of northern barbarism and of orientalism, and to give to this civilization a more Roman character. It is a corollary of this theory that there were limits to Hadrian's far-famed cosmopolitanism. It has been said that Hadrian summed up in his character and policy all the tendencies of his time.<sup>2</sup> On the contrary, there were some of these tendencies against which he set his face. In spite of certain traits in his character that seem un-Roman, he appears in his administration fundamentally Roman. He endeavored to realize the purpose just referred to by what may be called a policy of conservation and Romanization. I shall attempt first to indicate some of the causes that led him to adopt this policy, then to trace the workings of the policy in some of the principal acts of his administration, and finally to show why his efforts were not crowned with any permanent success.

The influences that helped to determine Hadrian's administrative ideal are to be sought in the facts<sup>3</sup> of his career before his accession.

<sup>1</sup> This paper is the by-product of an investigation that is still in progress. Some of the views expressed must therefore be regarded as tentative.

<sup>2</sup> For expressions of the current view of Hadrian's cosmopolitanism, see Pelham, Introduction to Gregorovius; Emperor Hadrian (Robinson's translation); Bury, Students' Roman Empire, 493; Jones, Roman Empire, 179. Hadrian was cosmopolitan in that his tastes and interests were catholic, and in that he displayed in his treatment of the provincials "a new, liberal, and humane spirit." But his cosmopolitanism did not involve the boundless hospitality to the ideas of his time, with which he has been credited.

<sup>3</sup> For these facts see particularly the Athenian inscription, CIL, III, 550 and the *Vita Hadriani*, 1-5, in the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*. It is impossible for me in a short paper fully to define my attitude toward the S. H. A. In my opinion the researches of Heer (*Der Historische Wert der Vita Commodi*), Schulz (*Leben des Kaisers Hadrian*), Lécirvain (*Études sur l'Histoire Auguste*), Kornemann (*Kaiser Hadrian und der letzte grosse Historiker von Rom*), and Weber (*Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrians*), not to mention others, have made it possible to use certain portions of the lives that have been examined, with a good deal of confidence. The *Vita Hadriani* in particular has been subjected to searching analysis, and tested in part by the archaeological evidence, particularly by Weber, whose work is perhaps the most important contribution to the study of Hadrian's reign since the appearance of Dürr's *Die Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian*. The works above mentioned will be cited by the names of their authors.

He spent much of his youth in military service on the northern frontier, particularly in Moesia and Pannonia. He received a lively impression of barbarian warfare in the merciless Dacian wars. As Legatus of Lower Pannonia, in 107 A. D., he had to suppress a revolt of the Sarmatians. He was in Syria in the year 116-117, when the fearful Jewish revolt was raging in Mesopotamia, Cyprus, Egypt, and Cyrene. He was Legatus of Syria at the conclusion of the Parthian war in 117. He must then have heard eyewitnesses speak of the horrors of Trajan's unfortunate return journey through Mesopotamia. Thus Hadrian before his accession received exactly those impressions of the northern and Asiatic barbarians and their ways which were calculated to inspire in him a profound antagonism to these peoples and to lead him to adopt against them a policy of exclusion and defense. I do not mean merely military defense, though this was included in Hadrian's policy.

The workings of his policy appear first in his regulations on the frontiers. His most conspicuous act immediately after his accession was the surrender of Trajan's conquests. The surrender of Mesopotamia and Assyria can be explained on military grounds; the Emperor did not have soldiers enough for the defense of this territory. But the case is different with Armenia.<sup>1</sup> This country occupied a position of capital strategic importance, commanding the important approaches to Asia Minor and Syria; it could have been garrisoned with a small force; and its retention as a province would have put an end to its old ambiguous and dangerous position as a client state. So Hadrian has been blamed by historians for surrendering Armenia. But the country would have offered a more difficult field for Romanization than the half-Hellenized Mesopotamia; it was thoroughly oriental.<sup>2</sup> To Hadrian the retention of Armenia meant the incorporation into the empire of peoples who could not assimilate its civilization; it meant the opening up of a new avenue for oriental influences.<sup>3</sup>

As we proceed westward through the frontier provinces, we find further evidences of Hadrian's policy of conservation and Romanization. If we can believe Dion,<sup>4</sup> Hadrian partly destroyed Trajan's

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Schiller, *Geschichte der Römischen Kaiserzeit*, I, 2, 606; Duruy, *History of Rome* (Ripley's translation), V, 296.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Mommsen, *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, II, 75.

<sup>3</sup> I do not claim that other considerations also may not have influenced Hadrian. In this, as in other cases, I mention the motive pertinent to my argument. It must be remembered that the civilization of Armenia was mainly Parthian; and that Armenians, Parthians, and Jews had become unpleasantly associated in Hadrian's mind through the events of the years 114-117.

<sup>4</sup> Dion, 68, 13, 5, 6. Dion's statement has been much questioned; but the destruction of the bridge is in harmony with Hadrian's other measures of exclusion. Dion assigns a military motive to Hadrian's act, but scholars have not been inclined to attach much importance to his statement. To Schiller (I, 1, 607), for instance, the act is "unverständlich." Supposing an invasion to have been made through Dacia, in summer the river could have been crossed in boats, and as Tillemont said long ago (II, 382), "Tout le Danube était un pont pour les barbares durant l'hiver."



famous bridge over the Danube at Turni Severin. This act can have had little military significance. But the destruction of the bridge restricted communication between an old province, Moesia, and a new, and as yet little Romanized Province, Dacia.

Hadrian gave municipal rights to a number of towns, chiefly in the Danube region, which had developed from the stationary camps—to Carnuntum, Aquincum, Viminacium, and others. But he did not, after granting these rights, withdraw the garrisons from the towns, though this had been the practice of the emperors before him in dealing with the new municipalities.<sup>1</sup> How are we to explain this break with tradition? It was due apparently to Hadrian's desire to retain in these towns, which from their positions were likely to relapse into semibarbaric communities, centers of Roman discipline and of Roman ideas—in short, of Romanization.

On the frontiers between the Danube and the Rhine Hadrian's defenses are somewhat peculiar in character. Besides the forts, whose purpose is obviously military, he erected between these rivers a huge wooden fence or palisade. The military value of the palisade has been declared by the experts of the German Reichslimes-Kommission to be practically nil.<sup>2</sup> We have, then, on this frontier a *limes* that was sufficiently troublesome and costly to make, but whose military value and purpose are doubtful. It has been called, therefore, a customs barrier. My study of the evidence relating to Roman trade with Germany has not led me to believe that it was important enough to demand the construction of this formidable barrier.<sup>3</sup> In erecting this palisade the Emperor may have had in mind, among other purposes, the regulation of traffic. But his chief purpose, it would seem, was to defend the least Romanized of his subjects from enemies more intangible than smugglers or marauders. He wished to put a stop to the informal intercourse between Roman and barbarian that would be going on across the frontier, to exclude barbarian ideas, customs, and beliefs.<sup>4</sup> This

<sup>1</sup> The practice was not always adhered to; Trajan, for instance, retained the garrison in Vetera after promoting the town to a colony. But under Hadrian the exception seems to have become the rule. Cf. CIL, 3, p. 711; Schiller, I, 1, 610.

<sup>2</sup> Convenient accounts of the discoveries of the Kommission will be found in the article of Fabricius, *Das Römische Heer in Obergermanien und Raetien*, *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, 1906, and in Pelham, A Chapter in Roman Frontier History, in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, new series, XX.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Speck, *Handelsgeschichte des Altertums*, III, 785. For a summary of evidence with other references, see Appendix XX, by Tischler, to Friedländer's *Sittengeschichte*. The Germans tend to regard this trade as important, but their opinions do not seem to be supported by their evidence. No one has succeeded in showing what it was of importance that the Romans imported from the Germans.

<sup>4</sup> The passage in the *Vita Hadriani* (12, 6) relating to Hadrian's *limes* contains no hint of traffic regulation. The author says: "In plurimis locis in quibus barbari non fluminibus sed limitibus dividuntur, stipitibus magnis in modum muralis sæpis funditus iactis atque conexis barbaros separavit." This passage deserves great respect; its description of a Hadrianic palisade corresponds not only in general but in detail with the discoveries of the Kommission.

purpose of exclusion, along with that of defense, was served by the wall across Britain, whether we ascribe to Hadrian the famous stone wall or the recently discovered wall of turf.<sup>1</sup> It is noteworthy that the British wall did not mark the limit of military occupation; there were forts beyond it—at High Rochester, for instance. It may be remarked here that there were similar strongholds outside of the limits in the Danube region.<sup>2</sup> These facts seem to show that these “mechanical barriers” had other purposes besides that of military defense. Thus it seems possible to detect in Hadrian’s regulations on the frontiers, from Armenia to Britain, a pervading idea that is by no means solely military.

The policy of which I speak appears also in Hadrian’s military reforms. These as recounted in the sources<sup>3</sup> are well known. They represent an attempt to restore to the army the ancient Roman discipline and efficiency and the Roman character. The emperor was strict in demanding military service of the inhabitants of Romanized communities in the provinces<sup>4</sup> (if his treatment of the Spanish provincials can be considered as typical), and he assigned important military commands only to Romans or to thoroughly Romanized provincials. An interesting fact connected with Hadrian’s military reforms has recently come to light in inscriptions found in the Rhine country. Under him apparently begins the extensive use of the new military formation known as the *numerus*, though it was instituted perhaps under Trajan.<sup>5</sup> These *numeri* were organized on the basis of nationality, and were made up of the least Romanized provincials or of the “new-caught, sullen peoples,” whose loyalty was as yet doubtful; under Hadrian, for instance, a number of Britons organized in *numeri* were transferred from their own country to the German frontier. The *numeri* occupied a position of great inferiority in the service, standing to the regular auxiliary troops in about the same relation as these latter did to the legionaries. They were stationed on the frontiers in positions where they might keep guard

<sup>1</sup> For recent theories and literature as to the wall see Ward, *Romano-British Buildings and Earthworks*, 130 ff. Prof. H. Stuart Jones, in a reply which he kindly sent me to a letter of inquiry, says that recent discoveries of pottery under the stone wall seem to confirm the older theory that this wall is Hadrianic.

<sup>2</sup> I have omitted the discussion of these *limites*, as the questions connected with them are too complicated for brief treatment. But some of them (in the Dobrudja, and in Dacia, for instance) seem to be the work of Hadrian. Cf. Kornemann, *Die neueste Limesforschung im Lichte der Römischkaiserlichen Grenzpolitik*, in *Klio*, 1907, 73 ff. The peculiar nature of the *limites* in the east and elsewhere has given rise to the theory that they are not only customs barriers but “civil boundaries.”

<sup>3</sup> The chief sources are: Vita, 10–11; Dion, 69, 9; Arrian, *Tactica*, 33–44.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Vita, 12, 4. On the passage see Schulz, 55; Kornemann, 45; Weber, 115. For Hadrian’s attempt to restore the Roman character to the army, see von Domaszewski, *Geschichte der Römischen Kaiser*, II, 191 ff.

<sup>5</sup> On the *numeri* see Mommsen, *Hermes*, IX, 50; von Domaszewski. *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, XIV, 29; Fabricius, *Ein Limesproblem*, in *Festschrift der Universität Freiburg* for 1902, 275 ff.; Kornemann, *Die neueste Limesforschung im Lichte der Römischkaiserlichen Grenzpolitik*, in *Klio*, 1907, 101 ff.

and at the same time be guarded by the regular troops. In Hadrian's employment of the *numeri* we have an attempt on his part to segregate the least Roman part of the army in order that the Roman character of the more important and dependable parts might be preserved. It is true that Hadrian's general, Arrian, made use of barbarians (e. g., Armenians) in his war against the Alani<sup>1</sup> (an unimportant war in a remote part of the empire), and that barbarian tactics were adopted to some extent in Hadrian's army. Nevertheless, Schiller's remark<sup>2</sup> that the cosmopolitan character of the army of the later empire dates from the cosmopolite Hadrian, is contrary to the spirit revealed in Hadrian's military reforms taken as a whole.

A significant measure of Hadrian, relating at once to the frontiers and to his military organization, is the extensive use made by him of alliances with the barbarian kinglets and chieftains on the borders of his empire.<sup>3</sup> Under few of the emperors was this system of alliances so much employed. Among Hadrian's allies were the princes of the Alani, the Roxolani, the Iazyges, and the Germans. They were charged apparently with the defense of the frontiers of the empire, and to some of them at least salaries were paid.<sup>4</sup> In this way Hadrian employed barbarians to fight for him, but he employed them outside of the empire. Thus he strove to erect between the domain of civilization and the dangerous barbarism of the farther north a living wall, as it were. In view of all the facts we have been considering, the charge often made against Hadrian that he depended too much upon "mechanical barriers" for the preservation of peace seems hardly justified. If I understand his methods, he did not depend upon them; he depended rather upon the increased efficiency and mobility of his army and upon the relations which he had established with the neighboring barbarians.

The idea of conservation and Romanization is prominent in a number of Hadrian's reforms in Rome and Italy,<sup>5</sup> but I shall mention only the one in which it is most conspicuous. I refer to the great codification of the prætorian edicts made by Salvius Julianus. The law was to be no longer modified by judges, but only by the legislation of the emperor and the senate. In this code, the first forerunner of the *corpus juris civilis*, we have certainly an effort to

<sup>1</sup> Ἐκταῖς κατ' Ἀλαῶν, 89 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Geschichte, I, 2, 609.

<sup>3</sup> Vita, 6, 8; 13, 8; 17, 10; Dion, 69, 9, 5; Arrian, Periplus, 11, 2, 3; CIL, V. 32, 33; Weber, 72; Kornemann, 28.

<sup>4</sup> These are often called "subsides" and represented as humiliating bribes. On this point see Weber, 72; v. Domszewski, Der Völkerbund des Markomannenkriegs, in Serta Harteliana, 9 ff.

<sup>5</sup> His legislation as reported in the Vita (18) and as found in the Digest (29, 36, 47, 48, etc.) bears the stamp of the austere Roman moralist, the disciple of Cato and Augustus. It is, however, very humane.

crystallize and to preserve for posterity one of Rome's greatest gifts to civilization.

The well-known facts of Hadrian's provincial administration—his great journeys by which he acquainted himself everywhere with the state of that imperiled civilization which he was striving to foster and protect, his gifts and buildings, his generosity with the franchise, his multiplication of Roman communities—are all in harmony with his conserving and Romanizing tendency. Even in his treatment of the Greeks, where he appears as the great philhellene, a Roman motive can be detected, as we shall see. It may be remarked here that there were limits to Hadrian's philhellenism, and that perhaps too much stress has been laid on his nickname, the "Greek-ling." He had, no doubt, a real love for the art and literature of the Greeks; he showered gifts and privileges upon their cities, and he encouraged and rewarded their artists and men of letters. But he gave them little share in his government, and did not, as a rule, assign to them important administrative and military posts.<sup>1</sup> Arrian, the Legatus of Cappadocia, is conspicuous because he is an exception. Ordinarily the emperor's helpers were such thorough Romans as Attianus, Similis, and Turbo.

In regard to Hadrian's religious policy his naïve biographer is very explicit. He says: "*Sacra romana diligentissime curavit, peregrina contempsit. Pontificis maximi officium peregit.*"<sup>2</sup> There seems to be no reason to doubt the accuracy of this general statement. The great religious center which Hadrian founded in Rome in 121<sup>3</sup> was no monstrous pantheon crowded with the gods of east and west, such as might have been expected from the universally tolerant Hadrian of tradition. On the contrary it was dedicated to two thoroughly Roman deities—Venus, the divine ancestress of that imperial family to which Hadrian by apostolic succession belonged, and the goddess Roma herself. It is apparently under Hadrian that the name "*Roma Æterna*" first comes into common use.<sup>4</sup> And the number of western inscriptions dedicated to oriental deities and assignable to the reign of Hadrian is small.<sup>5</sup> This is particularly true of Rome, but it is true also of the provinces.

Let us now consider Hadrian's attitude toward the Greek religion. Naturally he desired to revive it; Greek religion was the mother of

<sup>1</sup> This fact is well brought out by v. Domaszewski, *Geschichte d. Röm. Kaiser*, II, 191 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Vita*, 22, 10. This is one of the "good" passages; cf. Schulz, 96. Historians tend to represent Hadrian as a skeptic, or as indifferent to religion. What his personal religion may have been, I do not pretend to say. But indifferent to religion he was not. Cf. Pausanias, I, 5, 5.

<sup>3</sup> On the temple of Venus and Rome, see Hülsen, *Forum Romanum*, 234; Weber, 104.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*, II, 357. For the legend on the coins, see Eckhel, VI, 510 ff.; Cohen, 1299–1303.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Dwight N. Robinson, *Quibus temporibus religiones ab Oriente ortæ et Romæ et in provinciis Romanis floruerint desierintque quaeritur*.

the arts, which he wished also to revive. But his revival took a peculiar form. At first glance it would seem that he appointed as the official cult of the Greeks, the worship of the Olympian Zeus. The centers of this official religion were to be found in Hadrian's new city at Athens. One was the great Olympieum, which Hadrian completed; the other was the temple of Zeus Panhellenios. We are told that in these temples the worship of Hadrian was associated with that of Zeus. But this is an understatement. From 128<sup>1</sup> Hadrian is called *Olympios*, *Panhellenios*, and *Eleutherios*, in numerous Greek inscriptions. A number of the most important of these will be found in Weber's *Untersuchungen*; <sup>2</sup> it is to Weber that I owe this interpretation of Hadrian's policy with regard to the Greek religion. Hadrian was worshipped not merely as the associate of Zeus, but as his incarnation on earth. The god of the new religion was Zeus-Hadrian. By this arrangement the emperor secured a number of desirable results. The emperor-worship was the worship of the Roman state embodied in its head. It was the one common expression of patriotism in the heterogeneous empire. This worship had never taken root in Greece. Now Hadrian commended it to his Greeks by giving to it a Greek form; and thus he attached them more firmly to himself and to the empire. It is here that the Roman basis of his phil-Hellenism appears. Moreover he effected, through his new religion, a new pan-Hellenic union—the historical basis of pan-Hellenism had always been the worship of the Olympian Zeus. By means of this union he drew more sharply the lines that separated the Greeks from the barbarians; and he protected the Greeks more effectually from the insidious oriental cults that were lurking at their very doors. And by admitting to his pan-Hellenic union the non-Greek cities of Asia Minor, which had become Hellenized and had abandoned their old gods and their old customs, Hadrian made his new religion a powerful instrument of Hellenization and of Romanization.<sup>3</sup>

Hadrian's opposition to orientalism on the other hand, is seen most clearly perhaps in the warfare which he waged with the religion of the Jews. I know that Mommsen<sup>4</sup> and others claim that Hadrian, in founding Aelia Capitolina on the site of Jerusalem, had no political or religious object in view, and that he was simply adding another to the number of his camp cities. But how can this view be reconciled with the facts that Jews were exiled from the walls of the colony, that it was dedicated specifically to the emperor worship

<sup>1</sup> The date of Hadrian's visit to Athens during his second great journey. During his first visit to Greece (124) he experimented with the hero cults. He was, of course, to be the greatest of the heroes.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 209 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. v. Domaszewski, *Geschichte d. Röm. Kaiser*, II, 202 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Provinces of Rom. Emp. (Dickson's translation), II, 243.

and to that of the Capitoline Jupiter, and that pagan altars were reared in it on the site of the temple?<sup>1</sup> Besides all this, Hadrian forbade to the Jews the right of circumcision.<sup>2</sup> His treatment of the Jews is accounted for by his experience with this people at his accession. From his point of view he was right in making war on a religion that was always an inspiration to sedition, and that could by no means be welded into his political and religious scheme.

There is evidence also that Hadrian opposed other oriental cults. The Baal of Emesa had a great number of worshippers; he had, like Jahveh, a powerful, highly organized priesthood, equipped with an elaborate theology.<sup>3</sup> Hadrian viewed this cult with disfavor, and in order to keep its priesthood and its worshippers within bounds, he stationed the legion Tertia Gallica beneath the walls of Emesa, just as he had settled soldiers in Jerusalem. There is some reason to suppose that he took measures to repress the excesses connected with the Mithras cult and with that of the Carthaginian Baal.<sup>4</sup> And, to repeat what has been said, the number of western inscriptions dedicated to oriental deities, which can be assigned to Hadrian's reign is small.<sup>5</sup>

But Hadrian tolerated and even encouraged the worship of the Egyptian deities, Isis and Serapis.<sup>6</sup> This constitutes, however, no special exception to his general religious policy. These gods were Hellenized enough to be harmless. Serapis was particularly favored; the emperor found in him a civilized divinity with Egyptian antecedents and Greek attributes, a divinity who could be commended to oriental provincials. The strong Roman hand of Hadrian appears as clearly in Egypt as in any other province. We have learned recently from the papyri<sup>7</sup> that he made the Idiologos, the imperial financial officer in Egypt, high priest of all the land and of all its gods. And he planted Antinoopolis, the city founded in honor of his dead favorite, in the heart of Egypt as a center of Hellenism and of municipal life. The names of the tribes and demes into which the inhabitants of the city were divided have come down to us in the papyri.<sup>8</sup> There is but one Egyptian name among them; the

<sup>1</sup> Dion, 69, 12; Epiphanius, *De Mens. et Pond.*, 14; Schiller, I, 2, 613; Weber, 240 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Gregorovius (*Emperor Hadrian*, 157) and v. Domaszewski (op. cit., II, 204) regard this prohibition as a result and not a cause of the terrible Jewish war. But in this they run counter to one of the best passages in the *Vita* (14, 2).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. v. Domaszewski, *Die Politische Bedeutung der Religion von Emesa*, in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, XI, 223 ff.; *Gesch. d. r. K.*, 207.

<sup>4</sup> Porphyrius, *De Abstinencia*, II, 56. Porphyrius speaks of human sacrifices connected with the Mithras cult. Cf. *Vita Commodi*, 9, 15.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. D. N. Robinson, *Quibus temporibus religiones ab Oriente ortae*, etc.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Weber, 260 ff., where the important evidence is given. Weber's theory in regard to Hadrian's partiality for Serapis is that the pantheistic idea had acquired great influence over Hadrian in his later years and that Serapis became to him a "Träger der Einheitsidee."

<sup>7</sup> *Berl. Gr. Urkunden*, I, 250; Otto, *Priester u. Tempel in hell. Ägypten*, I, 59, 63.

<sup>8</sup> Kenyon, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, II, 70 ff.; Weber, 249 ff.

others are taken from Greek mythology or from the names of the members of the imperial house. Here we have further evidence of that Hellenized version of the emperor cult that Hadrian was striving to promote among his eastern subjects.

It must be admitted that Hadrian did not recognize the formidable character of his most dangerous enemy—Christianity. Hadrian was no friend of the Christians. No ingenuity can make of the Fundanus rescript an edict of toleration; and it seems clear that the persecutions went on under Hadrian.<sup>1</sup> Yet Hadrian was not one of the great persecutors. Apparently he knew<sup>2</sup> and cared little about Christianity. It was as yet strongest in the east, where the emperor, preoccupied with his Hellenic cults, festivals, and buildings, failed to detect the workings of this new force. Christianity had offered him no such conspicuous example of opposition to his imperialism as had Judaism.

I wish finally to touch on the question, Why were Hadrian's efforts not crowned with any permanent success? Many reasons could be assigned for his failure, but one of the most important was this: Hadrian found in his policy no real successor. Scholars have come to regard Hadrian as the founder of the later imperial system; he has been compared to Septimius Severus, and Caracalla, and Kornemann says of the Byzantine empire: "Sein Vater ist Kaiser Hadrian."<sup>3</sup> This view is tenable if we fix our eyes on Hadrian's political institutions and forget the spirit that informed them. Undoubtedly we can detect in some of his innovations something of the despotism and bureaucracy that characterize the later empire. But Hadrian's despotism was, for the most part, enlightened and beneficent, his bureaucracy made for efficiency and protected the interests of his subjects.<sup>4</sup> But it is especially as the defender of a civilization that Hadrian stands as one of the last great representatives of classical antiquity. The great break with his policy comes in the reign of Antoninus Pius. The facts are familiar. The tireless traveler, the sleepless diplomat, the man who carried personal government to its furthest limits, was succeeded by the estimable stay-at-home. And the

<sup>1</sup> The Christian writers speak of persecutions under Hadrian; cf. Sulpitius Severus, *Sacra Historia*, 31. The *Acta* actually assign more martyrdoms to Hadrian's reign than to those of Trajan and Domitian. Granting that the details are largely fictitious, the tradition can hardly be wholly unfounded. This reign is marked by the rise of the apologies, and apologies argue persecutions.

<sup>2</sup> I am aware of the tradition of Hadrian's omniscience and of Tertullian's oft-quoted phrase, "*Curiositatum omnium explorator*." But there is more than one tradition in regard to this emperor which calls for revision. The notice in the *Vita* of Alexander Severus (43, 6) that Hadrian thought of enrolling Christ among the gods is a sample of the worthless gossip with which the *Historia Augusta* is filled. The references to the Christians in the "Letter of Hadrian" in the *Vita* of Saturninus (8, 1) are the most suspicious passages in that highly suspicious document.

<sup>3</sup> P. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Further confirmation of this already well-attested view will be found in Rostowzew, *Studien zur Geschichte des Römischen Kolonates*, cf. p. 207.

results of the indolent policy of Antoninus were not slow to appear. The clouds which began to lower over the empire in the latter part of his reign, broke on the head of Marcus Aurelius. Hadrian had settled his difficulties with the Parthians by a personal conference with their king. Under Marcus we find them overrunning Armenia, and the empire involved in another Parthian War. Troops were withdrawn from the Danube frontier for this war; and across this weakened frontier swept the hordes of the Marcomanni and the Quadi. Perhaps not even Hadrian could have averted the wars with these people, but under him these wars might have assumed a very different character; the enemy might have been confronted successively by a line of barbarian tribes friendly to the empire, a strongly guarded frontier, and a more efficient army. Moreover, when we see Marcus settling barbarian *coloni* within the empire, and dreaming of founding new provinces in the north, then we recognize in him the antithesis to Hadrian. And it is under Antoninus and Marcus that the reign of the oriental cults begins.

Doubtless the future belonged to the northern barbarism and to the orientalism that Hadrian lived to combat. The former was destined to coarsen and corrupt the social and cultural life of the empire, the latter to transform its spiritual life out of all resemblance to its former self. But the triumph of these two forces might have been postponed by the miracle of a succession of Hadrians.



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VL. THE INFLUENCE OF THE RISE OF THE OTTOMAN TURKS  
UPON THE ROUTES OF ORIENTAL TRADE.

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By ALBERT H. LYBYER,  
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## THE INFLUENCE OF THE RISE OF THE OTTOMAN TURKS UPON THE ROUTES OF ORIENTAL TRADE.

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By ALBERT H. LYBYER.

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A generally prevalent view is expressed in the following three quotations put into print within the last 10 years in well-received books by reputable authors:

The old trade routes between Asia and Europe were effectually and permanently blocked by the Turkish conquests. . . . This is the explanation of that eager search for new routes which lay at the back of so many voyages of discovery in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The search for new routes to India that led Columbus to the discovery of the New World was caused by the advance westward of the Ottoman Turks and their interference with the old paths of commerce in the east.

The closing of the trade routes by the advance of the Ottoman Turks led traders to endeavor to find new channels and issued in the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope and the discovery of America.

A pamphlet printed privately within a year or two states that the Turks built, as it were, a wall across the old trade routes, and absolutely forced the western Europeans to seek other paths to the lands of silk and spices.

All of these statements express a firm belief that the closing or the serious obstruction by the Ottoman Turks of the routes of oriental trade was the principal cause of the great maritime discoveries at the beginning of the modern age. It follows logically that the Turks, albeit unwittingly and negatively, belong among the greatest benefactors of mankind. But is this belief true? I formerly accepted it upon authority, but three or four years ago I noticed that it involves an anachronism. Obviously the Turks could not have caused the discoveries by obstructing the trade routes unless their obstruction antedated the discoveries. But the Turks had nothing to do with the two most important trade routes until they took Syria and Egypt in the winter of 1516 and 1517, while the greatest of the discoveries were made in 1487, 1492, and 1498, from 18 to 30 years before. The doubts raised by this serious anachronism have been justified by investigation. The Turks must be dethroned from their place beside Columbus.

The idea before us may be separated into simpler elements, which may be stated thus: The routes of oriental trade were closed (or permanently obstructed) before the year 1498; the closing of these

routes caused (or strongly influenced) the great discoveries; the Turks closed (or were important agents in closing) the trade routes; therefore the Turks by closing the trade routes caused (or had a powerful influence upon) the great discoveries. Now, this chain of propositions hangs upon the first; if the routes of oriental trade were not closed (or permanently obstructed) before the year 1498, then the whole idea falls to pieces; the great discoveries were otherwise caused and the influence of the Turks, at least as far as closing the trade routes is concerned, is eliminated.

Now, it is very easy to show that the routes of oriental trade were neither closed nor permanently obstructed before or during the period of the great discoveries. Certain wares were produced only in the east. To reach the west they must pass along the trade routes of the Levant. If these routes had been closed the wares could not have come. But pepper, ginger, cloves, cinnamon, mace, nutmeg, rhubarb, and the like, never ceased to be obtainable in western Europe from the Roman times to the present. The trade routes, then, were never permanently closed. But perhaps they were closed at times, or permanently obstructed, so that spices and other products of the east became very difficult to get in western Europe. What would be the evidence of such a permanent obstruction? Obviously, a permanent elevation of prices. If in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the advance of the Ottoman Turks or any other cause progressively obstructed oriental trade, the west would learn of it quite promptly by a progressive rise in the prices of oriental goods.

The extensive researches of Prof. Thorold Rogers and the Vicomte d'Avénel have put us in possession of much information about prices in England and France from the thirteenth to the nineteenth centuries.<sup>1</sup> The averages of the items found for each 10 years by Rogers, and for each 25 years by d'Avénel, give a very fair idea of the general fluctuations of prices. Now, what do these show as to the prices of pepper between the close of the Crusades and 1500, and particularly between 1453 and 1498, the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, and the arrival of Gama at Calicut? In England the price of a dozen pounds of pepper averaged 15s. 7d. in the fourteenth century, and 15s. 8d. in the fifteenth century. From 1451 to 1500 the average price was 15 shillings. From 1431 to 1480 the average was only 12s. 9d. It rose to 17s. between 1481 and 1490, but fell again to 13s. from 1491 to 1495.<sup>2</sup> There was then, on the whole, an actual decline in the price of pepper in England during the incubation of the great discoveries. In France the average price for a kilogram of pepper, as reduced to modern money by d'Avénel, was in the thirteenth century

<sup>1</sup> J. E. Thorold Rogers, *History of Agriculture and Prices in England, 1259 to 1793*, Oxford, 1866-1902; Vicomte Georges d'Avénel, *Histoire Economique de la Propriété, des Salaires, des Dénrées, et de tous les Prix en Général, 1200-1800*, Paris, 1894-1912.

<sup>2</sup> Rogers, *op. cit.*, III, 518-543; IV, 680-691.

6 fr., in the fourteenth century 11.12 fr., and in the fifteenth century only 4.17 fr. From 1450 to 1475 the price was 4.70 fr. and from 1475 to 1500 it was 4 fr.<sup>1</sup> Thus, in France also the price of pepper declined at the time of the great discoveries. Prices of other spices and of home-grown commodities fluctuated in the two countries quite similarly to those of pepper. It is therefore clear that there was no permanent elevation in the prices of oriental products, and therefore there could have been no serious obstruction of the trade routes before the year 1500.

More direct evidence can be found than that of the price of pepper in England and France. The Venetian diarists, Marino Sanuto the Younger and Priuli, who recorded the noteworthy events which came to their knowledge between 1496 and 1533, show that although succession disturbances of the Mameluke throne and the plague caused fluctuations of quantity, the old flow of oriental wares through Syria and Egypt was maintained unbroken down to 1502.<sup>2</sup> In that year a new thing happened. The galleys from Beirut and Alexandria brought very few spices to Venice. In 1504 they brought none at all.<sup>3</sup> The southern trade routes of the Levant had been emptied by the purchases of the Portuguese in India. Beginning with 1508, the Portuguese sent fleets to blockade the mouths of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. This seems to have been the first deliberate attempt on the part of anyone to stop permanently the passage of wares along any of the routes of oriental trade. It was not entirely successful. The Venetian galleys which continued to sail to the Levant usually found some spices. But the old certainty was gone, and the prices, low at Lisbon, were high at Beirut and Alexandria.<sup>4</sup> The total quantity of spices which came by the old routes from the east to Europe was greatly reduced. Venice sent fewer ships to the Levant and thought it imprudent to build new galleys for the trade.<sup>5</sup>

This was the situation when Selim I overthrew the Mameluke Sultans in 1516 and 1517. Instead of blocking the southern routes further, he took up the situation exactly where the Mamelukes had left it. He renewed the old treaties with Venice and the west, and took over the intention to crush the Portuguese naval power in the Indian Ocean by a fleet sent down the Red Sea.<sup>6</sup> Except for the

<sup>1</sup> d'Arénel, op. cit., IV, 482-486, 502-506, 598.

<sup>2</sup> Marino Sanuto, *Diarii*, 1496-1533, Venice, 1879-1903; Rinaldo Fulin, *Diarii e diaristi veneziani*, 1881, 155 ff. (del *Diarii di Girolamo Priuli*, 1494-1512).

<sup>3</sup> Fulin, op. cit., 165, 173, 175.

<sup>4</sup> Fulin, op. cit., 160, 164 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Marino Sanuto, op. cit., XXIV (1517 A. D.), cols. 22-36, passim.

<sup>6</sup> J. W. Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches in Europa*, Gotha, 1840-1863, *de' Venetiani e che nel principio del nuovo imperio procurava d'accrescere i traffichi in quella provincia per particolare utile e commodo di quei sudditi e per interesse dell'entrate pubbliche.*")

beginning of French participation in the Mediterranean trade,<sup>1</sup> there was no marked change from this policy down to the time of Sanuto's death.

It has been shown that the main or southern routes of oriental trade through the Levant were never closed before the great discoveries, and that the Turks, after conquering Egypt and Syria, made no effort to close them. The main contention is established, then. The Turks did not cause the great discoveries by blocking the routes of oriental trade.

It is desirable to examine some lesser possibilities. Perhaps the acquisition by the Turks of the northern routes stimulated the great explorations, through causing fear that the Turks would some day control and close all the routes, and through diverting the energies of trading powers from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic. As for the first supposition, it lacks both probability and evidence. The Turks did not fight the Mamelukes before the war of 1485 to 1491, and then they were soundly beaten. Even in 1516 the outcome of the impending second war was believed to be uncertain. How, then, could westerners have expected that the Turks would one day close all the trade routes? Nor can I find the least evidence of such an expectation. The second supposition, that the Turks diverted the energies of Mediterranean trading powers so that they set out to seek new routes to India, is easily seen to be untenable. The governments of none of these, Venice, Genoa, Aragon, or Florence, had any part in the great discoveries. That was the work of the Atlantic powers, Portugal and Castile. Nor were the well-to-do citizens of the Mediterranean States more active. In 1291, or thereabouts, it is true, certain Genoese went out at the Straits of Gibraltar to seek a new way to the East Indies.<sup>2</sup> But this was before there were any Ottoman Turks. No such expedition went forth from any Mediterranean port after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, of Trebizond in 1461, or of Kaffa in 1475. It becomes then impossible to discern any influence of the Turks through fear that they would close the oriental trade routes, or through the diversion by them of the large activities of Mediterranean cities.

One further line of possible influence of the Turks upon the great discoveries may be discussed. Christopher Columbus and John Cabot were Genoese by place of birth. Had not the northern regions of the Levant trade been reduced by the Turks, these men might have spent their lives in that trade, and never have become discoverers. But this is mere speculation. I believe that neither their own words nor those of their contemporary and later biographers express any

<sup>1</sup> Marino Sanuto, *op. cit.*, LVII, cols. 267, 436, 503; LVIII, col. 86, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Beazley, *Introduction to Azurara's Discovery and Conquest of Guinea*, Hakluyt Series, 1899, pp. lxi ff.

consciousness of connection between their enterprises and the rise of the Turks. Columbus seems to have found his inspiration in Portugal and Cabot in Arabia. The same documents, I may say, fail also to reveal any thought in the minds of these men that the old trade routes were or were likely to become closed or seriously hindered. Similar things may be said, by the way, of the documents that deal with Prince Henry the Navigator, of the histories of Turkey, and of Venetian writings and history, so far as I have been able to examine them.<sup>1</sup>

It does not belong to this discussion to determine the true causes of the great discoveries, after the influence of the Turks has been eliminated. The intellect and enterprise of Renaissance Europe were adequate to the project and its execution. There is a negative bearing upon the argument, however, in the fact that Mr. Payne seeks to eliminate all effort to find a new route to the East Indies from the motives of Henry of Portugal, while M. Vignaud tries to do the same for Christopher Columbus.<sup>2</sup> M. Vignaud would in fact postpone the date when even the Portuguese thought of the eastern spice trade until the report of Covilham's journey to the east reached King John II, about the year 1490. In any case, two or three other motives, related to religion, crusading, conquest, and adventure, probably outweighed the seeking of spices in the minds of the great explorers and their royal supporters.

How did the legend of the great influence of the Turks upon the maritime discoveries originate? I have not been able to trace it back of Thorold Rogers, but does it not bear the marks of being a survival of the catastrophic theory in that particular phase which makes the fall of Constantinople the determining event of modern history? Deprived some time ago of the distinction of causing the Italian Renaissance and the German Reformation, this theory has maintained a while longer its hold upon the great discoveries and the desolation of the Levant. It must certainly give up the great discoveries. I think it must also surrender the desolation of the Levant, for the decay of the regions through which the old trade routes passed was probably caused less by the presence of the Turks than by the absence of trade, inevitably attracted away by the superior advantages of the cape route.<sup>3</sup> The possibility of climatic change also deserves consideration.

<sup>1</sup> Examination was made, for example, of Azurara's *Discovery and Conquest of Guinea*, the histories of commerce by Deppling, Cibrario, and Heyd, histories of Venice by Molmenti and Brown, and histories of Turkey by Zinkeisen, La Jonquière, and Jorga.

<sup>2</sup> E. J. Payne, *The Age of Discovery*, in *Cambridge Modern History*, I, 12; Henry Vignaud, *Histoire critique de la Grande Entreprise de Christophe Colomb*, Paris, 1911, p. 213.

<sup>3</sup> Wilhelm Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant au Moyen Age*, Leipzig, 1885, II, 547.

Thorold Rogers appears to reveal his relation to the catastrophic theory when he asserts that "the fall of Constantinople beyond doubt stimulated research into the unknown oceans of the west and south." He affirms that before the Portuguese discoveries the Turks "appear to have blocked every passage but one," and that Selim I, by his conquest of Egypt, proceeded to "block the only remaining road."<sup>1</sup> Most of these matters have been sufficiently dealt with. Prof. Rogers does not appear to have sought proof of his assertions outside of his own field of work. Within this, however, he thinks he has found confirmation of them in the rise of the prices of eastern wares in England for the decade 1451-1460 and the two decades 1521-1540. Aside from the obvious consideration that many elements enter into price fluctuations, such as weather conditions in the country of production, war and peace along the road and in the country of consumption, piracy and extortion, and monopolies and combinations, it would seem that Thorold Rogers has not considered his own figures with sufficient thoroughness. It is true that the price of pepper rose in England from 9s. 5d. per dozen pounds between 1441 and 1450 to 13s. between 1451 and 1460. But it is also true that the former price was the lowest of all the 10-year averages, and that the latter price is well below the average for the fifteenth or any other century until much later. Again, the Wars of the Roses began in England in 1455. It is true also that 12 pounds of pepper averaged in England 16s. 2d. between 1501 and 1520, and 23s. 2d. between 1521 and 1540. But why did Prof. Rogers not observe that this was only part of the general rise of prices which is evident both in England and in France in the sixteenth century and which was almost certainly caused by the addition to the European stock of gold and silver from the Americas? Compare, for example, the price of pepper with that of wheat. For the first four 20-year periods of the sixteenth century the price, by Rogers's own tables, of a dozen pounds of pepper (pence being neglected) was 16, 23, 26, and 39 shillings; the price of a quarter of wheat was 6, 7½, 13, and 15 shillings. Pepper and wheat each rose in the fourth 10 years to about two and one-half times the price in the first 20 years. Surely Prof. Rogers would not have affirmed that the Turks raised the price of wheat in England. In the light of the whole scheme of prices it is not possible to affirm that the fall of Constantinople and the Turkish conquest of Egypt had any appreciable permanent effect upon the prices of oriental wares.

Thorold Rogers is led by this last error into several others. Being partly conscious of the anachronism of his catastrophic view, he strove to explain how the Turks could have raised the price of pepper by conquering Egypt 19 years after the cape had been turned. He

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<sup>1</sup> Rogers, *op. cit.*, IV, 653-657.



concludes that the growth of Portuguese trade with the east was slow; that most of the oriental trade continued to come through Egypt; and that the Turks so burdened this trade with new exactions that the price of oriental wares was raised in the west. Truly a stupendous edifice of false fact erected by erroneous reasoning. It was shown above that the Turks put no new burdens on the oriental trade, and that after 1500 only a greatly reduced and uncertain part of the eastern wares came through Egypt and Syria. As for the rate of growth of the Portuguese trade, Gama took out 4 ships in 1497; Cabral, 13 in 1500; Nova, 4 in 1501 or 1502; Gama, 20 in 1502; Albuquerque, 9 in 1503; and after that from 12 to 15 Portuguese ships went every year.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps one-third were lost, while others remained awhile to fight and explore, but the one-half or thereabouts which returned sufficed to supply western Europe with spices more abundantly than ever before. As for a last statement from Thorold Rogers to the effect that "the commercial decline of Venice, Genoa, Florence, and of the free German cities near the sources of the Danube and the Rhine, begins with the conquest of Egypt by the Turks," it needs but one correction. This may be made by striking out the words "the conquest of Egypt by the Turks" and substituting these: "The turning of the Cape of Good Hope by the Portuguese."

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<sup>1</sup> J. Briggs, *History of the Rise of the Mohammedan Power in India*, London, 1829, IV, 501 ff. (from an epitome of *Faria-e-Souza*).



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VII. SOME INFLUENCES OF ORIENTAL ENVIRONMENT IN THE  
KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM.

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By FREDERIC DUNCALF,  
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## SOME INFLUENCES OF ORIENTAL ENVIRONMENT IN THE KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM.

By FREDERIC DUNCALF.

Of all Europeans who at different periods of history have undertaken colonial ventures in Asia the Crusaders of the twelfth century had the least preparation for such a task. All the breadth of view that can come from an advanced stage of civilization was lacking, for western society was still in the early stages of development. The awakening of the twelfth century was just beginning, and the Crusades themselves were but a more or less unconscious expression of the new spirit and the forces that were to hasten progress. Before they understood their own civilization or what they were striving for, the Crusaders went forth to found colonies in the Mohammedan east. Not only had these westerners no practical knowledge of the east or the problems that they must face but they did not go forth in the proper spirit to learn. Before they could hope to know how to deal with eastern peoples they first had to forget their intolerance and prejudice and acquire a new viewpoint. Under such circumstances the Kingdom of Jerusalem was an interesting experiment in the possibilities of western adjustment to oriental environment.

What might seem the most difficult phase of the work before these westerners, if they were to establish permanent colonies, was that which involved their relations to the oriental peoples. The circumstances of their life in the west had developed a robust vigor and the military qualities that the work of conquest required. However, once the majority of the Crusaders had returned home, it became necessary for those who remained to defend the conquered territory and to secure their position in other ways than by mere military superiority. Much depended on how well they could learn to understand the native people that they must govern and upon their relations with the hostile Mohammedan states about them. It was for this phase of their task that their western training and the crusading enthusiasm that brought them east had least prepared them, and, strangely enough, it was just here that they seem to have been most

successful. It is now well established that friendly relations came to exist between the two races, and more evidence is available to support this fact than has yet been used.<sup>1</sup>

Before the westerners could hope to understand the oriental peoples, it was necessary for them to become tolerant and to learn to respect the easterners and their civilization. The chronicles of the First Crusade show very clearly the contempt and hostility with which the westerners went east. They believed that the infidels could not fight. Fulk of Chartres, after telling of the demoralization produced by the Turkish onslaught at Dorylæum, says: "Nor was it to be wondered at, for such warfare was unknown to all."<sup>2</sup> If there was anything that the westerners could appreciate it was military prowess. Prutz points out that there was something very similar in the spirit with which Mohammedans and Christians fought. Thus, in learning to respect the bravery of the Musselman, the Crusader made an important mental adjustment. Other changes in viewpoint were forced upon them in similar fashion, so that they came to respect the oriental and his higher civilization.

Self-interest furthered this process of adjustment. The leaders of the Crusade had ambitions of personal gain. The disordered political condition of the Mohammedan world led the Christians to recognize a situation very similar to that of western feudalism. Just as there were quarrels between Christian lords, so were there rivalries between Musselman emirs. Such a state of affairs the westerner could readily comprehend. He began to turn it to his advantage. With a better understanding of the easterner, the Latin treated him less as an enemy of his religion than as a hostile neighbor, and the Saracens responded in similar fashion. At times jealousies between Christian lords became stronger than religious or social antipathies. In 1108, when Baldwin of Burg was besieged by Tancred, he was rescued by a Moslem ally.<sup>3</sup> This hope of personal advantage was a strong factor in promoting relations with the Mohammedans.

The friendly understanding which existed between the two races in Syria is nowhere shown more clearly than in the autobiography of Ousâma.<sup>4</sup> In their chivalrous spirit and love of fighting the Saracen and the Christian found common ground for mutual appreciation. Ousâma fought the Christians in much the same spirit that knights fought each other in the west, and he pictures a state of affairs that indicates how far the Franks had learned to forget their racial and

<sup>1</sup> Prutz, *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge*, Berlin, 1883; Rey, *Les Colonies Françaises de Syrie aux XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> Siècles*, Paris, 1883; Munro, "Christian and Infidel in the Holy Land," in *Essays on the Crusades*.

<sup>2</sup> Fulch. Car., *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades Occidentaux*, III, 335 A.

<sup>3</sup> Albert, *Aquensis*, *Rec. Occ.*, IV, 649.

<sup>4</sup> *Autobiographie d'Ousâma*, trans. Hartwig Derenburg, "Rev. de l'Orient Latin," II, 329-565 (1894).

religious prejudice and to accept the east as it was. It is difficult to say just how real an appreciation of the people of the east the westerner acquired. Ousâma shows the twelfth century Saracen accepting the friendship of the Franks with a typical eastern reserve. He did not believe that they had any superiority except that of elemental courage.<sup>1</sup> He also says that he was surprised by the lack of intelligence shown by the Franks, and relates a rather significant incident in this connection. A certain Frank with whom Ousâma was more or less intimate, who called him "brother," asked permission of the Saracen to take his 14-year-old son to the west, where he could learn chivalry, and as the Frank said, "take on the polish of an intelligent man." Ousâma says that he was wounded by such words, for in his opinion his son could suffer no greater calamity if he were taken prisoner than to be taken to the land of the Franks. However, he politely explained to his Frankish friend that his mother could not spare the boy.<sup>2</sup> It must be said in explanation that this Frank was not a resident of Syria, but the story as told shows the eternal difference between east and west and indicates that the twelfth century Franks fell far short of any complete understanding of oriental character.

Nevertheless, the westerners learned enough about the east for practical purposes. This is shown by their treatment of the native races of Syria. These peoples probably could not have been made loyal to their Frankish rulers, but they seem to have accepted their government with complacency. They were not trusted by the Franks, although Jacques de Vitry may be too violent in his denunciation of these people.<sup>3</sup> We find the Patriarch of Antioch, when the city was in serious danger of being captured, arming and driving out the non-Latin Christians as a first defensive precaution.<sup>4</sup> The problem of governing these Syrian natives was very like the problem of the English in India, for it seems to have been largely a matter of adjusting the differences of race and religion that prevailed. The laws of the Kingdom of Jerusalem show that the Frank had learned his lesson in toleration. There was apparently no effort to change the customs of the subjects, except in so far as the practical necessities of government warranted. On the whole, the western rulers dealt generously with the native races. There is the familiar testimony of Ibn Jubair, that the Musselman farmers on the Syrian littoral lived in greater comfort under the Franks than those who remained under Mohammedan rule. "The hearts of most Musselmans are filled with the temptation of settling there

<sup>1</sup> Autobiographie, pp. 393, 456.

<sup>2</sup> Autobiographie, pp. 456-457.

<sup>3</sup> Bongars, 1089, 1090, 1094.

<sup>4</sup> Röhricht, Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem, Innsbruck, 1898, p. 136.

when they see the condition of their brethren in the districts governed by the Musselmans, because the state of the latter is the reverse of comfortable.”<sup>1</sup> He further said, “They are masters of their own dwellings and govern themselves as they wish.” According to the laws of Jerusalem, the Syrians at first had their own courts, presided over by a native official, the *reis*.<sup>2</sup> If this was true, such autonomy was later reduced, probably because of the incompetence of the natives, for they were put under the jurisdiction of the court of the market, which, however, had four Syrians and two Franks as jurors.<sup>3</sup> The tolerance of the rulers is further evident in certain features of judicial procedure. The native prejudices were recognized in the matter of oaths. The Mohammedan was permitted to swear on the Koran, the Jew on the Torah, the Samaritan on the books of the Pentateuch which he observed; Armenians, Syrians, and Greeks on the Cross.<sup>4</sup>

Moreover, a Saracen was permitted to clear himself of a charge of debt by such an oath if the accuser, who might even be a Frank, could not produce witnesses.<sup>5</sup> In suits between people of different races or religions no one could be convicted except by witnesses of the same race as the accused.<sup>6</sup> Thus a Frank, if he brought suit against a Syrian, must have Syrian witnesses to convict. Such legal arrangements indicate a consideration for the subject races that is proof of the adjustment to the eastern environment that the westerners had made.

Fulk of Chartres indicates the spirit in which these colonists accepted the east:

Those of us who were earlier westerners have now become orientals. The Roman or the Frank has here in this country become a Galilaean or a Palestinian. We have already forgotten the cities where we were born. One of us already possesses houses and servants as a patrimony or by right of succession; another has perhaps married, and not to a woman of his own country, but perhaps to a Syrian or Armenian, sometimes even to a converted Saracen.<sup>7</sup>

There could be no more complete acceptance of the new environment than this testimony indicates; but the real colonists, who had settled permanently in the east, had serious difficulties to contend with, in that they were continually subject to interference from the west. Though the resident Franks may have forgotten their former homes, as Fulk says, in this land of richer opportunity, their former neighbors had not forgotten them. Every year people made long journeys to the east as pilgrims to fulfil crusading vows or to pray

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<sup>1</sup> Translated in Munro and Sellery, *Medieval Civilization*, New York, 1907.

<sup>2</sup> Recueil, Lois, I, 26.

<sup>3</sup> Lois, II, 171-173.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Lois, II, 53.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 53-56, 96.

<sup>7</sup> Quoted by Röhricht, *Gesch. d. K. J.*, pp. 123-124.



at the holy sepulchre, but few of them came with the intention of remaining as colonists.

Unfortunately these pilgrims had the intolerant attitude of the early crusaders, and they did not remain in the east long enough to understand the views or policies of the resident Latins. Their more hostile attitude was evident to the Mohammedans. Ousâma says "There is no one among those who have recently come from the land of the Franks who does not show himself more inhuman than his predecessors who are resident among us."<sup>1</sup> It is not necessary to endeavor to show, as Prutz does, that Syria was drawing the worst elements of western society, and infer that the Syrian colonists became degenerate in their new home, to find a serious weakness in the Latin colonies.<sup>2</sup> It is enough to know the lack of harmony that existed between the westerners, who were constantly coming and going, and the resident Latins. The people of the west had a very real interest in the defense of the Holy Land, but the aid that they sent was too often of little value to the colonists, because the westerners remained ignorant of the demands of the eastern situation. Not that the Latin States did not need men, for the permanent colonists were not numerous. The Latin princes counted on the annual visits of the pilgrims for recruits to swell their armies in their campaigns, but too often they found the newcomers difficult to control, and that such assistance proved an obstacle to the policy that experience had taught them to follow.

Because the permanent fighting strength of the colonists was small, the Latins made no effort to sustain a continuous holy war against all Islam. It was far more advantageous and oftentimes more profitable to maintain friendly relations with Mohammedan princes with whom actual hostilities did not exist and could not be successfully maintained. Owing to the disunited situation in the Mohammedan states during the first half of the twelfth century, this policy was feasible, and the conquest of Syria proceeded piecemeal. As early as 1101 Baldwin accepted tribute from the cities of Ascalon, Cæsarea, Acre, and Tyre, as a pledge of truce, which gave these cities commercial security, and the king money to pay his troops. At the same time, such a truce was refused to Arsuf, which the king planned to attack.<sup>3</sup> It was difficult to get the newcomers to fall in line with such a policy. Thus in 1104, when Acre was besieged, Baldwin found it advantageous to accept the terms offered by the defenders of the city, who were allowed to march out with a promise that their lives would be spared. They were massacred by the

<sup>1</sup> Autobiographie, p. 459.

<sup>2</sup> Prutz, *Kulturgeschichte des Kreuzzüge*, p. 116.

<sup>3</sup> *Alb., Rec. Occ.*, IV, 541 E.

Pisans and Genoese. Baldwin was so angry at this breach of the terms of the capitulation that he wished to punish the offenders, but was dissuaded by the Patriarch.<sup>1</sup> In 1106 a large number of English, Flemish, and Danish pilgrims aided the king to besiege Sidon. Baldwin found that he could obtain a considerable tribute by raising the siege. In order to get his allies to do this he had to resort to deceptions and pretended that other events had made it impossible to continue the investment of the city. The pilgrims departed for their homes much disgruntled at their failure to obtain plunder.<sup>2</sup> At the siege of Tripoli in 1109 the inhabitants showed their distrust of the western allies, but were willing to trust the king to protect them if they capitulated. This the king was unable to do.<sup>3</sup> By the middle of the century the failure of the siege of Damascus, during the Second Crusade, led to the bitter denunciation of the Syrian Christians by the westerners. The King of Jerusalem, the Patriarch, the Latin lords of Syria, and the Templars were openly accused of treachery.<sup>4</sup> The same complaints were to be made again and again, and did much to dampen western enthusiasm for crusading.

In reality such accusations by the westerners show that they could not understand the policy of the Syrian Latins. The colonists were not strong enough to get along without aid, and again and again they were forced to appeal to the west for succor. Doubtless the complaints of the westerners were often just. They deserved consideration, for they were making genuine sacrifices for the benefit of the colonists, but it is only reasonable to conclude that men who had made Syria their home understood the eastern situation far better than men who were recently from the west and lacked the experience that could come only from residence in Syria. The contrast in the point of view of the west and the colonists, and the constant friction that it produced shows very definitely that the Syrian Latins had undergone a very decided transformation in their oriental environment.

Thus far we have touched phases of adjustment in which the westerners showed themselves adaptable. The chief failure of the colonists was in not learning to get along with each other. In governmental organization the west has always been greatly superior to the east. In this particular the crusading states were deficient, largely because the political development in the west was not sufficiently advanced to permit these twelfth-century men to found a state that could meet the demands of the eastern situation. The frontier has always required the strongest type of government. The

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<sup>1</sup> Alb., *Rec. Occ.*, IV, 607-608.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 631-634.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 668.

<sup>4</sup> Röhricht, *Gesch. d. K. J.*, pp. 61-62.

German marks or the palatinate of Durham are medieval examples. Centralization was particularly necessary to the Kingdom of Jerusalem, located as it was as an extreme outpost of Christendom. However, it was the individualism of the frontier, rather than autocratic rule, that developed in the crusading states. This political tendency must be ascribed to the way in which the conquest was made, and to the interpretation which western feudal theory received in the east.

The Kingdom of Jerusalem [says Balian] has not been conquered like other States, by a chief who was able to consider himself the absolute master of its fortunes, but by an army of pilgrims assembled from all countries, under the leadership of God himself. When the land was conquered, the lords by common accord granted the seigneurie of the kingdom to one of themselves.<sup>1</sup>

This characterizes the conquest with sufficient accuracy. The leaders of the First Crusade were eager to satisfy their own personal ambition, and each sought to carve out a state for himself in this promising new world. Baldwin became lord of Edessa, Bohemond obtained Antioch, Godfrey was a compromise candidate for the kingship, and when elected "Guardian of the Holy Sepulchre" his actual power was extremely slight. Raymond spent the remainder of his life trying to obtain an independent lordship. Before the kings of Jerusalem could rise to a position of prominence, the foundation was laid for four practically autonomous principalities. As soon as conquered, Syria became a copy of the feudal west. The evil was done because the crusading army was led by a number of leaders of equal authority, and lacked such a single controlling head as had the army that conquered England. It is significant that no king participated in the First Crusade. Furthermore, the organization of the crusading army was not strictly feudal. Men joined as volunteers and not because their obligations as vassals made it necessary for them to follow the lord they were bound to obey in the west. This individualism was predominant from the first.

Such being the result of the conquest, the only possible way in which unification might have come was that by which the French monarchy gained control over the great feudal lords. The men who occupied the throne of Jerusalem must have realized the need of greater centralization. They assumed a general responsibility for the defense and the welfare of all the different Latin States and repeatedly went to the assistance of the lords of Antioch or Edessa, but they made no effort to exact a greater fidelity in exchange for such aid. They seem not to have exerted themselves in the face of opportunities that a Capetian would have considered providential. In 1119, when Bohemond was killed, Baldwin II assumed the complete control of Antioch, and became military chief as well as administrative head of the principality.<sup>2</sup> When Josclin was a prisoner in

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Dodu, *Institutions Monarchiques de Jerusalem*, pp. 168-169.

<sup>2</sup> *Guill. de Tyr*, *Rec. Occ.*, I, 530-531.

1122, the king took charge of Tripoli,<sup>1</sup> and on the death of Bohemond II, in 1131, Baldwin again took over the government of Antioch.<sup>2</sup> But no effort was made to bring these fiefs permanently under royal control. In each case the king seems to have acted strictly according to his duties as feudal suzerain.

The reason for this weakness in royal power is to be found in the type of feudalism that the Crusades and the frontier conditions of Syria produced. However, in the first place, it must be noted that the feudal conceptions which existed in the west during the early crusading period were responsible in large measure for this trend of governmental development in the Latin colonies. The Crusaders came from a society where the vassal was becoming increasingly important. Such tendencies were further developed by the opportunities that the Crusades afforded, so in Syria the vassal became all-important at the outset, and the rights that were secured were never given up in the interest of central authority. The aristocracy was the sovereign power in the state, and this notwithstanding constant warfare against a common foe, which should have brought centralization.

This does not imply that there was not progress in governmental development in the east. The diversity of legal conceptions which were gathered together in Syria necessitated compromise and reconstruction, and a revised system of feudal law was evolved to suit the needs of the Latin society in the colonies. Furthermore, additional change resulted from the need of adapting western customs to eastern conditions. All of this produced a broader and more liberal view of government, and for this reason the feudalism of the Kingdom of Jerusalem is a profitable field for investigation. However, notwithstanding this progress and adjustment in law and government, the colonists failed to acquire sufficient political unity and revealed an inability to make feudal conceptions of government suit the needs of a frontier state.

In general it may be said that the twelfth-century westerners were remarkably successful in their colonial venture. The very lack of preparation that western civilization had given them worked to their advantage, for once the intolerant viewpoint was changed they had little positive knowledge to unlearn. The west had reached that stage of development which made it ready to learn, and the colonists found that the Orient had much to give. Under such circumstances they became adaptable to their new environment. The Crusades and frontier conditions developed qualities of individual initiative that hastened this process of adjustment. This independence aided the

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<sup>1</sup> Guill. de Tyr, *Rec. Occ.*, I, 537,

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, I., 599.

colonists in their task of governing the native races and in all their relations with the eastern peoples. It further explains the trend of development in governmental conceptions, but it was here that western society had not sufficiently prepared them for their task. Western feudal theory, combined with individualism, did not produce a state sufficiently unified to give these colonies any degree of permanence. Europe of the twelfth century had not progressed far enough in its political ideals to establish colonies successfully in the Orient.

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VIII. THE FEUDAL NOBLE AND THE CHURCH AS REFLECTED  
IN THE POEMS OF CHRESTIEN DE TROYES.

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By EDGAR H. McNEAL,  
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## THE FEUDAL NOBLE AND THE CHURCH AS REFLECTED IN THE POEMS OF CHRESTIEN DE TROYES.

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By EDGAR H. MCNEAL.

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The object of this sketch is to illustrate the way in which the literature of feudal society can be used as historical material. The idea, of course, is not new; I only venture the opinion that more could be made of it by the student of history than has yet been done. For the really considerable work of this sort has been done mainly either by the departments of romance and Germanic languages and literatures or by the specialists in branches of medieval culture.

Viолет-le-Duc's great Dictionnaire and Schultz's Höfisches Leben are familiar examples of the latter, while the romantic work of Léon Gautier, *La Chevalerie*, the articles of Gaston Paris, and the great number of doctors' dissertations from the language departments show the scholars and students of literature at work with this material.

It is no invidious reflection on the character of this work to hold that there is still something for the historical student to do along this line. The historical student should come to the study of feudal literature in Old French and Middle High German with a background and consider it with an interest different from the background and the interest of the students who more usually deal with this material. And that this has not been done to any great extent by the historical student will be admitted. Even that monument of recent historical scholarship, Lavissee's *Histoire de France*, is disappointing in this regard.

The most obvious objection is on the side of method—that method which, in despite of all extravagance, remains the glory of the modern school of history, since it is the development of a scientific method alone that has made it possible for the historian to claim for his results the value of facts scientifically established. Now, for the larger problem of the character and condition of feudal society the poetry of the feudal age is neither a chronicle nor a document. Only for certain small phases of life in that age (such as the development of the literary language, for example) can it be used as a

document. And it fails to come within the requirements of a chronicle, since it was not the poet's intention to describe the conditions of his time as he knew them. Psychologically considered, what we have in the allusions that form our material is the setting, the "local color," the atmosphere, which the poet selected for his tale, and which he drew, of course, from his own knowledge of the life about him. It is evident, therefore, that the relation between the facts we wish to know and the material we can examine is only indirect, and the process by which the poet distilled from the facts his poetic conception is difficult, if not impossible, to recover. (I am considering now only the objection; I need not dwell on the obvious consideration that the professional feudal poet would not select for his setting ideas and conditions that were strange or repugnant to his audience.) An objection of another sort lies in this, that the facts about the things alluded to have often to be sought for in other sources of information, since the poet takes for granted a knowledge that is not ours. For some matters these sources are not always available, and when they are we can not always be sure that the allusion is to the particular form of the thing we have found.

These considerations are sufficient to show the limitations of this sort of study. The material can not be compelled, can not be subjected to the rigor of the historical method, without the use of which the results will lack historical validity. This is to say not that it has no value, but that its value is chiefly illustrative and corroboratory. It often happens, however, that it illustrates and corroborates ideas in regard to which our ordinary sources of information need such supplementing. Take the problem which I have ventured to use as an illustration of this kind of work. The extent of the influence which the church exercised upon the actual thinking and living of the feudal noble is a historical fact of real importance and one upon which any additional light will be worth having. But perhaps, after all, the chief value of work in this material is the general impressions we gain, and general impressions are clearly not among "historical facts scientifically established."

Coming now to the immediate problem, it will not be necessary nor expedient, in so slight a sketch, to spend much time upon the setting of the problem in time and in stage of development. The facts are familiar. Chrestien de Troyes, writing from about 1170 to 1190, was the first Old French poet to use consistently the Celtic Arthur-cycle as the framework for feudal romances. His poems belong to the romances of chivalry, that literary fashion (corresponding, we must suppose, to a change in literary taste in the audience) which superseded the *chansons de geste* of an earlier and ruder period. The poems of Chrestien reflect the advance in feudal society; more settled

conditions and more definitely fixed relations and customs; greater wealth of the higher nobles, whose residences were becoming courts; more attention to luxury and refinement of manners. It is this advance which must be considered the real cause of the change in literary type, although the features which came to be regarded by the poets as conventional *données* (love as a motive of action, courtliness, magic, etc.) are to be ascribed to borrowings from Provencal lyric poetry, Celtic love tales, and traditions of the late classical period.

Historically our period is the time just before the Third Crusade, the end of the reign of Louis VII, and the first years of Philippe-Auguste. It is the period, therefore, just preceding the great advance in the national monarchy which was made in the latter years of that monarch, but after the foundations for that advance had been laid by Louis VI. The development of the French national monarchy is the central theme of French history in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but it must not be forgotten that the great princes were carrying out similar reforms in the organization of their great fiefs during the same time. Before 1200 this movement had progressed so far as to make of the residences of the greater nobles (such as the Count of Champagne, whose countess, Marie, daughter of Eleanor of Aquitaine, was the patron of Chrestien) provincial capitals and, what is more important for our purpose, courts in the sense of centers of social intercourse, schools of high manners, and artistic and literary foyers.

In the development of the church, which touches our problem immediately, the end of the twelfth century is a most interesting period. Already the foundations for the marvelous structure of the Summists had been laid by the work of theologians from Abelard to Peter Lombard. The seven sacraments had been defined and the fundamental philosophical problems had undergone a century of discussion, from which an orthodox philosophy had emerged. This intellectual phase of the church does not, however, concern us very much, since it seems not to have impinged, even ever so slightly, upon the consciousness of the feudal class. Our background is to be sought rather in the works produced by the church in its relation to the world that was under its charge—sermonnaires, books of private devotion, rituals, religious tales, lives of the saints, moralized tales, such as fables and bestiaries, and the beginnings of religious drama. These writings emanate mostly from the more sophisticated and self-conscious thirteenth century, but such as they are they must be worked to enable us, as far as it may be possible, to reconstruct the religious atmosphere through which the feudal noble, with his mind on quite other things, half consciously moved.

Another preliminary of capital importance is the answer to the question as to whether or not Chrestien was himself a cleric. The answer to this question is to be sought entirely in the writings of the poet, since there is no other source of information about him, and this reveals at once the viciously circular character of the method to which we are reduced. I can not go into this question further than to state that the best opinion is in favor of the negative, and to give it as my own impression that Chrestien reveals an absence of bias and of knowledge such as it would have been difficult for a member of the clergy to attain. And if he were one of those half-ecclesiastical personages to be found in courts in all times, the half of him that was ecclesiastical does not emerge anywhere in his writings. We must needs proceed as if that were true which can not indeed be proved, namely, that the religious views and religious interests of Chrestien were those of the society to which he catered.

After so elaborate an introduction, the results I have to show are disappointingly meager. That meagerness is a function, however, of the material itself, and forms no unimportant part of the "general impression" I have mentioned as one of the results of this sort of study. It is accentuated perhaps by the fact that within my limits I can only set the allusions before you in their barrenness and summarize briefly the conclusions they suggest.

The point at which the authority of the church was most unquestionably accepted by the feudal noble was, of course, in the ministrations of religion itself; in those instrumentalities the necessity of which for salvation was universally accepted by lay society. These had already been organized into the seven sacraments, the chief and most usual of which was the mass, or, rather, the Eucharist in the mass. There are in all the 40,000 lines attributed to Chrestien only 8 or 10 cases in which the hearing of mass is a part of the narrative. There are in addition perhaps half a dozen other cases in which the mass is mentioned. The narrative cases are pretty much alike; two or three examples will serve. On the morning when Yvain was to fight the giant it is said: "As soon as the chamber was opened he rose and heard mass." Again, of Yvain and the daughter of his host: "They rose right early and heard mass in a chapel." Of Erec, on the morning of the tournament: "That morning, as soon as the dawn broke, he rose quickly and his host with him; they repaired to the monastery to pray, and heard a hermit chant mass." This is the regular form of the narrative, with no further descriptions or particulars, except that on two occasions mass was said in honor of the Holy Spirit. It occurs early in the morning, immediately after rising and before some perilous adventure; it is heard at a monastery or at a chapel in the castle. It should be said, however, that there are at least twice as many occasions on which the rising of the hero and his

preparation for an adventure are mentioned without any statement that he heard mass.

In these cases there is no suggestion of the religious attitude of the nobles, except the bare fact that he performed a familiar religious act. In some of the other allusions there are more particulars. On two occasions the expression used is "communicating" and "taking communion." There are two instances also in which a sense of the inner, esoteric, sacramental character of the service is revealed, although that sense is not at all profound. Perceval's mother answers his question as to what is a church: "Son, it is where they make the sacrifice of Him who made heaven and earth and placed men and women in it." "And what is a monastery?" "A most sacred place, full of holy bodies [relics] where they sacrifice the body of Jesus Christ, the Holy Prophet." The other is the well-known explanation of the grail which Perceval receives from the hermit. The grail contains a host and is thereby so sacred and the aged king is so spiritual that he needs no other sustenance. In the former case the poet betrays knowledge of a theological conception, but one of the most familiar; while in the second he treats the sacred element as a piece of magic.

Masses for the dead occur in four instances, with familiar features. Perceval undertakes to have services said for his mother every year, so that God and St. Abraham may place her among the blessed souls. Services for the dead are the occasion for gifts to the poor and to the church.

Of the other sacraments there are only a few instances. There are four instances of confession, or mention of confession (which is part of the sacrament of penance): Perceval after his five years of aberration in which he had not entered a church; the dying knight found by Gawaine; Lunete about to be burned; and the knights and ladies whom Perceval meets on Good Friday. Confession is alluded to as necessary for the remission of sins, as a means of saving the soul from the devil, as involving the saying of "culpa," and praying God for pardon and mercy. In the case of Perceval penance is also described: as penance he is to go to the chapel or monastery in whatever place he may be and stay until the priest has completed the mass, and he is to remain two days with the hermit and eat such fare as the hermit eats. There are five instances of marriage, but in only one of them is the religious ceremony described and that in the simple words, "The archbishop of Canterbury blessed them fittingly." There is no suggestion of the sacramental character of the ceremony. Baptism is merely mentioned in two or three cases, in which personages of the poem announce their given names.

Next in significance to the sacraments were the private religious acts taught by the church as aids to religious life, and attested to us by

the private altars, the diptychs and triptychs, the illumined books of hours, that form so beautiful a part of our inheritance from the Middle Ages. That we do not find descriptions of such devotions in Chrestien is understandable, of course, in the light of the fact that he is not concerned with interior scenes, except where they fit into his plot, as love-making, courtly entertainment and hospitality, and perilous adventure. There are a few cases of prayer and calling on God and the saints, as of the maiden who, seeking after Yvain as a champion, finds herself alone in the forest at night: "She called upon God first and then upon his mother, and then on all the saints, and made that night many orisons." In the terrible conflict between Erec and Yvers in the tournament of the sparrow hawk, "Each saw his lady weep and extend her hands to God and pray that He would give to her champion the honor of the battle." Another instance interesting for its naïveté is the prayer which the hermit confides to Perceval, containing many names of our Lord, and which he is to use only when he is in direst peril. This is the prayer as a charm. More usual is the idea of the prayers of Perceval's mother, having saved him unwitting from destruction.

Among religious acts not strictly sacramental are oaths on relics, of which there are several instances. Gawaine swears on a most precious "sanctuary" ("saintueire" used regularly for reliquary in Chrestien) to seek the lance that bleeds. So before the duel between Launcelot and Melegant the holy bodies of the saints are brought forth and each kneels and holds out his hand to the relics and swears. The idea of the reliquary is alluded to naïvely in Cligès, when it is said that had Alexandre known that the shirt embroidered by Sagremors contained golden hairs of her head, he would have made of it a sanctuary and prayed to it night and day. Even more naïve is the act of Launcelot approaching the couch of the queen; he adores it and bows, for in no relic of saint did he have such faith.

The influence of the church appears in those involuntary and perfunctory acts of religious character, such as swearing by the name of God or of the saints, using pious or religious expressions, making the sign of the cross, etc. These are very frequent, and call for no extended comment. Oaths are usually ejaculations: "Par Dieu" is the commonest. The names of the saints are to a certain extent dictated by the rhyme, we may suppose; they are sometimes local saints, more often the great saints of the church: By St. Peter the apostle, by St. Peter of Rome, by St. Paul the apostle, by St. Martin, by St. Sylvester. Other names used as oaths are: The Holy Spirit, the holy church, the true cross, the holy paternoster. By all the saints one prays to at Rome; by God and all His saints; by the glorious Queen of Heaven and all the angels, are variants. A few longer

formulæ (elaborated by the poet, it would seem, as a device to emphasize the anguish or the entreaty) suggest general theological notions, as "By that God who is Son and Father and made to be His mother her who was His daughter and handmaiden." Oaths also have the form of pledges: "May vile fire and flame burn me," "So help me Lord God," "So amend me God," "So help me the Holy Spirit," etc. Pious wishes have the same general character: "Please God, please the Holy Spirit." The hospitable knight regularly commends his departing guest to God, to God and all his saints. On the departure of Perceval, they all cry with one voice: "Beau sire, that true cross on which God suffered His Son to hang, guard you from mortal peril."

The church always furnished some religious instruction to laymen. but the evidence of this in Chrestien is of the slightest. The case of Perceval is unusual, since the theme which Chrestien worked up was in some sort a religious one (in what sort is a problem, for it is well known that Chrestien left his grail story unfinished and that the continuators may have used other material than that which he had in mind). On three occasions Perceval receives religious instruction: from his mother as he is about to start out into the world, from the knight who gave him instruction in knighthood and knighted him, and from the hermit to whom he came for absolution. His mother's instructions consist simply in urging him to be constant in attendance on church and in telling him in terms already mentioned the significance of church and monastery. The elderly knight instructs him to go willingly to the monasteries and to pray to Him who made all things "that He may have mercy on your soul and keep you His faithful Christian in this world." And the hermit: "Go to mass, believe in God, love and adore Him, honor knights and ladies, rise to greet the priest; if a maiden require thine aid, aid her, or a widow or orphan." These instructions are elaborated at certain points into what are virtually confessions of faith. Thus, his mother instructs him in regard to "Jesus Christ, the Holy Prophet, to whom the Jews did much shame; and He was wrongfully condemned to the cross, and suffered for men and women, whose souls went to hell when they left their bodies, and He brought them out. He was bound to a pillar and beaten and then crucified, and He wore a crown of thorns." So also the knights and ladies who tell him the meaning of Good Friday:

The day on which a man should adore the cross and bemoan his sins, for on that day He was hanged on the cross who was sold for 30 pennies. He who pure of all sins saw the sins in which the world is entangled and bound, and became man for our sins; true it is that He was man and God, that a virgin brought forth a son, that she conceived of the Holy Spirit, when God took on flesh and blood.

Evidence of religious instruction is found also in the few allusions to Biblical history, though they are of the most familiar sort: From the days when Noah made the ark; Yvain called the noblest of the line of Abel; a sycamore planted in the time of Abel; Gawaine saying of the queen that never so renowned a lady had been formed from the rib of Adam. A few references to the significance of feast days, such as the one already mentioned of the meaning of Good Friday, and the reference in Yvain: "On that feast day which so much cost that it should be called Pentecoste." These, however, are about the only significant allusions to religious notions, and it is evident that they concern matters of the commonest knowledge.

A field in which the church enjoyed a practical monopoly was that of science and learning. There is one allusion to the curriculum of the monastery schools in his description of the mantel embroidered with the four allegorical figures of geometry, arithmetic, music, and astronomy. This Chrestien could have found in any one of several popular sources, and moreover it may well have been a display of erudition on his part rather than an allusion to something familiar to his audience. The only branches of knowledge presupposed in his allusions are geography and medicine; the geographical allusions must have been matters of the commonest knowledge, and the medicine is mostly magic.

There remains the large question of the influence of the church on morals, both ideals and practice.

This is a very important question, but one so complicated as to make it impossible to give it a fair consideration within the prescribed limits. A mere statement of conclusions would not carry any weight. The problem should be stated and the conclusions given in terms of an  $x$  representing the moral teachings of the church which it sought by various means to instill into lay society, and a  $y$  representing the notions of conduct upon which the nobles acted. Material exists for making those determinations; on the one hand in the varied works of edification produced by the church of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; on the other, in the acts and words of the poet's characters, as also in his own occasional dissertations. The results should enable us to approximate roughly to a conclusion as to how far the implied recognized code of conduct was influenced by the teachings of the church and in how far it was composed simply of "noble virtues"—the ideals of a ruling and superior class. It goes without saying that such a detailed discussion must form a part of any complete treatment of our general problem.

The conclusions we can make from this examination of the allusions in Chrestien seem to lack significance, but I need not repeat the earlier admissions as to the limitations of the value of this sort



of study. Moreover, it should be noted that we are not expecting any new light on the character of the church. Our problem is to make out as far as we can how the church (the facts in regard to which we presuppose) was conceived of by the poet as having a part in the life and the consciousness of his feudal audience.

He pictures attendance upon mass as a usual incident of the life of the noble, but by no means as a preoccupation. Of each of his heroes, Cligès, Alexandre, Yvain, Erec, Launcelot, Gawaine, and Perceval, he mentions this act only once or twice in the course of his adventures. The insistence in the case of Perceval on the duty of going to monastery and church to hear mass is a note not found elsewhere and is probably a *donnée* of the plot. The sacramental significance of the mass as communion and as a sacrifice is supposed to be understood, though both of these cases are from Perceval, where occurs also the popular idea of the host as magic. On the whole it may be said that in Chrestien the noble goes to mass as a conventional act without much idea of its significance. The necessity of confession occurs to the hero only four or five times, and these are instances of extremity. The other sacramental services are barely mentioned. Saving his soul was evidently not a preoccupation of the hero of feudal literature.

The religious notion of God's governance is hinted at in the very few instances of prayer, but it is purely conventional; there is no case in which the hero prays for success. Oaths on relics show that the church had impressed the noble with the importance of that sanction. Swearing by holy names and using pious expressions such as "Please God" and "I commend you to God" are frequent; they are, of course, only half conscious or perfunctory acts, but they do attest an unconscious absorption of religious notions.

Evidence of an understanding of religious ideas, such as the church (we know from the sources) had developed elaborate means of conveying, is of the slightest. Half a dozen Biblical allusions of the most familiar sort, the elementary religious instruction of Perceval to go to church and hear mass, the two short credos in Perceval, and the reference to the meaning of Good Friday and Pentecost, are about the whole list.

This evidence can not, of course, be treated with rigor. It does not prove that the noble of the end of the twelfth century did not know any more about the church than Chrestien's heroes are supposed to know. It may serve as an illustration, however, of the extent to which the church influenced feudal society, since it gives us Chrestien's idea of the amount of that preoccupation with religious things and the relative importance of the church to feudal society in its lighter moments. And this may remain as our gen-

eral impression: The great church of the twelfth century, with its wonderful organization and its immense activities in intellectual, artistic, and religious fields, affected the life of the feudal noble, after all, very slightly. He accepted its teachings half consciously and without questioning, but it did not occupy very much of his consciousness nor affect very materially his attitude toward life. And if this general impression is a perfectly familiar one, it at least receives some illustration, some confirmation from a study of the literature written for this class, of which our poet was one of the chief purveyors.

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IX. THE TURCO-VENETIAN TREATY OF 1540.

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By THEODORE F. JONES,  
*Assistant Professor in New York University.*

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## THE TURCO-VENETIAN TREATY OF 1540.

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By THEODORE F. JONES.

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In 1536 the days were past when Venice "held the gorgeous East in fee." The opening of new markets and the discovery of new routes to old ones, on the one hand, and, on the other, the rapid rise of the Ottoman power had weakened her prestige and undermined her wealth. Territorially, to be sure, her Levantine empire was, though not intact, yet not seriously diminished. Her nobles still lorded it over the isles of the archipelago; and the Republic itself still controlled Crete, Cyprus, the Ionian Islands, and at least two ports in the Morea.

In that year, 1536, however, much against her will she became involved in a war with the Turks which was destined to humble her naval pretensions and begin the disruption of her empire. Of how the Republic was, as a result of a bit of misplaced independence on the part of one of her captains, attacked by Barbarossa; how the Barbary corsair became admiral of the Porte; of the unsuccessful attack by the Turks in 1537 upon Corfu; of how Venice was compelled by self-respect to join in a crusading league with the Pope and the Emperor; and, finally, of the naval fiasco at Prevesa in 1538, we need not here treat in detail. By the end of 1538 the Venetians saw their commerce ruined and their naval reputation lost; the only result of their efforts was that they saw Castelnovo, at the entrance of the Bocche di Cattaro, which had once been a Venetian fortress, in the hands of a Spanish garrison. In despair, they concluded that they must sue for peace as best they could. Their negotiations for peace, and the aftermath of the treaty they secured form a dramatic chapter in history.

The Venetian Government had reason to believe that its request for peace would not be unheard at the Porte. The first vizier, Aias Pasha, had always been fairly friendly; and Jonus Beg, the first dragoman, was always willing—for a compensation—to serve as an intermediary. On November 10, 1538, the Heads of the Ten had received a letter,<sup>1</sup> written six months before in the Seven Towers at

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<sup>1</sup> Letters at Capl da Constantinopoli, No. 133 (in Venetian archives).

Constantinople by da Canale, their *bailo*. He told how urgently he had explained to the viziers the peaceful intentions of the Republic.

I tried dexterously to show them [he writes] how wrongly they had acted in offending so unjustly the dearest friends they had in the world—so effectively that I swear that when I had finished I saw Aias blush, and heard him mutter, "God pardon the man who was the cause of these mistakes." I continued, "Sir, I beg you no longer to make your best friends despair by doing to them daily so many injuries. We honor you, we respect you, and yet you persist in treating us as your worst enemies." "Say no more," Aias replied, "tell the signory to send an ambassador."

Late in February, 1539, moreover, when the Spanish occupation of Castelnuovo was beginning to rankle, there arrived in the city a Venetian subject from Zante, named Antonio da Modon, a friend of Jonus Beg.<sup>1</sup> He had,<sup>2</sup> apparently, because of this friendship, been commissioned, either by the signory or by its *bailo*, to approach Jonus and ask him whether the Sultan would be inclined favorably to receive a Venetian envoy who should come to discuss terms of peace. Among the papers of the Heads of the Ten is preserved a curious letter which Antonio brought in reply to their request, written<sup>3</sup> for the Sultan, to the Doge, in January, at Adrianople, giving a safe conduct for such an envoy.

The Ten, therefore, at once dispatched an agent to start the negotiations. They picked out Lorenzo Gritti, the youngest of the late Doge's illegitimate children<sup>4</sup> by a Greek mother, born while he was resident *bailo* at Constantinople. Lorenzo's brother Zorzi had just died in the latter city, leaving a certain amount of property, and the attempt was made to hoodwink the Spanish and papal ambassadors by giving them to understand that Gritti went on purely family business.<sup>5</sup> But the Spanish ambassador, Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, guessed the truth at once, and protested at this attempt to desert the league.<sup>6</sup> Gritti was asked to secure, if possible, a general truce for the whole league (the Pope wanted one in order that Charles might devote his whole time to the crushing of the Lutherans), but if that proved to be impossible, to secure a separate peace for Venice on the basis of the *status quo ante bellum*, i. e., restoration of Castelnuovo to the Turks, and of the Aegean Islands to Venice.

<sup>1</sup> Jonus Beg, the first dragoman of the Porte, plays a great part in Venetian history. He often visited Venice and published in 1532 (?), in cooperation with Alvise Gritti, a description in Italian, of the Turkish Government, of which a copy exists in the Harvard College library, and has been translated by Prof. Lybber in the appendix of his Government of the Ottoman Empire in the Reign of Suleiman the Magnificent (Harvard University Press, 1913).

<sup>2</sup> Paruta, *Storia di Venezia*, V. 342.

<sup>3</sup> In Italian, *Letteri ai Capi*, No. 136.

<sup>4</sup> The three half-Greek illegitimate children of Doge Andrea Gritti, who died in December, 1538, were named Alvise (Venetian for Luigi), Zorzi (Venetian for Giorgio), and Lorenzo. Alvise played a large part in Turkish and Hungarian history, ending his life as bishop of Agaña, in Hungary; cf. Kretschmayr, "Ludovico Gritti, eine Monographie" in *Archiv für Oester. Geschichte*, Vol. 83.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland*, first series, Vol. IV, pt. 2. Apr. 23, 1539, Farnese to Poggio.

<sup>6</sup> Paruta, X, 433.

Lorenzo Gritti made an extraordinarily quick trip to Adrianople and back. Leaving Venice late in February,<sup>1</sup> he had already completed his work at Adrianople and left that city on March 21,<sup>2</sup> and was back in Venice on April 7, 1539.<sup>3</sup> He reported that Jonus had introduced him to Aias, who had received him graciously but seemed offended that his former offer of mediation had been so long rejected. Aias had, moreover, granted the Republic alone a three months' suspension of hostilities beginning March 20, in which it might send a real ambassador.

On April 11, accordingly, the Senate,<sup>4</sup> meaning to select as its envoy the man who would be *persona gratissima* at the Porte, chose, in spite of his great age, Piero Zeno, who, as *bailo*, some years before, had been on intimate terms with the men at the Porte. It was loudly proclaimed, of course, that it was Zeno's duty to get Spain and the pope included in the treaty if possible, now that every one must hear that Venice was negotiating. But at the Curia, we know, they were sure Venice was bound to get peace, by herself, if necessary.<sup>5</sup>

It was impossible for Zeno to start at once; it took time to prepare a suitable collection of presents for the Porte. The Government at once sent back Gritti,<sup>6</sup> therefore, to tell the Turks it accepted the armistice and that Zeno was coming. More than on Gritti, perhaps, the signory depended on the famous Cesare Cantelmo. Cantelmo was a Neapolitan *fuoruscito* (therefore, like Rincon,<sup>7</sup> his colleague, very anti-Spanish in his sympathies), who was in the employ of the French king. Francis was in 1539 indulging in a very tortuous policy, trying to remain at peace with Charles in the west and in alliance with the latter's mortal enemy, Suleiman, in the east. Cantelmo was now in Venice,<sup>8</sup> on his way to Constantinople, where his ostensible mission was to help Rincon, the French envoy, in securing peace for all the members of the Holy League.<sup>9</sup> Actually, he was probably expected to do his best to keep up the war between Charles and Suleiman; with regard to Venice it was his business, probably, to keep the Republic fighting with the Turks until, in despair at continued defeat, Venice would be willing to make an alliance against Charles with Francis in the west in return for French mediation at Constantinople. Cantelmo stopped in Venice, on his way, between April 15 and 18. When he left, the Ten gave him a present of 500

<sup>1</sup> The letter brought by Antonio which caused Gritti's mission was written in Adrianople on Jan. 29, 1539.

<sup>2</sup> Nuntiaturberichte, *ibid.*; Senato Deliberazioni (Sen. Del.), Vol. 60, Apr. 10, 1539 (in Venetian archives).

<sup>3</sup> Sen. Del., *ibid.*, Apr. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Nuntiaturberichte, *ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Sen. Del., *ibid.*, Apr. 11; and Charrière, *Négotiations de la France dans le Levant* (1848), I, 405.

<sup>6</sup> French ambassador at the Porte, successor to La Forêt, who had died in the Turkish camp at Valona in September, 1538; cf. Charrière.

<sup>7</sup> Arrived Apr. 15; cf. Nuntiaturberichte, *ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> Sen. Del., Vol. 60, Apr. 13.

ducats and urged him to use his best offices to secure peace for the Republic, even before Zeno's arrival, if possible.<sup>1</sup> Zeno himself started overland, via Ragusa and Serajevo, about the end of the month.<sup>2</sup>

But on April 20 Barbarossa had started on another raid, with the purpose, the Venetians knew, of recapturing Castelnovo. The Venetians, of course, were trying to get the Spaniards to restore Castelnovo to them (to whom by the terms of the league it belonged) in order that they might restore it to the Turks as a preliminary of the peace; they wanted the Turks to get it. What they feared was, after a successful attack by Barbarossa on Castelnovo, that he would sail farther up the Bocche and attack their own fort at Cattaro.<sup>3</sup> So they pressed the Spanish more urgently to give Castelnovo to them.<sup>4</sup> As Barbarossa drew near, the Spanish garrison began to wish for Venetian assistance, and Charles in early July at last offered to give it up to Venice. But on July 13 Barbarossa attacked the fort, and the Venetians, knowing his martial spirit must find vent somewhere, delayed acceptance until it was too late. Castelnovo fell on August 10.

Before this, however, Cantelmo had returned to Venice, on July 15, apparently much grieved because, he said, all his best efforts at securing a favorable peace for the signory had failed.<sup>5</sup> Zeno had died of exhaustion on June 25 at Serajevo,<sup>6</sup> and Aias had, in order to allow the arrival of a new ambassador, prolonged the truce until September 20. Cantelmo said that he had done his very best, and the Doge thanked him in public.<sup>7</sup> But the expression of thanks was not heartfelt. On the day before, July 17, the Heads of the Ten had received a letter from Gritti, which began with praise of Cantelmo and Rincon. "I am sure they could not have done more if they were Venetian themselves," but which ended with a cipher as follows: "I had to write the above about Cantelmo; the truth is that neither he nor Rincon could have acted worse. If it had not been for them, I should have signed an honorable treaty."<sup>8</sup> Instead, the Sultan demanded the cession of Nauplia and Malvasia and of all the Venetian fiefs<sup>9</sup> in the Aegean.

When the new ambassador, Tomà Contarini, reached Constantinople, he was compelled to wait three weeks, while Suleiman and his

<sup>1</sup> *Dicci Segrete* (S. C. X.), Apr. 18, 1539 (in Venetian archives).

<sup>2</sup> Paruta, X, 38.

<sup>3</sup> *Sen. Del.*, Vol. 60, May 26.

<sup>4</sup> S. C. X., May 31, 1539.

<sup>5</sup> *Nuntiatgeberichte*, *ibid.*, Aug. 1, 1539, from Mozone; July 31, from Torea.

<sup>6</sup> *Sen. Del.*, Vol. 60, June 13 (Zeno sich.); *Lettere ai Capitoli*, No. 140, received July 15, from Zeno's son.

<sup>7</sup> S. C. X., July 18, 1539.

<sup>8</sup> *Lettere ai Capitoli*, No. 157.

<sup>9</sup> Held in fief from the Republic by noble families, such as the Querinis, the Saundos, and the Crespos; cf. W. Miller, *Latine in the Levant*.



new first vizir, Lufti, were hunting, and then Lufti demanded impossible terms—a large indemnity besides the cession of all the Levantine seaports. Contarini could get no better terms, and, as he had no power to grant such demands, he was obliged to return to Venice.<sup>1</sup> All the negotiations had failed. When the disheartening news reached Venice, on October 10, as Cantelmo was in the city, on his way back to the Porte, the Ten gave him another 500 ducats and besought his good offices again. That was all they could do. The early winter of 1539–40 was a very bleak one. Famine was prevalent<sup>2</sup> because of the closing of the Turkish corn market.

When Contarini came home, however, he said that he thought that in the spring the Sultan would be more peaceably disposed. He suggested the sending of another envoy. The younger senators opposed the idea, but on December 27 the senate appointed its best-known member, Alvise Badoer, to the thankless position.<sup>3</sup> The senate told him he could cede everything but Nauplia and Malvasia and offer even 300,000 ducats for the right to keep those two towns; he might give Lufti 50,000 ducats and Barbarossa 30,000.<sup>4</sup> It felt sure he could obtain peace on those terms.

But the Council of Ten was not so sanguine. It felt sure the Sultan would insist on the cession of even Nauplia and Malvasia. Accordingly, without the knowledge of the senate,<sup>5</sup> it gave him on January 5 and 19, 1540, permission, in the extremity, to cede either or both of the two towns in question; he was, of course, not to do this until all other means failed. Badoer reached Constantinople on March 13. He had to wait until April 25 to see the Sultan and the vizirs.<sup>6</sup> He found them, to his surprise, absolutely unwilling to start negotiations, save on the basis of the cession of Nauplia and Malvasia and the payment of 300,000 ducats.<sup>7</sup> He waited a few days, thinking obstinacy on his part might avail, but at last, apparently, guessed the real truth, that the pashas knew of his secret instructions. He therefore bowed to the inevitable,<sup>8</sup> and on May 4, 1540, signed the first draft of a treaty on the terms the Ten, but not the senate, had allowed.

The senators were surprised, indeed, but the Ten must have told them that Badoer had its authority. The whole Republic regretted deeply the loss of its last strongholds in the Morea, but was very grateful for peace at even that price. In October the definitive

<sup>1</sup> Sen. Del., Vol. 60, Oct. 17.

<sup>2</sup> S. C. X., Oct. 10, and Nov. 5, 1539.

<sup>3</sup> Sen. Del., Vol. 60, Dec. 27, 1539.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Jan. 7, 1539–40.

<sup>5</sup> But, of course, with the consent of a *Zonta*, elected from the senate. S. C. X., Jan. 19, 1539–40. The text is given in Romanin, *Storia di Venezia*, VI, 58 (ed. 1853–1861).

<sup>6</sup> Sen. Del., Vol. 61, May 1, 1540.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., May 28.

<sup>8</sup> Paruta, X, 449.

peace was signed;<sup>1</sup> and in November the signory sent the following gifts to the Porte: 10,000 ducats to Lutfi, 5,000 each to the other three vizirs, 6,000 to Barbarossa, 1,500 to the Sultan's physician, and 10,000 to Jonus Beg.<sup>2</sup>

A very interesting epilogue remains to be told. In April, 1542, Jonus Beg<sup>3</sup> visited Venice as a special envoy of the Sultan, and, to the signory's dismay, asked it to give up its alliance with the Emperor—made in 1529—and to make one with Francis, in view of the coming war between the two.<sup>4</sup> After long deliberation, the senate told him that it was its intention to make war on nobody (i. e. not to fulfill its treaty obligations with Charles).<sup>5</sup> Jonus was not through making trouble, however. Early in his visit he had come into unsavory connections with the law courts.<sup>6</sup> Now he declared that Badoer had never given him more than 4,000 of the 10,000 ducats promised him in 1540.<sup>7</sup> While he was making his demand, Badoer returned home from his residence at the Porte, but, although he swore Jonus had received the full 10,000, the Ten, in order to keep Jonus friendly secretly gave him 6,000 more.<sup>8</sup>

On June 5, meanwhile, Badoer, about to make his *relazione* to the senate, secretly asked the Ten if he might speak freely of all he knew.<sup>9</sup> The Ten gave him the permission he asked—but ordered each senator to take an oath of secrecy, and appointed three inquisitors<sup>10</sup> to see the oath was kept. But at that moment Giacomo da Canale, the old *bailo*, returned, and declared that it was impolitic to let Badoer speak.<sup>11</sup> He apparently never made his *relazione*. The whole affair is quite mysterious. Then on July 13 Badoer is arrested by order of the *40 al criminal*.<sup>12</sup> I find, however, no record of his trial. The senate took especial care to inform the *bailo* that the cause for the arrest was maladministration in Dalmatia and no other; if

<sup>1</sup> Sen. Del., Vol. 61, Nov. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Nov. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Sen. Del., Vol. 62, Apr. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., May 10.

<sup>5</sup> Sen. Del., Apr. 28. "Perché firma intention nostra è de star in pace et non se impazar in guerra con alcuno."

<sup>6</sup> Dieci al Criminal, May 13, 1542 (in Venetian archives). "Quod iste Nicolaus graecus de Negroponte et Mehmet maurus de Alger, qui sicut ex his quae nunc lecta fuerunt, hoc consilium intellexit, imputati sunt seduxisse duos pueros et mediatores fuisse, quod illi portati fuerunt in domum magnifici D. Jonusbeg, oratoris Sermi. Dn. Turci, ut in ditionem ejus majestatis conducti fierent turci; quod scelestum facinus ut execrabile est respectu fidei nostrae christianae, ita punire meretur; maxime ad hanc alia imputatione in prefatum Nicolaum quod tentaverit de sodomio unum ex dictis pueris: Remaneant bene ritenti ambo et debeant examinari per collegium ordinarium cum facultate torturae."

<sup>7</sup> S. C. X., May 16, 1542.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., June 15.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., June 5.

<sup>10</sup> Inquisitori Sopra la revelatione de Secreti, who, by the way, as a council sat permanently from now until 1797.

<sup>11</sup> Sen. Del., Vol. 62, June 21.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., July 13. "Questi giorni è stà presa nel consiglio nostro de XLia al criminal la retention del nobel homo Alvise Badoer."

anybody in Constantinople said there was another cause, it must be denied; and the very vigor of the denial makes one suspicious of its veracity.

He possibly was going to make public what he knew about the causes for the treaty of 1540. Giovio says that Suleiman told Badoer he knew of his secret instruction when he gave him his first audience.<sup>1</sup> Before he could make any such revelation, on August 17, 1542, the Council of Ten decreed.<sup>2</sup>

God having in His mercy sent us the right which we have just received, we ought not to fail in freeing our Republic from the pest of harboring persons who continuously know our secrets. Therefore, whenever we shall hear through that person, as yet unknown, the full manifestation of what he has offered to tell us, according to the letter presented to us in his name by Ser Federigo Badoer, we shall give him 3,000 ducats and a pension of 80 ducats a month for himself and his descendants forever. He will also be freed from all guilt incurred up to to-day. But Ser Alvise Badoer and all his children are excepted from these privileges.

Apparently, Federigo Badoer, trying to help his father, had found some one who could explain how the Turks knew his secret commission. His father was, apparently, under the suspicion of having sold knowledge of his own secret commission to the Turks. The "person as yet unknown" was, it seems, a Veronese named Girolamo Martelloso, who had been on intimate terms with the wife of a man named Abondio,<sup>3</sup> and during the latter's absence, staying at his house, had had the luck to find sure evidence that two trusted secretaries of the signory, named Cavazza, one in the Ten and his brother in the senate, had reported Badoer's commission to Abondio, who had reported it to Pellicier, the French ambassador in Venice. By the latter it must have been transmitted through Rincon to the vizirs. If my conjecture is right, Martelloso took this evidence to Federigo Badoer, with the result we have seen.

On the afternoon of the same day, August 17, the three inquisitors appointed on June 5 proposed the arrest and examination under torture of the two Cavazzas.<sup>4</sup> For a day the Ten refused permission, and Constantino Cavazza escaped.<sup>5</sup> Nicolò was arrested on August 19,<sup>6</sup> and Abondio fled to the French embassy,<sup>7</sup> then in the Calle San Moïse. On August 23 the Republic actually invaded the embassy and removed Abondio. Cavazza and Abondio were hanged, and in November Martelloso was given the reward promised on August 17.<sup>7</sup> Nothing more is heard of the Badoer prosecution; but it forms a very interesting episode in the history of the sixteenth century.

<sup>1</sup> Zeller, *La Diplomatie Française du XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, 1881, p. 198.

<sup>2</sup> *Dieci al Criminal*, Aug. 17, 1542.

<sup>3</sup> Paruta, X, 450.

<sup>4</sup> *Dieci al Criminal*, *ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Paruta, X, 451.

<sup>6</sup> Zeller, *op. cit.*, pp. 360 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Dieci al Criminal*, Sept. 7, Sept. 20, and Nov. 14, 1542.



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X. THE HOUSE OF COMMONS AND DISPUTED ELECTIONS.

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## THE HOUSE OF COMMONS AND DISPUTED ELECTIONS.

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By HENRY R. SHIPMAN.

"The Commons claim a right to determine all questions relating to the election of members of their house."<sup>1</sup> Such is the brief statement of Maitland in his Constitutional History of England. The history of the "claim" and its validity may be of sufficient interest to detain the attention of the members of the American Historical Association for a few minutes. Old Sir Simonds D'Ewes, the imperturbable pedant, as Trevelyan calls him, gives us in his "Journals of All the Parliaments during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth" the first full account of any instance of such a claim. On November 9, 1586, during a week which they spent in preparing a petition for the "speedy execution of Mary, late Queen of Scots, according to that just sentence which had been declared against her,"<sup>2</sup> and discussing the "designments of the King of Spain to invade England and Ireland,"<sup>3</sup> and Mr. Drake's last voyage, the Commons found time to assert a right which it is doubtful at least if they had ever pressed so distinctly before. In the words of D'Ewes:

The Sheriff of Norfolk receives a Writ touching the Election of two Knights for that County but two days before the next County-day, in which he is bound by law to see it executed. By reason of this shortness of time he could neither summon many Freeholders, nor make due Proclamation in the County any one day before the said Election. The Sheriff notwithstanding on the said County day proceeds to the Execution of the said Writ, and Mr. Farmer and Mr. Gresham are duly chosen according to all points and circumstances in such like case required; there being not only a just appearance of Freeholders but divers also of the eminentest gentlemen of the said County, who after they had given their Voices to the said Election, did also set their Hands and Seals to the Indenture of the same in that case usual. After this a second and new Writ is delivered to the said Sheriff for a new Election to be made, which is in all points executed without the least colour of misfeasance, and by it Mr. Heydon and Mr. Gresham (being one of the two first that had been before Elected) were chosen, and the Indenture of their said Election, together with the Writ, were delivered in unto the Clerk of the Crown, together with the Writ and Indenture of the former Election. After which the Lord Chancellor and the Judges, meeting about it, do resolve, That the first Writ was well executed, the first Election good and the second absolutely void; and of this their resolution do give the House of Commons notice. In which case these points following were resolved by the whole Body of the said House.

First: That the said first Writ was duly executed, and the Election good and the second Election absolutely void.

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<sup>1</sup> F. W. Maitland, *The Constitutional History of England*, 247.

<sup>2</sup> D'Ewes, 400.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 408-409.

Secondly, That it was a most perillous Precedent, that, after two Knights of a County were duly elected, any new Writ should issue out for a second Election without order of the House of Commons itself.

Thirdly, That the discussing and adjudging of this and such like differences only belonged to the said House.

Fourthly, That though the Lord Chancellor and Judges were competent Judges in their proper Courts, yet they were not in Parliament.

Fifthly, That it should be entered in the very Journal-Book of the House that the said first Election was approved to be good not out of any respect the House had or gave to the Resolution of the Lord Chancellor and Judges therein passed but merely by reason of the resolution of the House itself by which the said Election had been approved.

Sixthly and lastly, That there should no message be sent to the Lord Chancellor, not so much as to know what he had done therein because it was conceived to be a matter derogatory to the Power and Privilege of the said House.<sup>1</sup>

So far D'Ewes. During the previous week the Queen had sent word to them that it was a matter "in truth impertinent for them to deal withal and only belonging to the charge and office of the Lord Chancellor, from whence the writs for the same elections issued out and are thither returnable again."<sup>2</sup>

But it is evident that the House of Commons was obstinate and we hear nothing more of it. The Queen apparently yielded tacitly, for she had more important matters to think of.

This, it has been said, was the first distinct assertion of the privilege. There is a case in the first year of Queen Mary, which we know too little about to base deductions upon it. The celebrated Dean of St. Paul's, Alexander Nowell, prebendary of Westminster, and as a Protestant disagreeable to a Catholic House of Commons, had been by a vote of the House turned out because he had a voice in the convocation, and a writ ordered for another Burgess.<sup>3</sup> That is all the information that the "Journals" give us.

But evidently the determined stand in 1586 did establish a precedent, for in 1588 the House took action in case of a disputed election, and there are other instances toward the end of Elizabeth's reign.<sup>4</sup> Under James I comes the well-known Fortescue and Goodwin case in 1604, in which the King, after much opposition, so far yielded as to allow a new election for both claimants to a seat. At any rate, the right received the sanction of the Court of Exchequer in *Barnardiston v. Soame* in 1674, of the House of Lords in 1689, and was further acknowledged by the Statute of 7 William III.

What was the basis for such a right? In Fortescue and Goodwin the Commons claimed the right as an ancient privilege, saying that all parliamentary writs were returnable into Parliament until the 7 of Henry IV, 1406, and that the Commons had been accustomed to appoint special committees "all the Parliament time" for examining controversies about the elections and returns of members.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> D'Ewes, 397.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 393.

<sup>3</sup> Commons' Journals, 1 Mary, p. 27.

<sup>4</sup> D'Ewes, 430, 431, 438.

<sup>5</sup> Commons' Journals, 1 James I, p. 163.



(My use of the word "privilege" may be challenged. The word in this connection is usually used to indicate those privileges of the House which are demanded by the Speaker and granted by the Crown at the commencement of each Parliament, such as freedom from arrest, freedom of speech, etc., but if the Commons had a right to determine questions of disputed elections, this can be properly spoken of as a privilege.)

It is noticeable that in 1604 the House presented no proof of these historical practices upon which they based their claim. The fact seems to be that in an age when the office of representative was regarded rather as a burden than as a privilege, together with the usual shortness of sessions, the House had not yet thought of asserting any such claim. It is true that until the act of 1406 the sheriff had to return the writ in full Parliament, but the King, in or out of Parliament, took direct cognizance of complaints.<sup>1</sup> After 1406 the writ was returnable in Chancery, and by a statute of 1410 the Judges of assize were authorized to inquire into the undue returns.<sup>2</sup> The validity of the return might still be a question for the King to consider, with the help of the Lords. The earlier practice is illustrated by the Rutland case of 1404. In the words of Stubbs, that county—

elected John Pensax and Thomas Thorpe; the sheriff returned John Pensax and William Ondeby (?) on a representation made by the House of Commons to the King; the Lords were directed to examine the parties; Thorpe was declared duly elected; the sheriff was ordered to amend the return and removed from office.<sup>3</sup>

In regard to the special committees to determine election cases, I have found no trace of them. The brief note in the Commons Journal in the Nowell case is then our first clue to the right in question.

If it be assumed that the privilege in the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth was new, we can perhaps explain its assertion by a new spirit of pugnacity on the part of the House of Commons, but that does not settle the legal question involved. Over and over again the Commons declared that they were the judges of their own privileges, but always it is definitely stated or tacitly assumed that the right is an old one. Two questions therefore suggest themselves.

1. First when does a new privilege become an old privilege?
2. What is the precise jurisdiction of courts of law in matters of privilege?

In regard to the first question, James I's statement that all matters of privilege were derived from him and by his grant<sup>4</sup> may be dismissed as a deduction from his peculiar theory of the right

<sup>1</sup> Pryne, Reg., II, 119, 122, quoted in Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England*, III, 437-438.

<sup>2</sup> Stubbs, III, 438.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 437; Rot. Parl., III, 530.

<sup>4</sup> Commons' Journals, 1 James I, p. 158.

of kings. The privileges of the Commons are independent of the Crown.

As every court of justice hath laws and customs for its direction, some the civil and canon, some the common law, others their own peculiar laws and customs, so the High Court of Parliament hath also its own peculiar law, called the *lex et consuetudo Parliamenti*.

This unwritten law is collected "out of the rolls of Parliament and other records, and by precedents and continued experience. Whatever matter arises concerning either House of Parliament, ought to be discussed and adjudged in that house to which it relates, and not elsewhere."<sup>1</sup> These quotations from Coke may be placed beside a resolution of the Lords in 1704 communicated to the Commons at a conference and assented to by them, "That neither House of Parliament have power, by any vote or declaration, to create to themselves new privileges not warranted by the known laws and customs of Parliament."<sup>2</sup> At some time then during the history of England, at least before 1704, the Golden Book of new privileges was closed. Blackstone's dictum that the "only method of proving that this or that maxim is a rule of the common law, is by showing that it hath always been the custom to observe it"<sup>3</sup> must be applicable also to the *lex et consuetudo Parliamenti*. "Whatever the Parliament has constantly declared to be a privilege, is the sole evidence of its being part of the ancient law of England,"<sup>4</sup> says Sir Erskine May. There we must leave the matter. Customs must start at some time, but when they become unwritten law it is hard to say.

The second difficult question, "What is the precise jurisdiction of courts of law in matters of privilege?" becomes serious in the case of the right to decide disputed election cases where the House tried to enlarge an existing privilege. In fact most of the conflicts between the House and the courts were due to the attempt to extend something previously acknowledged.

The facts in the group of cases arising out of the Aylesbury election of 1703 are well known. In *Ashby v. White* an action was brought by an elector for the Borough of Aylesbury against a returning officer who had refused to give him a vote to which he was legally entitled. The right to vote was not in question, only the right to sue for the refusal to allow the voter the exercise of his legal right. The Commons resolved that neither the qualification of any elector, nor the right of any person elected is cognizable or determinable elsewhere than in the Commons of England in Parliament assembled; and then further resolved that *Ashby* was guilty of a breach of

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<sup>1</sup> Coke, 4 Mat., 15; 1 Blackstone, p. 163.

<sup>2</sup> Commons' Journals, XIV, 555, 560.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Blackstone, Comm., 68.

<sup>4</sup> May, Parl. Practice, eleventh ed., 62.

privilege in bringing his action into a common-law court, the privilege being, of course, the right to determine the validity of an election.<sup>1</sup> This meant that if they were able to judge of qualifications of electors, they could disenfranchise an elector. But to withhold a common-law right, the franchise, from a person entitled to it is ground for an action. And the Court of the Queen's Bench, in trying this action, must inquire into the right of the plaintiff to vote in order to ascertain if the plaintiff had a cause of action. In the long controversy the Commons said repeatedly that they could not judge of the right of election without determining the right of electors. The issue then is clear: The House in extending their privilege have come in conflict with another jurisdiction, that of the common-law courts. Lord Holt, one of the clearest thinkers of his time, said in the *Paty* case, one of the *Aylesbury* election cases:

Neither House of Parliament hath power, nor both together, to dispose, limit, or diminish the liberty or property of the subject, because by law (which is superior to the actions or determinations of either House) that liberty and property are established and can not be infringed by a less authority than the legislature of the Kingdom, which is the Queen, the Lords, and Commons, assembled in Parliament.<sup>2</sup> [and again] It hath been said by my brothers and the rest of the judges of the two other courts that each House is the judge of its own privileges, exclusive of all other courts. I must agree that when a privilege of either House is broken, complaint for that breach must be made in that House whose privilege is broken, for no other court, upon any such complaint, can take cognizance thereof. But if a question concerning privilege arise in any cause depending in the Queen's Courts, that Court hath power to proceed thereupon, and to determine that point.<sup>3</sup>

This may be contrasted with the words of Mr. Justice Powell in the same case:

This court may judge of privilege, but not contrary to the judgment of the House of Commons. This court judges of privilege only incidentally, for when an action is brought in this court it must be given one way or the other. The court of Parliament is a superior court, and though the Queen's Bench have a power to prevent excesses of jurisdiction in courts, yet they can not prevent such excesses in Parliament, because that is a superior court, and a prohibition was never moved for to the Parliament.<sup>4</sup>

As a practical question the matter was not decided, for the Queen put an end to the session. At any rate, the Commons had not carried their point.

During the sixteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth centuries there are many conflicting opinions as to the limits of parliamentary privilege and the jurisdiction of courts of law. The explanation is probably this. To quote the Commons in answering the Lords in *Ashby v. White*:

There are divers laws within this Realm of which the Common Law is but One; as appears in Cook's 1st Inst. where he mentions *lex et consuetudo Parliamenti*, et *lex communis*, as distinct laws. As there are several Laws, so

<sup>1</sup> Commons' Journals, XIV, 308.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Holt's Judgment, ed. 1837, 41, in Broom, *Constitutional Law*, second ed., 863.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted in Broom, 864.

<sup>4</sup> Lord Raym., 1105, quoted in May, 134.

there are several Courts and Jurisdictions, and several Causes proper for those several Laws and several Jurisdictions. Of these the high Court of Parliament is the First. *Lex et consuetudo Parliamenti* is a great branch of the Law of England and many causes are to be determined only by that Law. Of such Causes as are in their nature parliamentary, and to be determined by the Law of Parliament, the Common Law and Common Law Judges have nothing to do.<sup>1</sup>

Men then had not yet completely recognized the modern idea of one law embracing everything. The common law had not yet won its victory. The conflict between the Houses and the law courts *was* inevitable. In the Norfolk election case of 1586 the point is the same. "The Lord Chancellor and Judges are competent Judges in their places, yet in this case they took them not for Judges in Parliament."<sup>2</sup> They say, "The two spheres are different and neither civil nor common law can apply when a right resting upon the usage and customs of Parliament, or even its lower House, is in question. This House as a law court is superior in those matters."

As a matter of fact, by the Parliamentary Elections Act of the 31 and 32 Victoria the right to try election cases was given over to the ordinary law courts.

But during the eighteenth century the House as a judge of returns was able to give effect to its decision to declare void John Wilkes's reelection in 1770 and the next candidate on the poll to be duly returned. This was a new phase of the continual expanding of a privilege. The Earl of Chatham in resounding language expressed his opinion of such a pretension:

What, then, my lords, are all the generous efforts of our ancestors, are all those glorious contentions, by which they meant to secure to themselves and to transmit to their posterity a known law, a certain rule of living, reduced to this conclusion, that instead of the arbitrary power of a king, we must submit to the arbitrary power of a House of Commons? If this be true, what benefit do we derive from the exchange? Tyranny, my lords, is detestable in every shape, but in none so formidable as when it is assumed and exercised by a number of tyrants.<sup>3</sup>

If prerogative of the Crown were substituted for privileges of Parliament in the resolutions of 1770 the language would read suspiciously like that of the Stuarts. Mr. Justice Littledale, in *Stockdale v. Hansard*, sums up the matter:

It is said that the House of Commons is the sole judge of its own privileges; and so I admit, as far as proceedings in the House and some other things are concerned; but I do not think it follows that they have a power to declare what their privileges are, so as to preclude inquiry whether what they declare are part of their privileges.<sup>4</sup>

In conclusion, what was the underlying cause of this great contest of some two hundred years, this confusion in the minds of Englishmen as to the limits of jurisdiction of the House of Commons? It was due primarily to the multiplicity of laws. The *lex merca-*

<sup>1</sup> Commons' Journals, XIV, 570.

<sup>2</sup> D'Ewes, 396.

<sup>3</sup> Cobbett, *Parl. Hist.*, XVI, 660.

<sup>4</sup> Proceedings as printed by the House of Commons, 1839 (283), 159.

toria, the ecclesiastical law, the *lex parliamenti*, and the *lex terrae*, or common law, all existed together. Who should say which was superior in any given case? Inevitably the *lex terrae* and the *lex parliamenti* came in conflict, for the lines between legislative and judicial powers of Parliament had not been clearly drawn. Lastly, and this comes out clearly in *Fortescue and Goodwin and Ashby v. White*, the Commons were afraid that their decisions would be subject on any matter which involved the *lex terrae* to revision by the Lords.

It was during these same two hundred years that the Lords were consolidating their power as a court of appeal from the ordinary courts. The Commons saw this and fought hard to keep as large a field as possible out of the hands of their ancient rivals. They lost their fight when Parliament's true character as a "judicial" body was determined, and further when their "judicial" position as one House of that Parliament was clearly defined.

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XI. TENDENCIES AND OPPORTUNITIES IN NAPOLEONIC STUDIES.

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## TENDENCIES AND OPPORTUNITIES IN NAPOLEONIC STUDIES.

By GEORGE MATTHEW DUTCHER.

### I. INTRODUCTION.

The two adjacent epochs of the French Revolution and of Napoleon present an interesting contrast as fields for historical study. During the former the dominant force in France was the people; in the latter, the First Consul and Emperor. In other continental countries, such as Germany, Russia, Spain, and Italy, the situation was reversed. The monarchs dominated their countries in the struggle against the French Revolution, but in the wars against Napoleon the outstanding fact was the popular movement, the development of nationality.

There is a corresponding contrast in the wealth of historical materials and in the progress of historical studies. Monarchy and personal domination created a limited amount of materials and have stimulated but moderate interest; popular movements and national activity produced a wealth of materials and have attracted a multitude of historical investigators and writers. The study of the Napoleonic period, then, presents two distinct phases, the history of the personal government of Napoleon in France and the history of the rise of nationality in the countries which finally united to overthrow the Corsican.

### II. PROGRESS OF NAPOLEONIC STUDIES IN FRANCE TO 1890.

*First period, to 1826.*—With regard to France, the interest in the Napoleonic period has until recently been almost exclusively biographical and military. The only notable exceptions to this have been the study of the Concordat and of the legal codes. It will be noted that these four topics are the ones for which there were some source materials printed, and to which the secondary books mainly related.

The student who turns from the French Revolution to the Napoleonic period is astounded at the lack of contemporary printed ma-

terials. The Procès-Verbal des Séances du Tribunat (75 vols., 1800-1803)<sup>1</sup> and the Procès-Verbal des Séances du Corps Législatif (31 vols., 1800-1806) were printed during the Consulate, but there is probably not a set available in this country. Aside from these and numerous reports and drafts of laws presented to the council of state,<sup>2</sup> the official printed materials, the public documents were but scattering and miscellaneous, and are rarely available outside the Paris libraries and the British Museum. The newspaper press had steadily declined under the successive restrictions imposed by the Directory, and at the beginning of the Consulate the number of Parisian journals was limited to thirteen, and that number speedily dwindled to nine. Of these the *Moniteur* was official after December, 1799, and is an extremely valuable storehouse of documents. Files of the *Moniteur* for the years 1795 to 1815 are to be found in several American libraries, but it is doubtful whether any American library contains a complete file of any other French newspaper for the period.<sup>3</sup> In the departments, few journals long survived the Eighteenth Brumaire. Usually a single journal in each department seems to have continued in a quasi-official character under the patronage of the prefect. The insignificance of the press is shown by the decline in the number of subscribers to the Parisian newspapers from 150,000 in the autumn of 1798 to less than 20,000 in the spring of 1803.<sup>4</sup>

Though the Revolution had produced a flood of popular pamphlets, the Napoleonic period was barren of such publications. In France surprisingly little attempt was made to furnish the public with narratives of the stirring events in progress or with the lives of the heroes of the hour, even of the Emperor himself.

The troubled days of 1814 and 1815 nullified all restrictions on the press, and journalists, pamphleteers, and bookmakers began once more to flourish.<sup>5</sup> Alien or Bourbon patronage subsidized the bitter and disgusting abuse of the fallen Emperor, such rubbish as the *Amours Secrètes* (1815), attributed to Charles Doris, and the *Histoire Secrète* (1814), by Louis Goldsmith. On a little higher plane are the *Recueil de Pièces Officielles* (9 vols., 1814-1816), compiled by Schoell to unmask the Napoleonic régime to the French people; and

<sup>1</sup> For reasons of brevity it has been found necessary to omit full titles of books and the bibliographical data, except so far as absolutely necessary to identify the works in question. Nearly all works mentioned in the second and third sections of this article may be promptly located in the customary bibliographical aids, and most of the titles may also be found in Kirchelsen's *Bibliographie du Temps de Napoléon* (1908-1912), or Davois's *Bibliographie Napoléonienne Française* (1909-1911).

<sup>2</sup> For an extensive list of these reports and drafts, see the Catalogue of the British Museum.

<sup>3</sup> There is a partial file of the *Journal des Débats* in the Cornell University library, and a partial file of the *Gazette de France* in the Columbia University library.

<sup>4</sup> Aulard, *Histoire Politique de la Révolution Française* (1901), 714-716.

<sup>5</sup> There is a bibliography of *Les Pamphlets de la Fin de l'Empire, des Cents-Jours, et de la Restauration* (1879), by Germond de Lavigne.

the writing of such men as Alphonse de Beauchamp, who issued in rapid succession volumes on the campaigns of 1814 (1815) and 1815 (1817), on Moreau (1814), and on Pope Pius VII (1814).

The final stage of what may be called the contemporary period includes the years 1816-1826, during which there emanated from St. Helena a series of volumes, mostly associated with the names of Gourgaud (1818); Montholon (8 vols., 1823-1825), Las Cases (8 vols., 1823), Antommarchi (2 vols., 1825), and O'Meara (1819; 2 vols., 1822), which sought in varying degrees and methods to explain, if not to justify, the career of the lonely exile. In France itself, the generals of the Grande Armée could not forget the dangers they had passed through and the glories they had shared. Gen. Mathieu Dumas compiled his *Précis des Événements Militaires* (19 vols., 1816-1826); and Gen. Beauvais, his even more famous *Victoires et Conquêtes des Français* (28 vols., 1817-1827). The *Bulletins Officiels de la Grande Armée* (4 vols., 1820-1821) were collected by Capt. Goujon; Gen. Beauvais also issued the *Correspondance Officielle et Confidentielle* (7 vols., 1819-1820) of Napoleon; and Fain published his *Manuscrit* for the years 1812, 1813, and 1814 (5 vols., 1824-1827). In 1823 and 1824 appeared the famous works by the Marquis de Chambray and Count Philip Ségur on the campaign in Russia, and by Baron Pelet on the campaign of 1809. The great collection of revolutionary memoirs arranged by Berville and Barrière, which was appearing at this time, included considerable material relative to the Napoleonic period.

*Second period, 1827-1847.*—Napoleonic studies in France really began with the opening of the second period in 1827. The completion in that year of Thiers's *Histoire de la Révolution*, with the glowing account of the earlier campaigns of Bonaparte, was accompanied by the appearance of the first editions of Jomini's *Vie Politique et Militaire de Napoléon*; of Norvins's *Histoire de Napoléon*; and of Foy's *Histoire de la Guerre de la Péninsule*. To this same year, it may be added, belonged the English biography by Sir Walter Scott, which appeared in French translation within the year. The ensuing dozen years witnessed the publication of a flood of books which purported to be the memoirs of the marshals or of the intimate companions of the Emperor. They satisfied the public demand for spicy anecdotes, secret transactions, and glorious deeds, but with few exceptions they fail to satisfy the historical investigator of to-day with regard to their genuineness or else their reliability. Bourrienne (10 vols., 1829), Constant (6 vols., 1830-1831), and Méneval (3 vols., 1843-1845); the Duchesse d'Abrantès (18 vols., 1831-1835) and the brazen Ida de Saint-Elme (8 vols., 1827); Savary (8 vols., 1828), Mollien (4 vols., 1837), Gaudin (2 vols., 1826), Stanislas Girardin (4 vols., 1828), and Lucien Bonaparte (1836); Suchet (2 vols., 1829),

Gouvion Saint-Cyr (8 vols., 1829-1831), Ney (2 vols., 1833), and Lavalette (2 vols., 1831) are the best known in the list. The period culminated in the great event in the development of the Napoleonic legend,<sup>1</sup> the translation of the Emperor's remains from St. Helena to the Hôtel des Invalides in 1840. It was this notable event, coinciding with his retirement from the ministry, that resolved Thiers to begin his travels and studies in preparation for his masterpiece, the *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire*, which was published in 20 volumes from 1845 to 1862. Between 1827 and 1848 there had also appeared the well-known works by Buchez and Roux (40 vols., 1834-1838), Thibaudeau (10 vols., 1834-1835), Bignon (14 vols., 1829-1850), Capefigue (10 vols., 1839-1841), Lacretelle (6 vols., 1845-1848), and Lefebvre (3 vols., 1845-1847).

*Third period, 1848-1870.*—The third period in the history of Napoleonic studies in France, the period of the Third Napoleon, is characterized by an emphatic interest in the personality and family of the Emperor. The great achievement was the publication between 1858 and 1870 of the 32 volumes of the *Correspondance* issued under government patronage, abominably edited, but indispensable. Better done and no less indispensable are the numerous works of that tireless investigator, editor, and writer, Baron Albert Du Casse, a quondam officer of the general staff. The *Mémoires et Correspondance* of Joseph Bonaparte, of Jerome Bonaparte, and of Eugene de Beauharnais, comprising in all 26 volumes, issued between 1853 and 1856, are only the most notable of his manifold publications, which continued to appear until shortly before his death in 1893. In addition to Du Casse's volumes on Arrighi de Casanova (2 vols., 1866) and on Vandamme (2 vols., 1870), Koch's *Mémoires de Masséna* (4 vols., 1849), the *Mémoires* of Marmont (9 vols., 1856-1857), the *Souvenirs et Correspondance* of Madame Récamier (2 vols., 1859) and the *Oeuvres* of Count Roederer (8 vols., 1855-1859) appeared during the Second Empire. In this period for the first time some interest was shown in the study of the administrative system of Napoleon, by Passy's *Fréchet*, *Préfet de la Seine* (1867) and the *Mémoires* of Beugnot (2 vols., 1866), the administrator of the Grand Duchy of Berg, and of Miot de Melito (3 vols., 1858), who was a minister under Joseph in both Naples and Spain.

*Fourth period, 1871-1890.*—The interim from 1871 to 1890 may be treated as the fourth period in the history of Napoleonic studies in France. For obvious reasons the interest in Napoleon and his régime was at a minimum during the earlier years of the Third Republic. The conflict of royalist, republican, and Bonapartist, during the seventies, was illustrated by Lanfrey's *Histoire de Napoléon* (5 vols., 1867-1875); by Michelet's *Histoire du XIX<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (3 vols., 1872-

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<sup>1</sup> The future Napoleon III published in 1839, *Des Idées Napoléoniennes*.

1875); by Hamel's *Histoire de France depuis la Révolution* (2 vols., 1872-1882); and by Henri Martin's *Histoire de France depuis 1789* (8 vols., 1878-1885). The Marquis de Grouchy's *Mémoires* (5 vols., 1873-1874) of his father; the Marquise de Blocqueville's volumes on Le Maréchal Davout (4 vols., 1879-1880), her father; and Ernouf's *Maret, Duc de Bassano* (1878), were the notable biographical works of the decade; and were followed in the early eighties by the important works of Col. Iung on *Bonaparte et son Temps* (3 vols., 1880-1881) and on *Lucien Bonaparte* (3 vols., 1882-1883). But the most curious thing in the seventies is to find Rambaud's *Domination Française en Allemagne* (2 vols., 1873-1874) jostled by the first volume of Treitschke's *Deutsche Geschichte im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (1879). The decade of the eighties, which was prolific in works of the first rank in Austria, Prussia, England, and the United States, was almost barren of publications in France.

This very outburst of foreign interest in Napoleon and his time; the approach of the Napoleonic centenaries; the development in France of scientific historical research under such men as Lavissee, Rambaud, Aulard, and Sorel; the opening of archives, public and private; the proof by the Boulanger fiasco that Bonapartism as a political issue was dead; and the formation of the Dual Alliance with Russia in 1891, are all facts which help to explain the outburst in France in 1891 of interest in the history of the Napoleonic period. The year 1891 opens the present period, the fifth in the history of Napoleonic studies in France, which is the period of monographs. As the earliest really great monograph on the period, and because of its excellence in scholarship and literary finish, the *cordon bleu* belongs to *Napoléon et Alexandre I<sup>er</sup>* (3 vols., 1891-1896), by Albert Vandal. From the side of Russia, Serge Tatistcheff answered with *Alexandre I<sup>er</sup> et Napoléon* (1891), and its wealth of documents from the Russian archives. The same year, 1891, was marked by the publication of the puzzling *Mémoires* (5 vols., 1891-1892) of Talleyrand and of the thrilling *Mémoires* (3 vols., 1891) of Marbot, which were soon followed by numerous others of solid and unquestioned worth, along with some of trivial character. No doubt this flood of memoirs was due in considerable measure to the success of the Marbot memoirs, which ran through countless editions and created a new popular interest in the Napoleonic period. Fuller consideration of the period since 1891 must be postponed pending a survey of the development in other countries of the study of their history during the period of their struggle with Napoleon and the rise of their nationality.

### III. THE STUDY OF THE NAPOLEONIC PERIOD OUTSIDE FRANCE TO 1890.

*England.*—From 1793 to 1815 England deliberately subordinated internal politics to military and foreign affairs, and for England

the Napoleonic period has remained the period of the Great War, and the historical interest in the period has been largely confined to military and naval affairs, even when the subject is apparently biographical. Mr. Rose has been the first Englishman to make a definite attempt to transfer the interest from the military and naval to the political, diplomatic, economic, and psychological. Napier's *History of the Peninsular War* (6 vols., 1828-1840) remains the English classic for the period, and may be supplemented by William James's *Naval History of Great Britain, 1793-1820* (5 vols., 1822-1824). It will be recalled that the *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte* (9 vols.) by Sir Walter Scott appeared in 1827. Beside these early works there are now placed the best achievements of the present generation, the more sober works on the army by Fortescue, on the navy by Clowes, on the Peninsular War by Oman, and on the Emperor himself by Rose. Aside from biographies, the intervening period saw the publication of few works of importance other than those by Alison, Massey, and Seeley. Rightly Englishmen have abundantly honored with biographical works Nelson, Wellington, Pitt, Fox, Castlereagh, and Canning, and even most of the personages of secondary importance. Since the contemporary period, however, English works have appeared in a fairly steady stream, rather than in periodic outbursts. It should be added, moreover, that in no country did such a wealth of material on the history of the period appear contemporaneously, and that no country had a contemporary narrative from year to year of such solid worth as the volumes of the *Annual Register*.

*Germany.*—In Germany similar annuals were conducted by the historians Posselt<sup>1</sup> and Bredow<sup>2</sup> for a time. In Germany, too, there was a considerable amount of contemporary historical publications, especially relating to France under the Consulate:<sup>3</sup> to the Confederation of the Rhine by Pölitz (1811), Klueber (1808), and Zachariae (1810); and to the campaigns of 1813 and 1814, by Henke (1814), Lützow (1815), Odeleben (1816), and Plotho (4 vols., 1817-1818). The next generation is notable for the esteemed writings of Müffling (2 vols., 1824) and Clausewitz (2 vols., 1834-1835) on the last campaigns of Napoleon, the German War of Liberation, which also furnished subjects to lesser writers, such as Wagner (4 vols., 1821-1825), Zimmermann (1836), Sprengel (1837), Sporschil (7 vols.,

<sup>1</sup> Posselt, *Europäische Annalen, 1795-1820* (103 vols., Tübingen, 1795-1820).

<sup>2</sup> Bredow (continued by Venturini), *Chronik des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts, 1801-1825* (22 vols., 1808-1828).

<sup>3</sup> Lists of the more important observers, both English and German, may be found in *Cambridge Modern History*, IX, 792-793; and Fournier, *Napoleon I* (translated by Adams), I, 490-491. For recent general accounts, consult Holzhausen's *Der Erste Konsul Bonaparte und seine Deutschen Besucher* (1900); and for the English, *Alger's Napoleon's British Visitors and Captives* (1904), and R. Boutet de Monvel's *Les Anglais à Paris, 1800-1850* (1911).

1839-1843), and Prittwitz (2 vols., 1843). Pölit's *Die Constitutionen der Europäischen Staaten seit den Letzten 25 Jahren* (4 vols., 1817-1825); Manso's *Geschichte des Preussischen Staates* (3 vols., 1819-1820); the attempts of Dresch (5 vols., 1824-1830) and of Pfister (5 vols., 1829-1835) to continue Schmidt's famous *Geschichte der Deutschen*; Schlosser's *Geschichte des Achtzehnten Jahrhunderts und des Neunzehnten bis zum Sturz des Französischen Kaiserreichs* (8 vols., 1836-1848); and Wachsmuth's *Das Zeitalter der Revolution* (4 vols., 1846-1848) also belong to this generation. There were lives of Napoleon by Buchholz (2 vols., 1827-1829), Becker (2 vols., 1838-1839), Heyne (2 vols., 1840), and Roth (2 vols., 1843).

The year 1848 caused the first outburst of German interest in the War of Liberation, and its effects persisted through the fifties. Wirth's *Geschichte der Deutschen Staaten* (3 vols., 1847-1853), and Menzel's *Zwanzig Jahre Preussischer Geschichte, 1786-1806* (1849) were followed by Pertz's life of Stein (6 vols., 1850-1855), and Droysen's life of Yorck von Wartenburg (3 vols., 1851-1852); by Schmidt's *Geschichte der Preussisch-Deutschen Unionsbestrebungen* (1851), and the similar works of Klüpfel (1853) and of Kaltenborn (2 vols., 1857); by Beitzke's *Geschichte der Deutschen Freiheitskriege* (3 vols., 1854-1855) and a like work by Förster (3 vols., 1857-1861). To these should be added Ludwig Häusser's *Deutsche Geschichte vom Tode Friedrichs des Grossen* (4 vols., 1854-1857); Berghaus von Grössen's *Deutschland seit Hundert Jahren* (5 vols., 1859-1862); and Pappermann's *Diplomatische Geschichte der Jahre 1813, 1814, 1815* (2 vols., 1863).

The Bismarck era from 1862 to 1890, the historiographer of the modern period finds dominated by Heinrich von Sybel, who became professor at Bonn in 1861 and died in 1895. Sybel began the publication of his *Geschichte der Revolutionszeit* in 1853 and issued the fourth and fifth volumes—which dealt with the years 1795 to 1800—in 1872 and 1879. He also began the publication in 1859 of the *Historische Zeitschrift*, which has been the model for most of the leading historical reviews in Germany and other countries.

Of nearly equal importance, though less scientific and more popular, was Heinrich von Treitschke, who was professor at Berlin from 1874 to 1896, editor of the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, and author of *Deutsche Geschichte im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (5 vols., 1879-1894).

The Prussian ministers and generals, Hardenberg and Scharnhorst, Blücher and Gneisenau, were glorified in ample biographies; the Prussian administrative machine, which they fashioned, was explained by Bornhak (3 vols., 1884-1886), Stölzel (2 vols., 1888), Mamroth (1890), and Ernst Meier (1881); the Prussian army,

which they recreated, was described by Scherbening (2 vols., 1855-1866); Prussian achievements under Frederick William III were heralded by Eberty (7 vols., 1867-1873) and Hassel (1881), and Prussian documents were edited by Bailieu (2 vols., 1881-1887) and Stern (1885). Thus, while Prussia unified Germany, she endeavored to absorb the glory for the War of Liberation. The outpouring of monographs during the past quarter-century has afforded an opportunity for the patriotic representatives of the lesser states to tell their story and claim their share of the credit.

*Austria.*—Only since the establishment of the dual constitution in 1867 has there been a consistent historical study of the Austro-Hungarian participation in the Napoleonic wars, for the earlier writings of Friedrich von Gentz, of the Tyrolese Hormayr, and of the Magyar Mailáth were by men who had been participants in the events. Springer's *Geschichte Oesterreichs seit dem Wiener Frieden, 1809* (2 vols.) appeared in 1863 and 1865, and during the ensuing quarter-century Meynert, Vivenot, Beer, Krones, Wertheimer, Fournier, and Zeissberg produced various works, all of which, except Fournier's *Napoleon I, eine Biographie* (3 vols., 1886-1889) are upon strictly Austrian subjects and obviously bear the Hapsburg imprimatur. Metternich's *Nachgelassene Papiere* were published in 1880-1884, and there are various unsatisfactory biographical works relating to him.

*Russia.*—The person to whom Russia is a benighted land and to whom the Russian alphabet is enigmatic will be astounded and bewildered by the wealth of Russian materials on the year 1812 and on the reign of Alexander I. As far back as 1874-1875 Liprandi listed 410 titles in Russian on the year 1812, and in 1883 Dubrovin was able to add new ones by the hundred. It is possible in the scope of this paper to cite only the larger works, which are familiar in translation, such as those of Michailowsky-Danilewsky on the campaign of 1812 (1839; German, 4 vols., 1840), and of Bogdanowitsch on the campaign of 1812 (1859-1860; German, 3 vols., 1862-1863), and on the reign of Alexander I (6 vols., 1869-1871). The *Correspondance* (1865) and the *Mémoires* (2 vols., 1887) of Prince Adam Czartoryski, and the *Denkwürdigkeiten* (4 vols., 1856) of Count Toll have long been familiar. A large part of the material published in the remarkable *Archives Vorontsof* (40 vols., 1870-1895) is fortunately in French. Writers like Liprandi (1869), Popof (1876), and Pypin (1871; German, 1894) carried forward the nationalist traditions until 1891 when Tatistcheff brought Russian and French investigators into touch. It would be a serious oversight to omit mention of Count Lyoff Tolstoï's *Physiology of War, Napoleon and*



the Russian Campaign (1887; English, 1888), or of his remarkable novel War and Peace (1865-1868; English, 1836). For Poland prior to the present generation, the works of Oginski (French, 4 vols., 1826-1827), Ostrowski (Polish, 2 vols., 1833-1840), and Skarbek (Polish, 2 vols., 1860) are the most notable evidences of the persistent national spirit.

*Italy.*—In Italy the overwhelming interest in the great events and personages from 1848 to 1870, and the comparative unimportance of Italy during the French domination have limited the study of the Napoleonic period. The notable general works by Botta (4 vols., 1824); by Cantú (3 vols., 1851; 5 vols., 1872-1877); by De Castro (1881); Colletta's Reame di Napoli (2 vols., 1834); the volumes on the army by Lissoni (1844) and Turotti (3 vols., 1855-1858); and the various works of Bianchi were the more important forerunners of Tivaroni's Storia Critica del Risorgimento Italiano (9 vols., 1888-1897), of which the second volume deals with the French domination. Much of the Italian monograph literature is of minor local interest, and the best recent contributions to the history of Italy during the period have been mainly by Frenchmen. It is strange that not a single good biographical study of Napoleon has been done by an Italian. The most important memoirs of an Italian published prior to 1890 are those of Melzi (2 vols., 1865).

*Spain and Portugal.*—Spain and Portugal have published little besides the few well-known larger works by Munoz (3 vols., 1833), Toreno (5 vols., 1835-1837), and Gomez de Arceche y Moro (14 vols., 1868-1903) in Spain; and by Accursio (5 vols., 1810-1811), Luz Soriano (12 vols., 1866-1885), and Latino Coelho (3 vols., 1874-1891) in Portugal. The Spanish works cited are primarily military, but the Portuguese are both political and military.

*Lesser countries.*—In the Netherlands, the work of De Bosch Kemper (1867) and the various volumes by Jorissen (1865-1868); in Denmark, the works of Thorsoee (2 vols., 1873-1879) and Holm (2 vols., 1875); and in Switzerland, the works of Tillier (5 vols., 1843-1846) and of Müller's continuator, Monnard (vols. 16-18, 1847-1851) are the important contributions from the lesser European countries prior to 1890.

*United States.*—For some reason not clearly accountable, unless it be that Bonaparte was the greatest of self-made men, Americans have always manifested a remarkable interest in the personality and achievements of Napoleon. Almost from the beginning of his career American publishers reprinted nearly everything of importance that was published in England relating to his personal career. Napoleon has had a long line of American biographers who have

usually been frank admirers of the Emperor or have made a studied effort at impartiality. Passing over the efforts of such writers as William Grimshaw (1829) and the incomplete work of Light-Horse Harry's son, Henry Lee (1835), the American people accepted J. T. Headley's *Napoleon and his Marshals* (2 vols., 1846) and John S. C. Abbott's *Life of Napoleon* (2 vols., 1855) as their standard accounts. The continued popularity of such a nauseating laudation as the latter is puzzling. A definite attempt at a critical estimate was made by John C. Ropes in his *First Napoleon* (1885), but his enthusiasm for his subject was ill-concealed. For three-quarters of a century, not merely was American attention absorbed by the problems of national growth, but the avowed national policy, embodied in the Monroe Doctrine, was one of isolation. During that period few Americans were able to rise above a mere biographical interest and really grapple with European history as a matter worthy of American attention. Irving and Prescott and Motley did reveal some of the glories of European history to American readers, but it remained for Henry Adams to grasp and to demonstrate the inextricable and indissoluble relationship of American with European history. For this reason, if for no other, his *History of the United States during the Administrations of Jefferson and Madison* (9 vols., 1889-90) is the most notable contribution yet made by any American to the study of the Napoleonic period, though Americans and Europeans have alike failed to give Mr. Adams his proper meed of credit. It is impossible to pass over this work without alluding to its tremendous importance for the study of the present vexatious problems of the rights of neutrals.

Though the Napoleonic régime was of crucial importance to the history of South and Central America, and of no small significance for the history of Africa and Asia and even Oceania, it is impossible to include any consideration of their historiography for the period.

#### IV. PUBLICATIONS SINCE 1891 ON THE NAPOLEONIC PERIOD.

Thus far this paper has been concerned with the development and tendencies of Napoleonic studies in France and other countries down to 1890. In France, England, and the United States the interest was directly in Napoleon and the wars; elsewhere the interest was in the national struggle against Napoleon, in which national consciousness dawned. While these general characteristics have persisted, in large measure, since 1891, they have been broadened and liberalized by the spirit of scientific historical research, which has joined with the centenary interest to produce monographs rather than extended

works, though there are splendid instances of the latter in the several countries. The older bounds of interest have been overstepped and the diplomatic, political, administrative, economic, religious, literary, artistic, and psychological problems are being investigated, while the old fields have yielded, under scientific cultivation, yet greater abundance. In discussing the tendencies and developments of the years since 1891 there will be no pretense of enumerating all the fields of study or of making an exhaustive citation of even the more important publications in any single field. It will be the purpose, rather, to indicate the characteristic tendencies and achievements of the period and to give some indications of opportunities for productive effort in the future.

*Bibliography.*—The mere idea of a bibliography of the period is one of the novelties of recent years. Admirable selected lists of authorities were appended to Fournier's *Napoleon* (1886-1889; second ed., 1904-1906; third ed., 1914); to the eighth and ninth volumes of the *Histoire Générale* (1896-1897); and to the eighth and ninth volumes of the *Cambridge Modern History* (1904-1906). The first attempt to prepare a complete and systematic bibliography, Lumbroso's *Saggio di una Bibliografia Ragionata per Servire alla Storia dell' Epoca Napoleonica* (vols. 1-5, 1894-1896), proved abortive. F. M. Kircheisen has issued two parts of a *Bibliographie du Temps de Napoléon* (1908-1912),<sup>1</sup> which is an expansion of his earlier *Bibliographie Napoléonienne* (1902), and is confined to publications in western European languages prior to 1905, though some books in other languages or of later date are included. It is to be hoped that Mr. Kircheisen, in completing his elaborate undertaking, will furnish suitable indexes to guide the searcher through his cunningly devised labyrinth. Gustave Davois has issued a *Bibliographie Napoléonienne Française jusqu'en 1908* (3 vols., 1909-1911), which has the limitations indicated in the title, and *Les Bonaparte Littérateurs, Essai Bibliographique* (1909). The alphabetical arrangement makes these easy to consult, but the work is uneven, almost erratic in character. The works of neither Kircheisen nor Davois are complete within the limits which they have adopted. The printed catalogues of the British Museum and other libraries and the sales catalogues of several large private collections are of some service. For more recent publications it is necessary to struggle with the various bibliographical annuals and historical reviews, notably the *Revue des*

<sup>1</sup> In the fourth part of this article many titles which may be readily found in Kircheisen or Davois are omitted or shortened, but other titles have usually been given with reasonable fullness. It has been necessary to omit all bibliographical data except the number of volumes and the date of publication. Much care has been taken with the publications of the last few years, but no doubt there are serious omissions, and some inclusions which are not of great value, and some errors in the bibliographical data, for there are many pitfalls in the path of the bibliographer who attempts to be up to date.

Études Napoléoniennes in which Kirchsen has published a supplement to his bibliography for 1911.<sup>1</sup>

*Writings of Napoleon.*—For the writings of Napoleon it is now necessary to consult not less than a hundred works which, in considerable measure, supplement the Correspondance. These include one or more complete volumes edited by Du Casse (1887), Masson and Biagi (1895), Pélissier (1897), Lecestre (2 vols., 1897), Grouchy (1897), Brotonne (3 vols., 1898–1903), Chuquet (5 vols., 1911–1913), and Picard and Tuetey (4 vols., 1912–1913). Completer lists may be found in the introductions to the volumes by Brotonne and by Picard and Tuetey. It will be seen that there is crying need for the comprehensive search and the scholarly editorial care which should produce a definitive edition of the writings of Napoleon.

*Archives.*—In addition to Langlois and Stein's *Les Archives de l'Histoire de France* (1891), special references to the archive materials may be found in the *Histoire Générale* and the *Cambridge Modern History*. Several printed guides exist for the materials in the Public Record Office and in the Archives Nationales. The British Museum contains several collections of family papers for the period. There is practically no means of ascertaining the manuscript resources for the period preserved in other public archives and libraries, and even in the case of England and France the mere work of listing the materials, let alone calendaring or publishing them, is still far from complete. Considerable use has been made of the Vatican, Russian, Prussian, and Austrian archives, and some materials from them have been published, but it is obvious that much remains untouched, and not a little still inaccessible. The same statement holds substantially, though on a different scale, for practically all the lesser countries.

There are many collections of family papers still in private hands in every country of Europe, which are either difficult or impossible of access, which would throw valuable light on the history of the

<sup>1</sup> *Revue des Études Napoléoniennes*, II, 303–320, 458–474, Septembre, Novembre, 1912. This review also furnishes surveys of the recent literature in special fields in the following series of "bulletins historiques": "*Histoire Intérieure du Premier Empire*" (Janvier, 1912); "*Les Études Napoléoniennes en Russie, 1910–1911*" (Mai, 1912); "*Les Études Napoléoniennes en Suisse, 1911*" (Mai, 1912); "*Sainte-Hélène*" (Juillet, 1912); "*Ouvrages d'Histoire Militaire*" (Septembre, 1912); "*Histoire Extérieure du Premier Empire*" (Novembre, 1912); "*Le Système Continental, 1900–1911*" (Janvier, 1913); "*Histoire Intérieure des Deux Empires*" (Mars, 1913); "*Les Publications Roumaines les Plus Récentes*" (Mars, 1913); "*La Corse Napoléonienne*" (Mai, 1913); "*Publications Anglaises*" (Septembre, 1913); "*Les Études Napoléoniennes en Suisse, 1912*" (Septembre, 1913); "*Les Études Napoléoniennes en Allemagne*" (Novembre, 1913); "*La France Napoléonienne et la Littérature Étrangère*" (Janvier, 1914); "*Histoire Intérieure du Premier Empire*" (Janvier, 1914); "*Les Études Napoléoniennes en Italie*" (Mars, 1914); "*Ouvrages d'Histoire Militaire*" (Mars, Mai, 1914); "*Les Études Napoléoniennes en Russie*" (Mai, 1914); "*Revue des Revues Russes, 1912–1914*" (Juillet, 1914); "*Études sur l'Art du Premier Empire*" (Juillet, 1914); "*Histoire Extérieure du Premier Empire*" (Septembre, 1914).

period. From both the public and the private archives samples of the rich materials appear in almost every new publication of any importance relative to the period. While the personal and military documents have been fairly exploited, only a beginning has been made on the diplomatic, religious, administrative, and economic materials.

*Iconography.*—The leading systematic studies of the iconography of Napoleon, amply illustrated, are Dayot's *Napoléon Raconté par l'Image* (1894; new eds. 1902, 1905, 1908), and *Die Handschrift Napoléon I, mit 40 Bildern, Briefen, und Unterschriften Napoleons in Facsimile* (1904). On the caricatures on Napoleon there are Ashton's *English Caricature and Satire on Napoleon I* (2 vols., 1884; new ed., 1 vol., 1888), and Broadley's *Napoleon in Caricature* (2 vols., 1911). To these should be added Grand-Carteret's *Napoléon en Images* (1895); Bramsen's *Médaillier Napoléon le Grand* (vols. 1-3, 1904-1907); Sauzey's *Iconographie du Costume Militaire de la Révolution et de l'Empire* (1901); Broadley and Daniell's *Collectanea Napoleonica* (1905); the sales catalogues of such private collections as those of Buhrig (1913), Crane (1913), and Latta (1913-1914); and such richly illustrated biographies as those by Tarbell (1895), Sloane (4 vols., 1896-1897), Pflugk-Hartung (2 vols., 1900-1901), Lenz (1905), and Kircheisen (vols. 1-3, 1912-1914).

*Napoleon and his family.*—On Napoleon himself the most notable biography, surpassing those just mentioned, is by Rose (2 vols., 1902), supplemented by *The Personality of Napoleon* (1912). Chuquet's *La Jeunesse de Napoléon* (3 vols., 1897-1899); Sorel's *Bonaparte et Hoche* (1897); Espitalier's *Vers Brumaire* (1913); Masson's *Napoléon chez lui* (1894); and Lévy's *Napoléon Intime* (1898) are perhaps the best of the many studies of single phases of Napoleon's career. On the Elba and Saint Helena periods a large number of new publications have appeared, such as Gruyer's *Napoléon, Roi de l'Île d'Elbe* (1906); Mellini's *L'Isola d'Elba durante il Governo di Napoleone I* (1914); and Masson's *Autour de Sainte-Hélène* (3 vols., 1908-1912), and *Napoléon à Sainte-Hélène* (1912). For the posthumous affairs and the transfer of the remains, Cahuet's *Après la Mort de l'Empereur* (1913), and *Napoléon Délivré* (1914) may be consulted; and for the growth of the Napoleonic legend there are Capeletti's *La Leggenda Napoleonica* (1903), Laumann's *L'Épopée Napoléonienne* (1904), and Gonnard's *Les Origines de la Légende Napoléonienne* (1907). The genius and ideas of Napoleon have been studied in Bonnal de Ganges's *Le Génie de Napoléon* (2 vols., 1897); Kielland's *Umkring Napoleon*

(Copenhagen, 1905; English as *Napoleon's Men and Methods*, 1907); Kremnetzer's *Der Staatsgedanke Napoleons* (1907); Cuneo d'Ornano's *La République de Napoléon* (1894); and Lévy's *Napoléon et la Paix* (1902). Kircheisen's *Hat Napoleon Gelebt?* (1910) will serve as an introduction to the "curious" literature about Napoleon. *An Itinéraire Général de Napoléon* (1908, second ed., 1911) has been prepared by Schuermans.

On the Bonaparte family, Masson's monumental work includes not merely the 12 volumes of *Napoléon et sa Famille* (1897-1914), but also three volumes on Joséphine (1898-1901), one on Marie Louise (1902), one on his mistresses (1893), and one on his son (1904). Sergeant's *Empress Josephine* (2 vols., 1908); Cuthell's *An Imperial Victim, Marie Louise* (2 vols., 1911); Gachot's *Marie Louise Intime* (1911); Welschinger's *Roi de Rome* (1897); Wertheimer's *Herzog von Reichstadt* (1902); Lumbroso's *Napoleone II* (1902); Larrey's *Madame Mère* (1892); Tschudi's *Napoleons Moder* (1898; English, 1900); Atteridge's *Napoleon's Brothers* (2 vols., 1908); Bertin's *Joseph Bonaparte en Amérique* (1893); Kaisenberg's *König Jérôme Napoleon* (1899); Martinet's *Jérôme Napoléon Roi de Westphalie* (1902); Montagu's *Eugène de Beauharnais* (1913); Marmottan's *Elisa Bonaparte* (1898); Rodocanachi's *Elisa Napoléon en Italie* (1900); Alméras's *Pauline Bonaparte* (1907); Arjuzon's *Hortense de Beauharnais* (1897) and *Madame Louis Bonaparte* (1901); Taylor's *Queen Hortense* (1907); Gailly de Taurines's *La Reine Hortense en Exil* (1914); and the several volumes of Gertrude Kircheisen, Turquan, and Fleischmann indicate the remarkable interest taken in the family of the Emperor.

*Military and naval affairs.*—The generalship of Napoleon has been fully studied by an American, the late Gen. T. A. Dodge, in his *Great Captains* series (4 vols., 1904-1907); by a Frenchman, Gen. Camon, in *La Bataille Napoléonienne* (1899) and *La Guerre Napoléonienne* (3 vols., 1903-1907); and by two Germans, Freytag von Loringhoven in *Die Heerführung Napoleons* (1910) and Giehrl in *Der Feldherr Napoleon als Organisator* (1911). Capt. Colin has described *L'Education Militaire de Napoléon* (1900), and Col. Vachée, *Napoléon en Campagne* (1913). Count Lort de Sérignan has written a scientific study of *Napoléon et les Grands Généraux de la Révolution et de l'Empire* (1914); Lieut. Escalle, of *Des Marches dans les Armées de Napoléon* (1912); and Gen. Camon, of *La Fortification dans la Guerre Napoléonienne* (1914).

Among recent volumes on the army are Chapoutot's *Livre d'Or des Officiers Français de 1789 à 1815* (1904); Martinien's *Tableau des Officiers Tués et Blessés pendant les Guerres du Premier Empire* (1900); Philip's *Le Service d'État-Major pendant les Guerres du Premier Empire* (1900); Fallou's *La Garde Impériale, 1804-1815*

(1901); Morvan's *Le Soldat Impérial* (2 vols., 1904-1905); L. Picard's *La Cavalerie dans les Guerres de la Révolution et de l'Empire* (2 vols., 1895-1896); and Belhomme's *Histoire de l'Infanterie en France* (vol. 4, 1899).

There is a considerable literature on the non-French contingents in the Napoleonic armies. Sauzey's elaborate work on *Les Allemands sous les Aigles Françaises; Essai sur les Troupes de la Confédération du Rhin, 1806-1814* (vols., 1-6, 1902-1912) holds the first place. Commandant Boppe, the editor of the *Carnet de la Sabretache*, has published *La Légion Portugaise* (1897), *Les Espagnols à la Grande Armée* (1899), and *La Croatie Militaire, 1809-1813, les Régiments Croates à la Grande Armée* (1900). Bernaert's *Fastes Militaires des Belges au Service de la France, 1789-1815* (1898), and the works of Cruyplants (2 vols., 1901-1902), and others deal with the Belgian contingents. There are also works on the Polish, Swiss, and Italian troops and many volumes on the foreign contingents in the campaign of 1812 and in the Peninsular War.<sup>1</sup>

The historical section of the French general staff has issued an admirable series of publications based upon the official records covering most of the campaigns conducted by Napoleon in person. Naturally these volumes are by military experts and contain full technical accounts of the maneuvers, with a wealth of detailed statistical materials. Apparently the campaigns of 1806-1807 and of 1813-1815 remain to be done, as do also most of the campaigns conducted by subordinates, though the two most recent publications have made a beginning on the Peninsular War.

The work by the Russian General Staff on the campaign of 1812 (vols. 1-10, 1900-1914) is available in a translation (vols. 1-7, 1904-1911) by the French General Staff. The journals published by the general staffs of France, Germany, and Austria have contained numerous studies, mostly detailed and technical in character and mainly related to the participation of their respective armies. The German General Staff has undertaken a comprehensive study of *Das Preussische Heer der Befreiungskriege*, of which the volumes on 1812 and 1813 have appeared (vols 1-2, 1912-1914); and the Austrian General Staff, of the campaigns of 1809 (vols. 1-4, 1907-1909) and of 1813-1814 (vols. 1-5, 1913).

With regard to the enormous number of monographs on the separate campaigns, which have appeared during the past quarter-century, it is impossible to do more than recall the names of some of the most important authors, such as the Americans, Ropes and Sar-

<sup>1</sup> For a partial list of these works see Kirchelsen's *Bibliographie*, I, 325-326, 366-368. Consult also Holzhausen's *Die Deutschen in Russland, 1812* (1912), and Kirchelsen's *Napoleon's Untergang* (Vol. I, 1912). It may be added that there are books such as Kortzfleisch (1896) on German troops in the English army.

gent; the Englishmen, Lord Wolseley, Sir Evelyn Wood, George, Shand, Butler, Robinson, Petre, the various contributors to the Special Campaigns series, and above all Prof. Oman for his masterly History of the Peninsular War (vols. 1-5, 1902-1914); the Frenchmen, Bouvier, Picard, Gachot, Grouard, Fabry, Bonnal, Weil, Calmon-Maison, Lefebvre de Béhaine, and the greatest of all, Houssaye; the Belgian, Navez; the Spaniards, Ibañez Marin and Grahíty Papéll; the Italians, Barone, Cavaciocchi, and Bustelli; the Russians, Verestchagin and Kharkevich; and the Austrians and Germans, Gunther, Hüffer, Lettow-Vorbeck, Mayerhofer von Vedropolje, Binder von Krieglstein, Osten-Sacken, Treuenfeld, Pflugk-Harttung, Janson, Holleben, Friederich, Criste, and Bleibtreu.

It is, likewise, quite impossible to attempt any discussion of the volumes of military memoirs, except to remark that, in general, they have been much better edited in recent years, and that while less pretentious and popular than of old, they offer more reliable illustrative material and truer local color than many of their more brilliant predecessors. Both in France and in Germany several of these late comers have been real contributions to the military history of the period, such as the *Erinnerungen* (1911) of Roos on the Russian campaign; Capt. von Colomb's *La Guerre de Partisans contre Napoléon, 1813-1814* (1914); the *Journal* (1913) of the surgeon Lagneau; the *Lettres* (1914) of the chief of staff Dupont d'Herval; the *Mémoires et Journaux* (vols. 1-2, 1910-1911) of Decaen; the *Lebenserinnerungen* (2 vols., 1911-1913) of Gen. Karl von Wedel; and the *Denkwürdigkeiten* (1912) of Gen. Hiller von Gaertringen.

Except for the campaigns of Marengo and Jena, very few publications during the past decade have related to the earlier campaigns of Napoleon, but nearly all have dealt with the Peninsular War or the campaigns of 1812-1815. German interest has centered on the campaign of 1813, but the widest general interest has been manifested in the Waterloo campaign, for which the literature is the richest, though even yet the official materials have not been properly exploited.

For the naval warfare the first place belongs to Admiral Mahan's *Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire* (2 vols., 1892), and his *Nelson* (1897). Clowes's *Royal Navy* (vols. 4-5, 1899-1900) and the volumes issued by the Navy Records Society hold an important place. Wheeler and Broadley's *Napoleon and the Invasion of England* (1908); Desbrière's *Projets et Tentatives de Débarquement aux Îles Britanniques, 1793-1805* (4 vols., 1900-1902); Bottet's *Napoléon aux Camps de Boulogne* (1914); several studies on the Trafalgar campaign; and some Danish monographs on the two attacks on Copenhagen are worthy of mention.



*International relations.*—All later study of the diplomatic history of the Napoleonic period must take as its point of departure the pioneer work of Albert Sorel, *L'Europe et la Révolution* (vols. 5-8, 1903-1904), though its faults have been fully emphasized by reviewers and later investigators. Sorel has been supplemented and corrected by the masterly studies of Raymond Guyot (1911) and Charles Ballot (1910) for the period of the Directory, and of Édouard Driault (4 vols., 1904-1912) for the Consulate and the Empire. The relations with England have been recently studied in Coquelle's *Napoléon et l'Angleterre, 1803-1813* (1904); Aurio's *La France, l'Angleterre, et Naples de 1803 à 1806* (2 vols., 1904-1905); and Rose's *Napoleonic Studies* (1904), *Despatches Relating to the Third Coalition* (1904), *William Pitt and the Great War* (1911), and *Pitt and Napoleon* (1912). For the relations with Russia, there have been published Tratchevski's *Diplomatic Relations of Russia with France during the Napoleonic Period* (Russian, 4 vols., 1890-1893); *Les Relations Diplomatiques de la Russie et de la France d'après les Rapports des Ambassadeurs d'Alexandre et de Napoléon, 1808-1812*, by the Grand Duke Nicolas (4 vols., 1905-1906); Ulmann's *Russisch-Preussische Politik unter Alexander I und Friedrich Wilhelm III bis 1806* (1899); Bailleu's *Briefwechsel König Friedrich Wilhelms III und der Königin Luise mit Kaiser Alexander I* (1900); *La Tour's Les Prémices de l'Alliance Franco-Russe, 1806-1807* (1914); and several other works largely documentary in content.

Some documentary materials and not a few monographs have appeared on the different episodes in the diplomatic history of the period. The successive works of Böhtlingk (1895), Hüffer (1896), Criste (1900), Helfert (1900), Petiteville (1904), and Montarlot and Pingaud (3 vols., 1912-1913) have thrown much light on the controverted subject of the Rastatt Congress, without entirely solving the mystery of the assassinations. For the period between the treaties of Campo Formio and Amiens there are Hüffer's *Invaluable Quellen zur Geschichte des Zeitalters der Französischen Revolution* (4 vols., 1900-1907); Hermann's *Der Aufstieg Napoleons, Krieg und Diplomatie vom Brumaire bis Lunéville* (1912); Bowman's *Die Englisch-Französische Friedensverhandlung, December, 1799—January, 1800* (1899), and *Preliminary Stages of the Peace of Amiens* (1900); and Philippon's *Der Friede von Amiens* (1913). The position of Prussia has been studied in Prof. Guy Stanton Ford's *Hanover and Prussia, 1795-1803* (1903), and in Trummel's *Der Norddeutsche Neutralitätsverband, 1795-1807* (1913). On the period of the third coalition there are Pflüger's *Koalitions-Politik, Metternich und Friedrich von Gentz, 1804-1806* (1913); Hausing's *Hardenberg und die Dritte Koalition* (1899); and Ecksdahl's *Bidrag til Tredje*

Koalition Bildningsshistoria, 1803-1805 (Lund, 1903). On other episodes there may be mentioned J. Meyer's *Die Französisch-Spanische Allianz, 1796-1807* (1895); Bradisteanu's *Die Beziehungen Russlands und Frankreichs zur Türkei in den Jahren 1806 und 1807* (1912); Joachim's *Napoleon in Finckenstein* (1906); Mehring's *1807-1812, von Tilsit nach Tauroggen* (1913); Fust's *Der Friede von Schönbrunn* (1908); Villa-Urrutia's *Relaciones entre España e Inglaterra durante la Guerra de la Independencia* (vols. 1-3, 1911-1914); and Anton del Olmet à *El Cuerpo Diplomático Español en la Guerra de la Independencia* (vol. 5, 1914).

Vicomte Jean d'Ussel's *Études sur l'Année 1813* (2 vols., 1907-1912) deal with the entrance of Prussia and Austria into the alliance against Napoleon. Firmin-Didot's *Royauté ou Empire, la France en 1814* (1897); Chuquet's *L'Année 1814* (1914); and Fournier's *Der Congress von Châtillon* (1900) and *Die Geheimpolizei auf dem Wiener Kongress* (1913) are examples of recent publications on the diplomatic and political affairs at the close of the Napoleonic period. There is an interesting but unsatisfactory *Essai sur le Droit des Gens Napoléonien, 1800-1807, d'après la Correspondance* (1911) by E. Chevalley.

The publication of several private collections of correspondence relating to the international affairs of the period, notably by the British Historical Manuscripts Commission, such as the Manuscripts of J. B. Fortescue, Esq., Preserved at Dropmore (7 vols., 1892-1910), has emphasized the necessity for the systematic publication of the diplomatic correspondence for the period contained in the various national archives. M. Driault has recently secured official approval for beginning the undertaking in France, and it is to be hoped that the present unpleasantness in Europe may not long delay the work. It is worth while to note that a considerable selection from the American diplomatic papers of the period has been in print for over 80 years in the folio volumes of the American State Papers (vols. 1-3, 1832).

*England.*—Since the publication of the concluding volumes of Lecky, 25 years ago, the history of England during the era of her struggle with Napoleon has received surprisingly little attention. Good general surveys will be found in the Cambridge Modern History (vols. 8-9, 1904-1906); in the volumes of the Political History of England, by Hunt (1905) and by Brodrick and Frothingham (1906); in Robertson's *England under the Hanoverians* (1911); and in Dorman's *History of the British Empire in the Nineteenth Century* (vols. 1-2, 1902-1904). J. W. Fortescue's *History of the British Army* (vols. 1-7, 1899-1912) ranks with Clowes's *Royal Navy*, Oman's *Peninsular War*, and the several volumes by Rose, already mentioned, as the foremost English contributions for the period. The Diary (2

vols., 1904) of Sir John Moore; Lord Broughton's *Recollections of a Long Life* (2 vols., 1909); the *Correspondence* (1912) of Lord Burghersh; *lives of Wellington*, by Sir H. E. Maxwell (2 vols., 1899) and Fitchett (2 vols., 1911); of Canning, by Marriott (1903) and Temperley (1905), and of several interesting minor personages make up the biographical contributions. To these may be added Ogorodnikov's *Military Resources of Great Britain During the Wars of the French Revolution and the First Empire* (Russian, 1902); Audrey Cunningham's *British Credit in the Last Napoleonic War* (1910); and MacCunna's *Contemporary English View of Napoleon* (1914).

*Germany*.—For German history, in contrast, recent years have yielded a veritable wealth of riches. The tremendous significance of the awakening of the German national spirit, of the beginning of the process of unification, and of the remarkable group of personalities who moulded German character in those years furnish ample warrant for such thorough study of the period. While England had already carefully written up this epoch of her history before 1890, Germany had only begun her investigations by that date.

While American readers may turn to Poultney Bigelow's *History of the German Struggle for Liberty* (2 vols., 1895), and French readers to Denis's *L'Allemagne, 1789-1852* (2 vols., 1896-1898), Cavaignac's *La Formation de la Prusse Contemporaine* (2 vols., 1891-1898), Chareton's *Comment la Prusse a Préparé sa Revanche* (1903), and Vidal de la Blache's *La Régénération de la Prusse après Jéna* (1910); the German reader finds the period surveyed in the volumes by Heigel (2 vols., 1899-1911), and by Zwiedineck-Südenhorst (vol. 1, 1897) in the *Bibliothek Deutscher Geschichte*. For the lesser states there are such volumes as Du Moulin Eckart's *Bayern unter dem Ministerium Montgelas* (vol. 1, 1895); Kleinschmidt's *Bayern und Hessen, 1799-1816* (1900); Erdmannsdörfer and Obser's *Politische Correspondenz Karl Friedrichs von Baden, 1783-1806* (5 vols., 1888-1901); Andreas's *Geschichte der Badischen Verwaltungsorganisation und Verfassung in den Jahren 1802-1818* (1913), and *Baden nach dem Wiener Frieden, 1809* (1912); Bonnefons's *Un Allié de Napoléon, Frédéric-Auguste, Premier Roi de Saxe* (1902); and Rühlmann's *Die Oeffentliche Meinung in Sachsen während der Jahre 1806 bis 1812* (1902).

The French administration and the districts under French control have furnished subjects for an admirable group of works. Fisher's *Studies in Napoleonic Statesmanship, Germany* (1903) contains a general survey of the subject. Among the special studies of the several political units involved are Bitterauf's *Geschichte des Rheinbundes* (vol. 1, 1905); Kleinschmidt's *Geschichte des Königreichs Westfalen* (1895); Hassell's *Geschichte des Königreichs Hannover*

(vol. 1, 1898); Thimme's *Die Inneren Zustände des Kurfürstentums Hannover unter der Französisch-Westfälischen Herrschaft* (2 vols., 1893-1895); Schmidt's *Le Grand-Duché de Berg* (1905); Darmstaedter's *Das Grossherzogtum Frankfurt* (1901); Chroust's *Das Grossherzogtum Würzburg* (1913); C. de Tournon's *Die Provinz Baireuth unter Französischer Herrschaft* (1900); Usinger's *Das Bistum Mainz unter Französischer Herrschaft* (1912); Wohlwill's *Neuere Geschichte der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg insbesondere von 1789 bis 1815* (1914); and Servièrès's *L'Allemagne Française sous Napoléon I<sup>er</sup>* (1904).

The process of secularization of ecclesiastical states in 1803 may now be studied in such monographs as König's *Pius VII, die Säkularisation und das Reichskonkordat* (1904); Rinieri's *La Secolarizzazione degli Stati Ecclesiastici della Germania per Opera del Primo Console* (1906); Scheglmann's *Geschichte der Säkularisation im Rechtsrheinischen Bayern* (3 vols., 1903-1908); and Erzberger's *Die Säkularisation in Württemberg von 1802 bis 1810* (1902). Similar studies of the mediatization of the smaller lay principalities during the period are yet lacking except for Hoff's *Die Mediatisiertenfrage in den Jahren 1813-1815* (1913).

The *Lebenserinnerungen* (1901) of Stein and *Aus dem Leben eines Diplomaten der Alten Schule* (1901), the memoirs of Graf von Bray, are the only recently published memoirs of political value. Henderson's *Blücher* (1911); Friederich's *Gneisenau* (1906); Unger's *Gneisenau* (1913); Pflugk-Harttung's *Briefe des Generals von Gneisenau, 1809-1815* (1913); Petersdorf's *Thielmann* (1894); Conrady's *Grolmann* (3 vols., 1894-1896); Lehmann's *Stein* (3 vols., 1902-1905); Gebhardt's *Wilhelm von Humboldt als Staatsmann* (2 vols., 1896-1899); Otto Harnack's *Wilhelm von Humboldt* (1913); Müsebeck's *Ernst Moritz Arndt* (vol. 1, 1914); Meusel's *Friedrich August Ludwig von der Marwitz* (2 vols., 1908-1913); and Sieveking's *Georg Heinrich Sieveking* (1913) are good biographical works, though they obviously do not rank with the classic achievements of Pertz, Lehmann, Ranke, and Droysen on Stein, Scharnhorst, Hardenberg, and Yorck in the preceding generation.

The great literary men of the day in Germany and the lesser men who fought with their pens in the War of Liberation have each been the subject of many books and articles, which need not be enumerated here, though reference should be made to Gromaire's *La Littérature Patriotique en Allemagne, 1800-1815* (1911) and to Czygan's *Geschichte der Tagesliteratur während der Freiheitskriege* (3 vols., 1911).

From the numerous books on the years 1813-1815 which have appeared in the last five years, there may be singled out as of more than average interest Pflugk-Harttung's *Das Befreiungsjahr 1813*

(1913) and its supplement, Leipzig, 1813 (1913) for their wealth of documents, and Just's thesis on *Verwaltung und Bewaffnung im Westlichen Deutschland nach der Leipziger Schlacht, 1813 und 1814* (1911) as a study of a neglected topic.

*Austria.*—Aside from the works of Hüffer and Fournier already mentioned, the latter's *Historische Studien* (3 vols., 1885–1912) and Weiss's *Weltgeschichte* (vols. 19–22, 1896–1898) are the most important contributions to the general history of the period by Austrian writers. Only a beginning has been made in the study of Austria's share in the diplomatic history of the time, and not even a start has been made on the study of the internal history of the period. For the military history, the general staff has undertaken the publication of a series on the *Krieg von 1809* (vols. 1–4, 1907–1909), and another on the *Befreiungskrieg, 1813 und 1814* (vols. 1–5, 1913); and several of the foremost scholars have written a series of 10 monographs on 1813–1815, *Oesterreich in den Befreiungskriegen* (10 vols., 1911–1914), edited by Woinovich and Veltzé.

Demelitsch's *Metternich und seine Auswärtige Politik* (vol 1, 1898), and Sandemann's *Metternich* (1911) merely aggravate the need for a scholarly study of his career from the archives, which probably will not be properly accessible for such a task in many a day. Some light on diplomatic and political affairs comes from the *Briefe von und an Friedrich von Gentz* (vols. 1–3, 1909–1913), edited by Wittichen and Salzer, and from Arneth's *Freiherr von Wessenberg* (2 vols., 1898). The sons of the Archduke Charles have published his *Ausgewählte Schriften* (6 vols., 1893–1894); Zeissberg, a biography of him (2 vols., 1895); Angely, *Erzherzog Karl von Oesterreich als Feldherr und Heeresorganisator* (5 vols., 1896–1897); and W. John, *Erzherzog Karl, der Feldherr und seine Armée* (1913), an elaborately illustrated volume. There is a life of the *Fürst von Liechtenstein* (1905) by Criste, and Novák has edited *Prince Schwarzenberg's Briefe an seine Frau* (1913).

On the Tyrolese rising in 1809 there is a considerable literature of which the latest volumes are Schmölder's *Andreas Hofer und seine Kampfgenossen* (1900); J. Hirn's *Tirols Erhebung im Jahre 1809* (1909); Voltelini's *Forschungen und Beiträge zur Geschichte des Tiroler Aufstandes* (1909); F. Hirn's *Vorarlbergs Erhebung, 1809* (1909), and *Geschichte Tirols von 1809 bis 1814* (1914); and Wengen's *Der Feldzug der Grossherzoglich-Badischen Truppen gegen die Vorarlberger und Tiroler, 1809* (1910). The history of the Illyrian Provinces is set forth in books by Pisani (1893) and by Kirchmayer (1900).

*Switzerland.*—The first two volumes of Wilhelm Oechsli's *Geschichte der Schweiz im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (1903–1913) form the most notable recent contribution to the history of the French domi-

nation in Switzerland. Much has been published on the history of the several cantons, especially Berne and Vaud; and during the past three years there have been notable publications of memoirs and documents on Geneva in addition to the works of Chapuisat (4 vols., 1908-1912). Successive phases of Swiss relations have been revealed in a clearer light through the documents published or used in Strickler's *Amtliche Sammlung der Acten aus der Zeit der Helvetischen Republik*, 1798-1803 (10 vols., 1886-1905); Rott's *Perrochel et Masséna, l'Occupation Française en Helvétie*, 1798-1799 (1899); Dunant's *Les Relations Diplomatiques de la France et de la République Helvétique*, 1798-1803 (1902); Cérenville's *Le Système Continental et la Suisse*, 1803-1813 (1906); and Steiner's *Napoleons I Politik und Diplomatie in der Schweiz während der Gesandtschaftszeit des Grafen Auguste de Talleyrand* (vol. 1, 1907).

*Italy.*—Though manuals by Lemmi (1906) and others, and popular narratives by such men as Orsi (1900) have dealt briefly and comprehensively with the French domination in Italy, recent contributions have in most cases had a distinctly provincial limitation and interest. Carutti (2 vols., 1892), Perrero (1898), and Artemont (1911) have written on the royal family of Savoy when their kingdom was limited to the island of Sardinia; Bigoni (1897), Trucco (1901), and Colucci (4 vols., 1902), on the downfall of the ancient republic of Genoa; Corio (1904), on Milan in the Napoleonic kingdom of Italy; Lemmi (1902), on the Austrian restoration in Milan in 1814; Mocenigo (1896) and Perl (1901), on Venice under Napoleon; Bevilacqua (1897), on *Le Pasque Veronesi*; Bassi (1895), on Reggio; Boschi (1894) and Franciosi (1912), on San Marino; Lumini (1891), Covoni (1894), and Marmottan (5 vols., 1896-1901), on Tuscan affairs; Ungarelli (1911), on Bonaparte in Bologna; and Emiliani (2 vols., 1909-1911) and Bodereau (1914), on Ancona and the Marches.

Of biographical studies there has been a dearth. Some interesting materials relating to Pauline Bonaparte may be found in Sancholle-Henraux's *Le Chevalier Luigi Angiolini* (1913), and relating to the financial administration of the kingdom of Italy in Ratti's *Il Ministro Prina* (1914). Abbé Moulard has published a volume of *Lettres Inédites du Comte Camille de Tournon, Préfet de Rome*, 1809-1814 (1914). The constitutional significance of the Napoleonic intervention has been partially studied by Gallavresi (1905), Garavani (1910), Pivano (2 vols., 1910-1912), and Sabini (1911). Another phase of the history of ideas has been admirably treated in Hazard's *La Révolution Française et les Lettres Italiennes*, 1789-1815 (1910). For the political and diplomatic history, especially of northern Italy, there are the outstanding works of Gaffarel on *Bonaparte et les Républiques Italiennes*, 1796-1799 (1895); of Albert Pingaud on

Bonaparte, Président de la République Italienne (2 vols., 1914); Guyot's *Le Directoire et la Paix de l'Europe* (1911); and Driault's *Napoléon en Italie, 1800-1812* (1906). The indefatigable Baron Lumbroso has published *Attraverso la Rivoluzione e il Primo Impero* (1907) and several other works on the Napoleonic rule in Italy.

The dramatic and puzzling personal elements are largely responsible for the extraordinary number of publications relating to Naples and Sicily. The first effects of the Napoleonic intervention on Neapolitan affairs are set forth by Rinieri in *Della Rovina di una Monarchia, Relazioni Storiche tra Pio VI e la Corte di Napoli negli Anni 1776-1799, secondo Documenti Inediti dell' Archivio Vaticano* (1901), and by Du Teil in *Rome, Naples, et le Directoire, Armistices et Traités, 1796-1797* (1902). The romantic and revolutionary affairs of 1798 and 1799 have been narrated and debated by many, including Conforti (2 vols., 1889-1890), Villari (1891), Pometti (1894), Maresca (1895), Croce (2 vols., 1897-1902), Lemmi (1898), and Spinazzola (1899), who have each contributed additional documentary materials. Sansone's *Gli Avvenimenti del 1799 nelle Due Sicilie* (1901) and Gutteridge's *Nelson and the Neapolitan Jacobins* (1903) are both volumes of documents. An account of these events in English will be found in *Naples in 1799* by Constance H. D. Giglioli (1903). General accounts of the Napoleonic kingdom of Naples can be found in Fontanarosa's *Studi sul Decennio Francese in Napoli, 1806-1815* (1901), and in Prof. R. M. Johnston's *Napoleonic Empire in Southern Italy* (2 vols., 1904). The brief kingship of Joseph has been admirably studied in Jacques Rambaud's *Naples sous Joseph Bonaparte, 1806-1808* (1911) and *Lettres Inédites ou Éparses de Joseph Bonaparte à Naples* (1911). Amante has given an account of *Fra Diavolo e il suo Tempo, 1796-1806* (1904), and much information, especially on the military events, is contained in the *Souvenirs* (vol. 3, 1911) of the Marquis de Bouillé, in the *Mémoires* (vol. 2, 1914) of Comte Roger de Damas, and in the *Souvenirs du Sous-Lieutenant d'Hauteroche* (1894). Prof. R. M. Johnston has identified and published, with considerable additional materials, the *Mémoire de Marie Caroline, Reine de Naples* (1912); and two volumes of *Correspondance Inédite de Marie Caroline avec le Marquis de Gallo* have been edited by Weil and Somma-Circello (1911), with supplementary continuations in the *Revue Historique de la Révolution et de l'Empire* and in the *Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*. Under the title *Une Ennemie de la Révolution et de Napoléon* (1905), A. Bonnefons has written a life of Marie Caroline; and G. Bianco has given an account of *Sicilia durante l'Occupazione Inglese, 1806-1815* (1902).

The career of Murat at Naples still awaits adequate treatment in spite of Guardione's *Gioacchino Murat in Italia* (1899); Chavanon

and Saint-Yves's Joachim Murat, 1767-1815 (1905); Espitalier's Napoléon et Le Roi Murat (1910); Atteridge's Joachim Murat (1911); and the richly documented volumes by Commandant Weil on Le Prince Eugène et Murat, 1813-1814, Opérations Militaires, Négociations Diplomatiques (5 vols., 1901-1902), and on Joachim Murat, Roi de Naples, la Dernière Année du Règne, 1814-1815 (5 vols., 1909-1910). For the final episode there are also the volumes by Gasparri (1894), Sassenay (1896), Dufourcq (1898), Schirmer (1898), and Lumbroso (1904). Of primary importance are the Lettres et Documents pour Servir à l'Histoire de Joachim Murat, 1767-1815 (vols. 1-8, 1908-1914), which are being published by Prince Murat.

*Spain and Portugal.*—In addition to carrying forward his monumental Guerra de la Independencia (14 vols., 1868-1903), Gomez de Arceche y Moro has written a history of the Reinado de Carlos IV (3 vols., 1893-1898); besides which there are Muriel's Historia de Carlos IV (6 vols., 1893-1895) and Bermejo's Politicos de Antaño, Historia Anecdótica y Secreta de la Corte de Carlos IV (2 vols., 1894-1895). On the relations of Napoleon with the royal family of Spain there are recent volumes by Jordán de Urriés (1893), Schmidt (Copenhagen, 1905), and Ducéré (1897). Important documentary materials for the years 1801-1803 are used in Antecedentes Politicos y Diplomaticos de los Sucesos de 1808 (vol. 1, 1912) by the Marquis of Lema.

For the period of French intervention the indispensable work is the Correspondance (7 vols., 1905-1913) of Comte de La Forest, the Emperor's minister at his brother's court. Besides editing these valuable volumes, Geoffroy de Grandmaison has published L'Ambassade Française en Espagne, 1789-1804 (1892), L'Espagne et Napoléon, 1804-1809 (1908), and other monographs. Conard has written La Constitution de Bayonne, 1808 (1909), and Napoléon et la Catalogne, 1808-1814 (1909); Garcia-Sala has edited the Cartas de Jovellanos y Lord Vassall Holland sobre la Guerra de la Independencia, 1808-1811 (2 vols., 1911); Gómez Imaz has prepared a bibliography of Los Periodicos durante la Guerra de la Independencia, 1808-1814 (1910); and Cornide de Saavedra's Estado de Portugal en el Año de 1800 has been published (3 vols., 1894-1897) in the Memorial Historico Español.

*Belgium and the Netherlands.*—The history of the French domination in Belgium has been successively narrated by Balau (2 vols., 1894), Lanzaac de Laborie (2 vols., 1895), Delplace (2 vols., 1896), and most fully by Delhaize (6 vols., 1908-1913) in French; and in briefer form in Flemish by Van den Bergh (1900) and Cortebeek (1900).



For the Dutch history of the same period there are Legrand's *La République Batave* (1894); Wichers's *De Regeering van Koning Lodewijk Napoleon* (1892); Dubosq's *Louis Bonaparte en Hollande d'après ses Lettres* (1911); Hodenpijl's *Napoleon in Nederland* (1904); Naber's *Geschiedenis van Nederland tijdens de Inlijving bij Frankrijk, Juli, 1810–November, 1813* (1905); Caumont de la Force's *L'Archi-Trésorier Lebrun, Gouverneur de la Hollande, 1810–1812* (1907); Wüppermann's *Nederland voor Honderd Jaren, 1795–1813* (1913); and De Bas's *Prins Frederik der Nederlanden* (3 vols., 1884–1904), which contains valuable documents for the Waterloo campaign. In addition to these works of more comprehensive scope there have appeared a considerable number of monographs on special and local topics of both Belgian and Dutch history.

*Scandinavian countries.*—Bain's *Political History of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, 1513–1900* (1905) gives a good general survey of the period in Scandinavian history. For Denmark there are Rubin's *1807–1814, Studier til Københavns og Danmarks Historie* (1892), and several monographs mainly on military events.

Documents on the Swedish relations with Russia have been published by Zlobin (1880); with Prussia, by Grimberg (1903); with Great Britain, by Key-Åberg (2 vols., 1890–1891); and with France, by Nilsson (1899). For the reign of Gustavus IV of Sweden there are Pétiet's *Gustave IV Adolphe et la Révolution Française, Relations Diplomatiques de la France et de la Suède de 1792 à 1810* (1914); Clason's *Gustav IV Adolf och den Europeiska Krisen under Napoleon* (1913); and Heidenstam's *La Fin d'un Dynastie, d'après les Mémoires et la Correspondance d'une Reine de Suède, Hedvig-Élisabeth-Charlotte, 1774–1818* (1911). For Bernadotte in Sweden, there are C. Schefer's *Bernadotte Roi, 1810–1844* (1899); Alin's *Carl Johan och Sveriges Yttre Politik, 1810–1815* (1899); Pingaud's *Bernadotte, Napoléon, et les Bourbons* (1901); and Klaeber's *Marschall Bernadotte, Kronprinz von Schweden* (1910).

On Norway and its separation from Denmark and union with Sweden there is a considerable literature. C. J. Anker has published *Uddrag af Diplomatiske Indberetninger om Unionens Forberedelse og Tilblivelse, 1814* (2 vols., 1894–1895), *Fra Svenske Arkiver om Unionens Forberedelse, 1814* (1898), *Christian Frederik og Carsten Ankers Brevveksling, 1814* (1901, second ed., 1904), and other documents. Yngvar Nielsen and O. J. Alin have edited many documents and published various monographs on the same subject. To these may be added Motzfeldt's *Norge og Sverige i 1809 og 1814* (1894); Björlin's *Kriget i Norge, 1814* (1893; German ed., 1895); Edén's *Kielerfreden och Unionen* (1894; German ed., 1895); and the more recent and thorough treatment by Sørensen in *Bernadotte*

i Norden eller Norges Adskillelse fra Danmark og Forening med Sverige (3 vols., 1903-1904).

A good *Geschichte Finlands* (1896) is a translation from the Swedish of M. G. Schybergson. The campaign of 1809 in Finland, in which Sweden lost that grand duchy to Russia, has been the subject of several works, which are practically superseded by *Sveriges Krig, Åren 1808 och 1809* (4 vols., 1890-1905) by the historical section of the Swedish general staff.

*Russia*.—On the Tsar Paul there have appeared *Kaiser Pauls I Ende* (1897), by R. R. (Alexander Brückner); *Die Ermordung Pauls* (1902), by Schiemann; *Le Fils de la Grande Catherine, Paul I<sup>er</sup>, Empereur de Russie, sa Vie, son Règne, et sa Mort* (1912), by Waliszewski; and various other monographs. The standard Russian biography of Alexander I is by Schilder (4 vols., 1904-1907); in French there are Rain's *Un Tsar Idéologue* (1912) and *L'Empereur Alexandre I<sup>er</sup>* (2 vols., 1913), by the Grand Duke Nicolas Mikhaïlovitch, who has also written and edited much else on the period. Pierling's *La Russie et le Saint-Siège* (vol. 5, 1912) contains materials on both Paul and Alexander.

Serge Goriaïnov, the director of the imperial archives, has published a guide to the materials in the archives at Petrograd, with some interesting documents (1912).<sup>1</sup> The Grand Duke Nicolas has edited the *Correspondance de l'Empereur Alexandre I<sup>er</sup> avec sa Soeur la Grande Duchesse Catherine* (1910), and Stroïev has published a collection of documents relating to the history of 1812 from the private papers of the Tsar (1913). The *Lettres et Papiers* (11 vols., 1904-1912) of Nesselrode, including his autobiography, have appeared in French. The Society of Military History of Moscow has published the journal of Kutusov (1912); Ahlestichov, a volume of documents on 1812 from the family papers of Tormasov; and Voienski, two volumes, in the Collections (Sbornik, vols. 128, 133; 1909, 1911) of the Imperial Historical Society on the year 1812, relating especially to the conditions and Napoleonic administration in the occupied territory. The series on the National War of 1812 (vols. 1-20, 1900-1914), published by the general staff, now covers the events to December 12. Several volumes, mainly of documents, relating to the year 1812 have been published, in celebration of the centenary, by the governments of the provinces chiefly concerned. There is a volume by Casso on Bessarabia and its annexation in 1812 (1912).

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<sup>1</sup> A French translation of Goriaïnov's introduction will be found in *Revue des Études Napoléoniennes*, I, 276-295, March, 1912. For the Russian works published before 1906, which are omitted in these paragraphs, consult the *Cambridge Modern History*, IX, 854-857.

Lubovitch has issued volumes on Napoleon at Warsaw in 1812 and on Warsaw in 1812 (1912-1913). The Napoleonic intervention in Poland is dealt with in Handelsman's *Napoléon et la Pologne*, 1806-1807 (1909), and Schotmueller's *Der Polenaufstand, 1806-1807* (1907). Besides new editions of Sharbek's history of the duchy of Warsaw there are Zoltowski's *Die Finanzen des Herzogtums Warschau, 1806-1815* (2 vols., 1890-1892); Gembarzewski's volume on the duchy of Warsaw. 1807-1814 (1905); the works of Kraushar; and several volumes of memoirs and military history.

*Balkan States.*—The excellent histories of Romania by Xenopol (Romanian, 6 vols., 1888-1893; French abridgment, 2 vols., 1896); Urechia (Romanian, 13 vols., 1891-1902); and Jorga (German, 2 vols., 1905; French, 1913); each give ample space to the period. The same scholars and others have edited various volumes of documents, and published monographs. The several volumes by Eliade and the essay of Jurasco on *L'Influence Russe dans les Pays Moldo-Valaques depuis Koutchouk-Kainardji jusqu'à la Paix de Bucarest* (1913) are worthy of mention. For Serbia there have appeared Arsenijević-Batalaka's history of the first Serbian revolution (Serbian, 2 vols., 1898-1899); Novaković's *Die Wiedergeburt des Serbischen Staates, 1804-1813* (Serbian, 1904; German, 1912); and the volume of *Actes et Fragments relatifs à l'Histoire de la Première Révolution Serbe, 1804-1814, Tirés des Archives de Paris* (1904) published by the Royal Academy of Belgrade. Among the numerous recent volumes on Albania and Montenegro, Gopčević's *Geschichte von Montenegro und Albanien* (1914) and Boppe's *Albanie et Napoléon* (1914) are of most value for the period. Rodocanachi has published *Bonaparte et les Îles Ioniennes* (1899). Jorga's *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches* (vol. 5, 1913) contains the best recent account of Turkish history for the period. Useful general accounts may be found in Miller's *Ottoman Empire, 1801-1913* (1913), and in Driault's *La Question d'Orient* (second ed., 1900), while the most important work is Driault's *La Politique Orientale de Napoléon, Sébastiani et Gardane, 1806-1808* (1904).

*Colonies.*—Among the recent publications relating to the French colonies and the colonial policy of Napoleon are Roloff's *Die Kolonialpolitik Napoleons I* (1899); Gaffarel's *Politique Coloniale en France, 1789-1830* (1908); Prentout's *Île de France sous Decaen* (1901); Castonnet des Fosses's *Révolution de Saint-Domingue* (1893); Poyen's *Guerres des Antilles* (1896); Villiers du Terrage's *Dernières Années de la Louisiane Française* (1905), and Hardman's *History of Malta, 1798-1815* (1909). Though the period was fraught with importance for the history of India, of the Dutch East Indies, of South Africa, and of other colonies of England, the

Netherlands, and other countries, there is no space to undertake their bibliography.

*Latin America.*—Napoleon's relations to Latin America have been set forth in Sassenay's *Napoléon et la Fondation de la République Argentine* (1892), and in Villaneuva's *Napoléon y la Independencia de América* (1911). The history of the origins and of the early years of the struggle for Latin-American independence belongs to this period, and some introduction to it may be obtained in Latané's *Diplomatic Relations of the United States and Spanish America* (1900); Paxson's *Independence of the South American Republics* (1903); and Moses's *South America on the Eve of Emancipation* (1908). It is unfortunate that the lack of a current record or review of Latin-American publications leaves the work being done by Latin-American scholars so difficult of access and so little known. A work of fundamental importance for all students of the subject has been undertaken by Don Pedro Torres Lanzas, director of the Archives of the Indies, who has published five volumes of *Independencia de América, Fuentes para su Estudio, Catálogo de Documentos Conservados en el Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla* (1912).

*United States.*—For good recent narratives and bibliographies for United States history from 1795 to 1815 one should consult the three volumes in Hart's *American Nation* series, Bassett's *Federalist System* (1906), Channing's *Jeffersonian System* (1906), and Babcock's *Rise of American Nationality* (1906). Ford's edition of the *Writings of Jefferson* (10 vols., 1892-1899), Hunt's edition of the *Writings of Madison* (9 vols., 1900-1910), and other important documentary publications have appeared, as well as several valuable biographical works. Since 1890 the main interest for this period has been directed toward the foreign relations and the opening of the West. Next to Henry Adams's great work, already mentioned, the characteristic publication has been Roosevelt's *Winning of the West* (4 vols., 1889-1896), though Mr. Roosevelt was neither a pioneer in the field nor the most scholarly investigator of the subject. The leading scholar in the field is undoubtedly Prof. Turner, who has published much relating to the diplomatic relations with France over Louisiana, the control of the Mississippi, and allied subjects. Hosmer's *History of the Louisiana Purchase* (1902); Ogg's *Opening of the Mississippi* (1904); Fortier's *History of Louisiana* (4 vols., 1904); Thwaites's edition of the *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (8 vols., 1904-1905); and McCaleb's *The Aaron Burr Conspiracy* (1903) are other works relating to Louisiana. Other works on the American history of the period which may be properly cited here are Maclay's *History of the United States Navy* (second ed., 3 vols., 1898-1901), and

History of American Privateers (1899); G. W. Allen's Our Naval War with France (1909), and Our Navy and the Barbary Corsairs (1905); Admiral Mahan's Sea Power in its Relation to the War of 1812 (2 vols., 1905), as well as his major work already mentioned; and Gertrude Philippi's Imperialistische und Pazifistische Strömungen in der Politik der Vereinigten Staaten, 1776-1815 (1914).

*Summary on the history of countries.*—While the study of the participation of each country in the military events of the period is approaching reasonable thoroughness and completeness, only a beginning has been made in the study of the political aims and the diplomatic maneuvers of each country. With regard to the broad general policies and the larger actions, there exist not only national differences of view, but there are radical differences of interpretation among the scholars in each country such as the opposing views of Sorel, Driault, and Guyot in France. Though final conclusions must wait upon the full exploitation of the archives of each of the countries, the eager student of the Napoleonic period who can obtain the use of any new documents will find that a volume of documents or a monograph on any episode or personality or question of policy can be assured a position of permanence as a contribution to the history of the epoch. While the thorough study of the politics and diplomacy of each country must precede safe general conclusions, rarely have state policies been more completely subordinated to personal policies and rarely have the dominant personalities been so subtle and impenetrable. Napoleon himself is still a puzzle of puzzles; the Tsar Alexander seems a bundle of contradictions; Talleyrand and Metternich, Godoy and Marie Caroline, Murat and Bernadotte are old acquaintances to Macaulay's school-boy, but any historian would rejoice to determine the real personalities behind those familiar masks.

If the field of international affairs furnishes so many interesting problems for solution, the field of internal history has been even less cultivated and is rich in possibilities. In the case of some of the smaller countries, such as Belgium, Switzerland, and Romania, the work seems to have been done thoroughly enough for all except the local historian and the antiquary; but a few moments' reflection would suggest important questions even there that need investigation. For Prussia it would seem that national pride and systematic diligence had left no stone unturned, but that very pride prevents many stones being turned. The internal history of Austria-Hungary from 1792 to 1815 offers an absolutely unexplored field. England tries to forget rather than recall her domestic history for those years. Russia and France have recently made a determined beginning in their own lands.

The nature and methods of monarchical administration in the face of the French Revolution; the actual conditions, economic, intellectual, and social in the different countries; the methods of Napoleonic administration in the subject and dependent districts; the nature and extent of Napoleonic reforms; the relative influence of administrative, intellectual, economic, popular, and personal forces in the development of nationality are matters on which much more information is needed to corroborate or to correct present conclusions. What is thus true of other countries is far more true of France, the ganglion that radiated nervous energy to every other land in that day.

*Economic history.—The Continental System.*—The economic history of the Napoleonic period has only recently attracted the merited attention, but the already extensive literature on the Continental System and its application testify to the wealth of the materials as well as to the significance and the interest. The study of the Continental System was practically begun by the two Americans, Henry Adams (1889-1890) and Admiral Mahan (1893), who approached the subject as an international question, to the one diplomatic, to the other naval. Each did his work so well that later investigators have confined themselves to the economic, even the domestic, aspects of the problem. The fundamental significance of the economic conditions and developments was revealed in Cunningham's *Growth of English Industry and Commerce in Modern Times* (1892; fourth ed., 1907), and clearly expounded to historical students in Rose's *Napoleon and English Commerce* (*English Historical Review*, 1893, pp. 704-725), which is the real starting point of the recent studies. These studies have been so admirably reviewed by Marcel Dunan (*Revue des Études Napoléoniennes*, III, 115-146, January, 1913) and by Prof. W. E. Lingelbach (*American Historical Review*, XIX, 257-281, January, 1914) that repetition would be impertinent. Some of the numerous German studies were there recognized as *Tendenzschriften*, and more recent events have emphasized the fact. Certainly nothing in the Napoleonic period is more instructive for the observation of the events now passing than the Continental System and its workings. The intelligent American citizen who is not familiar with the works of Henry Adams and Admiral Mahan will find a wealth of interesting and pertinent information and much cause for profitable reflection in their perusal.

The most important work that was too recent to be noticed in Prof. Lingelbach's article is the Russian *Kontinentalnaia Blokada* (1913) by Prof. Tarlé, of the University of Yuriev. It gives a survey of the state of France prior to the blockade, of the economic relations of France with each of the different parts of Europe, and

of each of the important manufacturing industries of France before the blockade; and it includes a bibliography and some new documents, besides summarizing much new material. Apparently the volume is but the introduction to an exhaustive study of the economic significance of the Continental System.

It is appropriate and gratifying to note that Prof. Lingelbach at the University of Pennsylvania is at present directing the preparation of no less than eight doctoral dissertations on phases of the Continental System, and is himself working on other phases. These investigations will undoubtedly demonstrate that the system, like so many of Napoleon's measures, had its origin in the Revolutionary epoch.

*Religious affairs—The Concordat.*—On the general history of the relations between state and church there are the manuals by Debisdour (1898), Prof. W. M. Sloane (1901), and Desdévaises du Désert (2 vols., 1907–1908); and the more extended works of the Jesuit Rinieri on *La Diplomazia Pontificia nel Secolo XIX* (5 vols., 1902–1906), done from the Vatican archives; and of Abbé Feret on *La France et le Saint-Siège* (vol. 1, 1911), done from the French archives of foreign affairs. Documents from the Austrian archives are printed in Duerm's *Un Peu Plus de Lumière sur le Conclave de Venise et sur les Commencements du Pontificat de Pie VII* (1896); and Count Boulay de la Meurthe has edited a collection of *Documents sur la Négociation du Concordat* (5 vols., 1891–1895). On the history of the Concordat there are Séché's *Les Origines du Concordat* (2 vols., 1894); Cardinal Mathieu's *Le Concordat de 1801, ses Origines, son Histoire* (1903); and Abbé Sevestre's *L'Histoire, le Texte, et la Destinée du Concordat de 1801* (1903; second ed., 1905). Welschinger has written on *Le Pape et l'Empereur, 1804–1815* (1905); Count Mayol de Luppé, on *La Captivité de Pie VII* (1912); and Combier has edited the *Mémoires* (1893) of Gen. Radet, who removed the Pope from Rome. The history of the Papal States under the Roman Republic of 1798–1799 is told in Dufoureaux's *Le Régime Jacobin en Italie* (1900); and under the French Empire in Madelin's *La Rome de Napoléon, 1809–1814* (1906). Monsignor Ricard's edition of the *Correspondance Diplomatique et Mémoires Inédits* (2 vols., 1891) of Cardinal Maury, and his volumes on Cardinal Fesch (1893) and on *Le Concile de 1811* (1894); F. des Roberts's *Le Cardinal de Lattier de Bayane d'après ses Mémoires Inédits* (1891); Ruck's *Die Sendung des Kardinals de Bayane nach Rom, 1807–1808* (1913); Geoffroy de Grandmaison's *Napoléon et les Cardinaux Noirs, 1810–1814* (1895); and Drochon's *La Petite Église* (1894), each contribute to the history of the relations between the Empire and the papacy. Prof. Aulard has issued a small

volume on *La Révolution et les Congrégations* (1903), and Latreille, *L'Opposition Religieuse au Concordat* (2 vols., 1910). Abbé Delarc has written of *L'Église de Paris, 1789-1801* (3 vols., 1895-1897), and the narrative now reaches 1802 in Abbé Pisani's *L'Église de Paris et la Révolution* (vol. 4, 1911). *L'Épiscopat Français depuis le Concordat jusqu'à la Séparation, 1802-1905* (1907), published by the Société Bibliographique, is a golden book of the dioceses and bishops.

For no Napoleonic subject have the documents been so fully published or so thoroughly exploited as for the Concordat, but no subject remains more debatable. Little, however, has been done on the application of the Concordat under Napoleon or upon the condition of the church in France under the Empire. The French publications on the church question savor too strongly of political combat and partisan pleading. Outsiders who can approach the questions dispassionately will find here a group of highly interesting problems exacting high scholarship and judicial criticism.

For the Protestant sects under Napoleon there is Durand's *Histoire du Protestantisme Français pendant la Révolution et l'Empire* (1902).

For the Jews during the Napoleonic period there are Fauchille's *La Question Juive en France sous le Premier Empire* (1884); Lémann's *Napoléon I<sup>er</sup> et les Israélites* (1894); Lemoine's *Napoléon I<sup>er</sup> et les Juifs* (1900); and Sagnac's *Les Juifs et Napoléon, 1806-1808*, in the *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* (vols. 2-3, 1900-1902). To these may be added Horwitz's *Die Israeliten unter dem Königreich Westfalen* (1900); Freund's *Die Emanzipation der Juden in Preussen* (1912); Grandwald's *Die Feldzüge Napoleons nach Aufzeichnungen Jüdischer Teilnehmer und Augenzeugen* (1914); and Ginsburg's volume in Russian on the National War of 1812 and the Russian Jews (1912).

*Education.*—The question of education in France has been intimately involved with the church question, and like it has been the subject of keen historical controversy in recent years, and as all the studies of the subject have been by Frenchmen, there is need here, too, for the labors of dispassionate outsiders. Moreover, the revolutionary antecedents of the educational problem have not yet been so fully investigated as those of the church, and consequently the time has not as yet seemed ripe for thorough researches and conclusive work on the history of education under Napoleon.

The investigator will find the laws and similar documents compiled in *La Législation de l'Instruction Primaire en France depuis 1789* (second ed., 7 vols., 1890-1902). There are useful general works, such as Liard's *L'Enseignement Supérieur en France, 1789-1889* (2 vols., 1888-1894); Grimaud's *Histoire de la Liberté d'Enseignement*



en France (1898); Des Cilleuls's Histoire de l'Enseignement Libre dans l'Ordre Primaire en France (1901); and Allain's L'Oeuvre Scolaire de la Révolution (1891). Of monographs relating directly to the Napoleonic period there are Delfau's Napoléon I<sup>er</sup> et l'Instruction Publique (1902); Bonnel's Réorganisation de l'Instruction Publique en 1802 (1894); Schmidt's La Réforme de l'Université Impériale en 1811 (1905); Aulard's Napoléon I<sup>er</sup> et le Monopole Universitaire (1911); and Franqueville's Le Premier Siècle de l'Institut de France (2 vols., 1895-1896).

*Legislation—The Codes.*—Beginning in 1805 various editions have appeared of the discussions of the civil code in the council of state. Several historical and many technical works have likewise appeared from time to time, but the only historical essays of importance for the subject in the past quarter-century are Jac's Bonaparte et le Code Civil (1898); Cruppi's Napoléon et le Jury (1896); Sagnac's La Législation Civile de la Révolution Française, 1789-1804 (1898); and Leroy's L'Esprit de la Législation Napoléonienne (1898).

*National Administration.*—Special studies of the administrative system, both national and local, are still sadly needed. Rambaud's Histoire de la Civilisation Française Contemporaine (1888) is a useful manual on this and many other questions. Aulard's Histoire Politique de la Révolution Française (1901) is a valuable account through the Consulate. The best account of the consular constitution; administration, national and local; and reforms is at present to be found in Vandal's Avènement de Bonaparte (2 vols., 1903-1907). Among the special works are Trouillard's Le Sénat Conservateur (1911); Rais's La Représentation des Aristocrates dans les Chambres Hautes en France, 1789-1815 (1900); Pesloüan's La Juridiction Administrative sous la Révolution et sous l'Empire (1907); Bonneville de Marsangy's La Légion d'Honneur (1900); and Révérend's Armorial du Premier Empire (4 vols., 1894-1897). Néton's Sieyès (1900); Clapham's Sieyès (1912); Vialles's Cambacérès (1908); Chaptal's Souvenirs sur Napoléon (1893); Pasquier's Mémoires (6 vols., 1893-1894); Fain's Mémoires (1908); Despatys's Un Ami de Fouché d'après les Mémoires de Gaillard (1910) and Thibaudeau's Mémoires, 1799-1815 (1913), are among the recent biographies and memoirs useful for the history of the national administration under Napoleon. For the financial history it is necessary to depend upon the older books and the Histoire Financière de la Révolution Française (1896) of Gomel, and Les Finances du Consulate (1902) of Stourm. Recent studies of national economy and industries, except as incidental to the Continental System, are quite lacking. It is obvious that in the field of national administration in its various ramifications there is no end of possibilities for research.

*Local Administration.*—Pouillet's *Les Institutions Françaises*, 1795–1814. *Essai sur les Origines des Institutions Belges Contemporaines* (1907) is of some value as a general introduction to the subject, but Aulard's *La Centralisation Napoléonienne et les Préfets* (in his *Études et Leçons*, vol. 7, 1913) is the only definite undertaking of value. Régnier's *Les Préfets du Consulat et de l'Empire* (1907) is popular rather than scholarly, and unfortunately contains no list of the prefects, which alone would have made the book useful. Studies in the administrative history of the departments have only begun to appear. The following are of interest for the period of the Empire: Bonnefoy's *Histoire de l'Administration Civile dans la Province d'Auvergne et le Département du Puy-de-Dôme* (4 vols., 1895–1902); Saint-Yves and Fournier's *Le Département des Bouches du Rhône, 1800–1810* (1899); David's *Le Conseil Général de Seine-et-Marne sous le Consulat et l'Empire* (1904); Chavanon and Saint-Yves's *Le Pas de Calais, 1800–1810; Étude sur le Système Administratif Institué par Napoléon* (1907); and Viard's *L'Administration Préfectorale dans le Département de la Côte-d'Or sous le Consulat et le Premier Empire* (1914). Villat's *Histoire de Corse* (1914) may be added as a recent history of the native department of the Emperor. For a few of the prefects biographical accounts have appeared, as Lévy-Schneider's *Jeanbon Saint-André* (1901); Dejean's *Un Préfet du Consulat*. Beugnot (1907); and Pingaud's *Jean de Bry* (1909). Besides the *Mémoires* of Thibaudeau, just cited, the *Souvenirs* of Barante (vols. 1–2, 1890–1892) cover service as a Napoleonic prefect.

The administrative history of Paris is recorded by A. des Cilleuls in *Histoire de l'Administration Parisienne au XIX<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (vol. 1, 1900); the movement of public opinion may be followed in Prof. Aulard's collections of documents on Paris sous le Consulat (4 vols., 1903–1909), and Paris sous l'Empire (vols 1–2, 1912–1914); the many phases of Parisian life may be observed in the admirable pages of Lanzac de Laborie's *Paris sous Napoléon* (vols. 1–8, 1904–1913); and the scenes of the time are brought to the eye in the illustrations of *Paris de 1800 à 1900* (vol. 1, 1900), compiled by C. Simond (P. A. van Cleemputte).

*Literature.*—The literary history of Napoleon's time, in its more important aspects, may be traced in Petit de Julleville's *Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature Française* (vol. 7, 1899); Albert's *La Littérature Française sous la Révolution, l'Empire, et la Restauration* (1891); Bertrand's *La Fin du Classicisme et le Retour à l'Antique* (1897); and Picavet's *Les Idéologues* (1891). The relations of the Emperor with literary personages or his influence upon them appear in Cassagne's *La Vie Politique de François de Chateaubriand* (vol. 1, 1911); Paul Gautier's *Madame de Staël et Napoléon* (1902); A. Fischer's *Goethe und Napoleon* (1899; second ed., 1900); and Holz-

hausen's Bonaparte, Byron, und die Briten (1904) and Heinrich Heine und Napoleon I (1903).

*The Press.*—Grouchy's *La Presse sous le Premier Empire* (1896), containing a bibliography of journals from 1799 to 1813; C. van Schoor's *La Presse sous le Consulat et sous l'Empire* (1899); Le Poittevin's *La Liberté de la Presse depuis la Révolution, 1789–1815* (1901); A. Bourgeois's *Le Général Bonaparte et la Presse de son Époque* (2 vols., 1906–1907); and Delalain's *L'Imprimerie et la Librairie à Paris de 1789 à 1813* (1899) furnish considerable information on the topic.

*The Theater.*—Besides two excellent volumes in Lanzac de Laborie's *Paris sous Napoléon*, valuable studies have been prepared by Lecomte on *Napoléon et le Monde Dramatique* (1912) and on *Napoléon et l'Empire Racontés par le Théâtre, 1797–1899* (1900); by H. Gaetgens on *Napoleon I im Deutschen Drama* (1903); by Rosen on *Napoleon's Opera-Glass* (1897), describing the Emperor as a theater-goer; and by Des Granges on *Geoffroy et la Critique Dramatique, 1800–1814* (1897).

*Art.*—Again Lanzac de Laborie's *Paris sous Napoléon* is invaluable, and covers some topics not clearly in the sphere of the excellent special works of Benoit on *L'Art Française sous la Révolution et l'Empire* (1897); of Saunier on *Les Conquêtes Artistiques de la Révolution et de l'Empire* (1902); and of Delaborde on *L'Académie des Beaux Arts depuis la Fondation de l'Institut de France* (1891). The biographies of Quatremère de Quincy (2 vols., 1910) by Schneider; of Louis David by Saunier (1904) and Rosenthal (1905); of Greuze (1913) by Hauteceur; of Ingres (1911) by Lapauze; of Madame Vigée-Lebrun (1912) by Nolhac; and of Canova (1911) by Malamani are evidences of a lively interest in the art of the Empire. Bouchot's *Miniature Française, 1750–1825* (1907) deals with a fascinating subject.

On the history of music less has been written, but Coquard's *La Musique en France depuis Rameau* (1891) may still be cited.

Lafond's *L'Art Decoratif et le Mobilier sous la République et l'Empire* (1900); Dumonthier's *Les Étoffes Napoléoniennes* (1909); and Bouchot's *Le Luxe Française* (1892) will serve as introductions to a considerable literature on furniture, fabrics, and ornaments.

*Society.*—The Vicomte de Broc's *La Vie en France sous le Premier Empire* (1895) and Bondoïs's *Napoléon et la Société de son Temps* (1895) have not yielded place to the protracted and unscholarly efforts of Stenger in *La Société Française pendant le Consulat* (6 vols., 1903–1908), *Le Retour des Bourbons, 1814–1815* (1908), and *Le Retour de l'Empereur, 1815* (1910), so much as to Lanzac de Laborie's volumes on *Paris*. Many interesting trivialities appear in Bouchot's *La Toilette à la Cour de Napoléon* (1895), and in Maze-

Sencier's *Les Fournisseurs de Napoléon et des Deux Impératrices* (1893). Herriot's *Madame Récamier et ses Amis* (2 vols., 1904); Harmand's *Madame de Genlis* (1912); Madame Cavaignac's *Mémoires d'une Inconnue* (1894); Madame de Chastenay's *Mémoires* (2 vols., 1896); and the *Mémoires* (1902) of Aimée de Coigny are among the biographies and memoirs which have recently added interest and information to the subject.

*Accession and Abdication.*—The revolution of 18 Brumaire and the rapid changes of 1814–1815 have given occasion for a number of works which seem to require separate mention. For the rise of Bonaparte to political power it is necessary to consult *Le Directoire* (4 vols., 1895–1897) by Sciout; *Le 18 Fructidor* (1893) by Pierre; the *Mémoires* (4 vols., 1895–1896) of Barras; *L'Avènement de Bonaparte* (2 vols., 1902–1907) by Vandal; *L'État de France en l'An VIII et en l'An IX* (1897), edited by Aulard; and *La France sous le Consulat* (1899) by Corréard.

The following volumes are useful for the successive phases of affairs in 1814 and 1815 indicated by their titles: Simon's *L'Élaboration de la Charte Constitutionnelle de 1814* (1906); Ferrand's *Mémoires* (1897); Radiguet's *L'Acte Additionel* (1911); Benjamin Constant's *Journal Intime et Lettres à sa Famille et à ses Amis* (1895); Lauris's *Constant et les Idées Libérales* (1904); Romberg and Malet's *Louis XVIII et les Cents Jours à Gand* (2 vols., 1898–1902); Ten Brink's *Parijs tijdens de Witte Terreur* (2 vols., 1897); Welschinger's *Le Maréchal Ney, 1815* (1893); Chuquet's *Alsace en 1814* (1900); Perrin's *L'Esprit Public dans le Département de la Meurthe, 1814–1816* (1913); and Borey's *L'Esprit Public chez les Prêtres Francs-Comtois, 1813–1815* (1913).

*Police and Plots—Bourbons and Chouans.*—Of all the topics of French domestic history for the period none has furnished subjects for more volumes in recent years than the group of episodes which voiced the opposition to Napoleon. Though many of the volumes are largely documentary in character not all of them are to be used without careful criticism. Madelin has written a life of the great police minister, Fouché (2 vols., 1901); Lombroso has published *Le Duc d'Otrante et son Portefeuille Inédit* (1905); and Hauterive has edited the daily bulletins prepared by Fouché for the Emperor in *La Police Secrète du Premier Empire* (vols 1–2, 1908–1913). Desmarest's *Quinze Ans de Haute Police sous le Consulat et l'Empire* has appeared in a new edition by Grasilier, with an *Étude sur Desmarest et la Haute Police* by Savine (1899); the *Souvenirs* (1895) and the *Mémoires Diplomatiques* (1896) of Montgaillard have been published; and L. Pingaud has prepared a volume on *Un Agent Secret sous la Révolution et l'Empire, le Comte d'Antraigues* (1893). *L'Espionnage Militaire sous Napoléon* (1896) has been described by P. Müller, and there is an account of Charles Schulmeister (1898)

by Ehrhard. The side of the watched will appear in Glachant's Benjamin Constant sous l'Oeil du Guet (1906); Chapuisat's Madame de Staël et la Police (1910); and Hazard's Journal de Ginguéné, 1807-1808 (1910).

For Vendéan affairs and the Chouannerie the leading works are Chassin's Les Pacifications de l'Ouest (3 vols., 1896-1899) and Daudet's La Police et les Chouans sous le Consulat et l'Empire (1895), which can be supplemented by the more recent studies of Gabory on Napoléon et la Vendée (1913); of Lenôtre on La Chouannerie Normande au Temps de l'Empire (1901); and of Le Falher on La Chouannerie Morbihannaise (1913).

The plots against the First Consul are the subject of Guillon's Les Complots Militaires sous le Consulat et l'Empire (1894); Hue's Un Complot de Police sous le Consulat, la Conspiration de Ceracchi et Aréna (1909); Thierry's Conspirateurs et Gens de Police, le Complot des Libelles (1903); Huon de Penanster's Une Conspiration en l'An XI et en l'An XII (1896); E. Picard's Bonaparte et Moreau (1905); and Daudet's L'Exil et la Mort du Général Moreau (1909); and Conspirateurs et Comédiennes, 1796-1825 (1902). On the conspiracy of Malet, the new works are Gigon's Le Général Malet (1913) and Le Barbier's Le Général de la Horie (1904).

Count Remacle has edited the Relations Secrètes des Agents de Louis XVIII à Paris sous le Consulat (1899); and Count Boulay de la Meurthe, the Correspondance du Duc d'Enghien (4 vols., 1904-1913), which also contains many documents not previously published which contribute distinctly to clearing up the question. M. Welshinger has consequently recast his earlier writings on the subject in Le Duc d'Enghien (1913). Beugnot's reports to Louis XVIII have been published by Welwert in Napoléon et la Police sous la Première Restauration (1913); and Daudet has collected other materials in La Police Politique, 1815-1820 (1912).

#### V. OPPORTUNITIES AND AMERICAN POSSIBILITIES.

*Opportunities.*—Eleven years ago an article<sup>1</sup> in the Revue de Synthèse Historique (VI, 69-115, 1903) somewhat similar to this was concluded by M. Dufayard as follows:

Que reste-t-il à faire? Bien des choses. Il faut d'abord continuer la publication de ces documents précieux que l'on a multipliés, mais qu'on est loin d'avoir tous donnés au public. Il faut se garder d'accorder une préférence aussi marquée que dans le passé aux Mémoires: nous avons assez de Marbot et de Lejeune. Mieux vaudrait cent fois consulter et publier les documents administratifs, la correspondance des préfets, les procès-verbaux, rapports, etc., qui constituent une mine aussi précieuse que mal explorée. . . . Le Ministère des Affaires étrangères, les Archives de la Guerre n'ont pas donné ce qu'ils ont de plus précieux: c'est là surtout qu'il faudra chercher.

<sup>1</sup> An article of earlier date but of more limited scope by E. Driault, entitled L'Histoire de la Politique Extérieure de Napoléon I<sup>er</sup>, appeared in the Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, III, 377-394 (1901-1902).

Quant à l'oeuvre purement historique, on ne saurait trop répéter qu'une division du travail s'impose plus que jamais, que les chercheurs doivent se partager la besogne, que le champ de l'histoire napoléonienne est trop vaste pour qu'il soit donné à un seul de le parcourir en entier.

There has been division of the field, memoirs are less valued, a mass of documents has been published, the war archives have been steadily exploited, and yet these points will bear reiteration. The emphasis now, however, needs to be placed upon that part of M. Dufayard's advice which has been heeded least, upon the importance of studying the diplomatic and administrative—and one must now add the economic—history of the Napoleonic period. M. Dufayard, moreover, confined his attention to France in his survey of the era and referred to other countries only when they were brought into the maelstrom of Napoleonic activity. It has been one of the prime purposes of this paper to emphasize a larger conception.

It is a curious anomaly that the rise of nationalities in the Napoleonic era has so often concealed and so generally obscured the solidarity of world politics—and hence of world history—which has existed at least since the eighteenth century. The nationalistic study and writing and teaching of history must give way to the true, the cosmopolitan conception. To-day the world groans with the evil results of narrow views and patriotic aims that have dominated history writing and history teaching far too long. The future need for historical scholarship, like the future hope for civilization, is for that larger view, that higher conception which sees and comprehends that the great forces and movements in human history have long since transcended the bounds of any nation or any continent.

Furthermore, the historian must, in days to come, realize that the study of the Napoleonic period does not begin with 13 Vendémiaire or 18 Brumaire, or 28 Floréal and does not end with a certain June 18. The era was not one of beginnings nor of endings, but of transition. The forces in operation must be traced to earlier sources and pursued to later outcomes.

The American student can approach practically all the problems of the Napoleonic era with a detached point of view and dispassionate purpose. He can help edit the documents; he can help unravel some tangled skein in the affairs of the time; but he can do more, he can show the way to the true viewpoint and can exemplify the judicial temper in his studies.

*American Libraries—Collections on the Napoleonic Era.*—Owing to its extensive files of the publications of European academies and historical societies, the collection in the Library of Congress is probably the largest in the country. The Harvard University Library has a remarkable collection of German books for the period, and far surpasses any library in the country except the Library of

Congress in the extent of its Napoleonic collections. Next in order come the university libraries of Cornell, Columbia, and possibly Princeton, but these collections have not been kept up by systematic accessions in recent years. Cornell owes much to the great President White Library on the French Revolution, but is also strong in the military history of the time, especially for the campaign of Waterloo. Columbia surpasses Cornell for the German works. The university libraries of Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Illinois, and California, though probably somewhat behind the three just mentioned, have been building up carefully chosen collections, and no doubt Prof. Ford will develop a similar collection at the University of Minnesota. There are undoubtedly several university libraries with collections ranging from 250 to 1,000 volumes for the period, but too often the accessions in such smaller libraries have been haphazard rather than systematic, so that the number of volumes for the period does not represent the real working strength of the collection.

The public libraries of Boston, New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia, probably in the order named, contain considerable collections on the Napoleonic period, but in no case has a systematic effort been made to collect the English works, let alone those in other languages.<sup>1</sup>

The sales in recent years of the Hillis, Crane, and Latta collections prove that there are valuable collections of Napoleonica in the United States, but these seem to be richer in autographs, portraits, and curios than in books.

With few exceptions, the books for the Napoleonic period can be purchased at moderate prices. For practical studies there are few rarities, and even these need not be inaccessible to American students. For instance, the *Mémoires* of Roverea, published in a limited edition (4 vols., 1848), may be found at both Harvard and Cornell, and possibly elsewhere. Excepting the English and American publications, it is possible to build up an excellent working collection for the Napoleonic period at an average per volume of not far from \$2. This means that the era of Napoleon is one which will lend itself readily to research studies in the United States. It can be made possible for a student to use in this country, even in his own university library, practically everything that is in printed form for the period, and that without undue expense. Then it will be possible to apply the coveted time in Europe almost solely to archive materials, which means larger experience in archival research.

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<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that the estimates made in this article of the size of various collections are vague guesses, for accurate determination is almost impossible because of the systems of classification in use in the various libraries.

*Theses.*—Dr. Jameson's List of Doctoral Dissertations in History, December, 1914, in addition to the eight theses on topics related to the Continental System which are in preparation under the direction of Prof. Lingelbach at the University of Pennsylvania, mentions one at Columbia on the Continental System, one at Cornell on Dundas, one at Chicago on Stein, and one at Illinois on Stein. This scant list finds no explanation from interest in some other period of modern European history, for there is corresponding scarcity of subjects through the whole period since the Reformation. It is certainly unfortunate that so few aspirants for degrees in history are willing to brave the terrors of work in foreign languages in order to secure the broader training. To the courageous and the persevering the Napoleonic period offers ample opportunities and never-flagging interest.

*Place of the Napoleonic Era in the History Curriculum.*—Probably few teachers aside from Prof. Morse Stephens at the University of California, Prof. Sloane at Columbia, and Prof. Johnston at Harvard can find opportunity for full-year lecture courses on the Napoleonic era alone. A few more give a year course on the Revolution and Napoleon, 1789–1815, but usually with the emphasis on the Revolution. The practice which has the largest following is to give a three-hour course for a year on the period since 1789, with the semester break at 1815. It is distinctly unfortunate that some of the best colleges and even universities have not reached this standard or have deliberately chosen to devote the whole year to the period since 1815 in the course which supplements the general history course.

It is highly desirable that the period of the Revolution and Napoleon should be studied with considerable thoroughness before the student is introduced to the period since 1815. It is difficult to see how the nineteenth century can be correctly interpreted without such preliminary study. The universities and the better grade of colleges should at least supplement their general history course with a junior-senior course of three hours for the year on the period since 1789, with approximately half the time given to the period before 1815. More of the universities should give even fuller attention to the Napoleonic period.

NOTE.—The writer has been greatly indebted to Prof. H. Morse Stephens, his own teacher; to Prof. J. Westfall Thompson; to Prof. W. E. Lingelbach and others who have assisted him with counsel and information; and to the university libraries of Cornell and Harvard for courtesies. Most grateful acknowledgment must be made to the various bibliographical sources mentioned in the paragraph on bibliography, and especially to the works of MM. Davois and Kircheisen. M. Kircheisen deserves great praise for extending his bibliography to include other countries than France. The completion of M. Kircheisen's work will be welcomed by all students of the period.



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XII. AN APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF NAPOLEON'S  
GENERALSHIP.

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By R. M. JOHNSTON,  
*Professor in Harvard University.*

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## AN APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF NAPOLEON'S GENERALSHIP.

By R. M. JOHNSTON.

A reviewer recently wrote, in an attempt to defend the generalship of McDowell and Beauregard, that "Napoleon the Great, at Auerstädt, at Ligny, or Charleroi, could be convicted of the same faults."<sup>1</sup> Without stopping to qualify a statement that places Napoleon at Auerstädt and that classifies his generalship with that of the floundering competitors at Bull Run, it may be pointed out that it contains an assumption which is constantly, if not universally, made by historians of Napoleon, the assumption that his generalship is beyond criticism, or at least to be approached in a spirit of something like hushed reverence. Dr. Rose, the most eminent English student in the field, asserts with broad satisfaction that "his genius for war was the most universal known to authentic history."<sup>2</sup> Col. Colin, whose able researches into the education of military officers in the eighteenth century should have kept him on a straighter path, says that Napoleon's campaigns were "perfect schemes that remain models to-day."<sup>3</sup> Another soldier, Lord Wolseley, declared that Napoleon is "still regarded by myriads as the greatest of human beings."<sup>4</sup> Such an attitude as these quotations indicate can hardly be recommended to serious students, anxious above all things to investigate facts closely. It is in part an inheritance from the pernicious legend crystallized by Thiers in *Le Consulat et l'Empire*; in part, it is the result of the natural diffidence of the historian to embark on the difficult study of the military art. Where most generals have failed in practice the best scholar may well fail in theory. Just as it is ridiculous to place Napoleon the general on a pedestal high above criticism, so it would be absurd to spend our time casting him down after the manner of those who merely carp at greatness and find fault with all things. For even the maneuver of Jena has found a continuous stream of detractors from Gen. Rogniat down to Prince Hohenlohe, not to mention the friend of Beauregard pre-

<sup>1</sup> *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XX, 175.

<sup>2</sup> Rose, *Personality of Napoleon*, 66.

<sup>3</sup> Colin, *Education Militaire*, 147, "*Oeuvres parfaites, et qui n'ont pas vieilli.*"

<sup>4</sup> Wolseley, *Decline and Fall of Napoleon*, 193.

viously quoted. The work of the critic of military history lies between these extremes; it is a work of just appraisal, of estimating facts at as near their exact value as is possible.

Within the limits of so short a paper as this it is not easy to accomplish more than to indicate certain broad lines along which the generalship of Napoleon, together with the art of war at his period, should be studied. A threefold division of the subject may be established under the following heads: (*a*) What Napoleon derived from teachers of the art of war as it existed in his youth; (*b*) what came from his personal genius or peculiarities; (*c*) what came from the French Revolution.

In the first matter the stress should be laid on the great modifications in theoretical tactics effected between 1763 and 1792, chiefly owing to improvements in artillery.<sup>1</sup> The fieldpiece was made lighter and more mobile; muzzle velocities were increased while charges were decreased; the use of grape shot was much developed. As a result, the rôle of artillery in battle became greater; its zone of fire and of action was extended; infantry in line came less frequently into close contact, while ground might more readily be found where a well-placed battery, merely supported by the other arms, might hold infantry in check. This tended, on any but very open terrain, to produce the dislocation of an army into groups of the various arms, proportioned and disposed according to the conditions of a field of action of ever-increasing magnitude. To obtain a decision through shock became more difficult, and the somewhat exclusive concentration on tactical effort which prevailed in the middle of the eighteenth century had to be supplemented by a greater attention to strategic preparation.

At Marengo an army weak tactically was placed on terrain unfavourable for deployment, having previously obtained strategically results which it had never stood much chance of gaining tactically. It is the most striking example of the new method, and centuries removed from Leuthen. And in the preparatory concentration and maneuvers, governed by the changed values of strategy and tactics, the campaign of Marengo was nearer to von Moltke than it was to Frederick. In the planning of the campaign, in the fan-like strategic spread of the French divisions, in the confused struggle with an enemy of high tactical efficiency over ground unsuited to battle, in the victory snatched by a few well-disposed guns, dragoons and demi-brigades, Bonaparte, however great his personal genius, remains the pupil of his masters, the French artilleryists from de Gribeauval to Du Teil. It may be that he was thinking of Marengo when he declared at St. Helena: "In modern warfare there is no natural order of battle."<sup>1</sup> Could he have heard it, Frederick would

<sup>1</sup> This is well handled by Col. Colin in his *Education Militaire de Napoleon*.

<sup>2</sup> Monthelon, *Mems. of Napoleon*, London, 1823, I, 292.

have turned in his grave; yet it was the logical outcome of de Gribeauval's technical improvements and of his teaching, the new doctrine that triumphed at Marengo and Jena.

To describe Napoleon as merely the outcome of changed circumstances, the pupil of a certain school, would obviously be inadequate. He added the personal element. Here, once more, it is only possible to indicate in the briefest possible way, the line of study. He had, of course, qualities that other great captains in all ages have had. Firmness, quickness, deceptiveness were his, and other characteristics of generals in high degree; but distinctively his, and not to be found in Frederick, or Marlborough, or Turenne, or von Moltke, were the ultra logical or geometrical obsession and the psychologico-dramatic sense. The latter of these two traits has received due notice at the hands of many historians. It carries us to Napoleon's relations with his soldiers and with the public, to his eloquent proclamations, to his constant play on the morale of his own army and on that of his opponents, to his subversion of the press, to his creation at St. Helena of the historical legend which Thiers and Victor Hugo propagated after his death.

A less well understood peculiarity of his mind was its geometrical bias.<sup>1</sup> His logic is often enough referred to, but it is rare to find a close application made of this factor. Many are the quotations that might be made from Napoleon on the subject of geometry. At school they said of him: "That boy is no good except at geometry." The more intimately one studies his writings and utterances the more one becomes persuaded that he viewed the map much as he would a black-board on which to chalk up a problem which is always a geometrical realignment of the facts. To illustrate this would require a volume, but the student's attention may be directed to the T formed by the Lech and the line of communication back to Strassburg in 1809, and the way in which Napoleon used it, especially with reference to Davout, to the "battalion carré" of 1806, to his "change of line of operations in the course of the engagement," as at Austerlitz, Bautzen, Castiglione, which he described as his sole innovation in the art of war.<sup>2</sup> This geometrical bias should always be looked for in Napoleon's ideas. Its importance is perhaps greatest in estimating his relation to the change in the conditions of war brought about by its increase of scale during the epoch.

Turning from the idiosyncrasies of Napoleon, we must now come to the spirit of his age and the military values to be detected there. The French Revolution was a great influence in the development of

<sup>1</sup> I have given this subject special treatment in a paper read before the Military History Society of Massachusetts, which is to appear in due course in its proceedings.

<sup>2</sup> Jomini went even further along geometrical paths than his master, and was duly castigated by von Clausewitz.

modern militarism.<sup>1</sup> It declared men free from all forms of servitude, including that of the sergeant's cat-o-nine-tails. It broke down the old discipline under which highly trained infantry could be brought in parade formation close up to an enemy's line. With discipline ruined, the offensive power of infantry was reduced. To compensate for this came what we have already noticed, the development of artillery power, and in addition an increase in the size of armies, in their mobility, together with the introduction of initiative in the subordinate ranks. The new national armies fought less well and differently. Under a democratic régime there was opportunity for talent. Nine men in ten might be faint-hearted and skulk, but the tenth was eager to dash to the front and face all risks for the cause and to win promotion. The army of 1796 had marvelous dash, intelligence, let us say initiative, using the word not in the technical sense. And the initiative of subordinate officers was the crowning of the new school of war. In a primitive and unorganized form initiative was one of the secrets of the success of the armies of the Republic before Bonaparte's iron hand tightened down on them. In a scientific and organized form it was part of the secret of the success of Prussia during the period that begins with the War of Liberation.

Some of the points already made will appear more clearly when we consider Bonaparte's career as a whole. He declared himself that he knew as much when he fought his first battle as when he fought his last, and if these words are analyzed closely they may be found to contain a truth that he would have been the last to relish. We find him planning his campaign of 1815 on precisely the same lines as that of 1796—and with a geometrical preoccupation: to truncate the angle formed by the two lines of operations of his opponents. In 1812 we find him attempting to maneuver an army of 500,000 men with the same system of command as he had handled an army of 50,000 sixteen years before; attempting to mass 400,000 men at a given point,<sup>2</sup> for no useful purpose, where von Moltke would have attempted less and accomplished more;<sup>3</sup> maintaining unity as a principle where it could only end in immobilization and starvation.<sup>4</sup> The pupil of de Gribeauval does not learn new ideas, he merely carries old ones further; he improves the matériel of the French artillery

<sup>1</sup> For this topic, Lord Cromer's Staff College Essays is valuable.

<sup>2</sup> "Les résultats de tous nos mouvements réuniront 400,000 hommes sur un seul point." Napoleon to Davout, May 26, 1812.

<sup>3</sup> "The campaign of Russia was an invasion in the Asiatic style . . . This extraordinary general, of admirable talents for fighting and conquering on the field of battle, for surprising the enemy on their marches, and attacking and dispersing their columns, knew not how to carry on a methodical war . . ." Rogiat, *Considérations sur l'Art de la Guerre*, 464.

<sup>4</sup> "Unity of command is of the utmost importance in war. Two armies ought never to be placed on the same scene of action." Montholon, *Memoirs of Napoleon*, London, 1828, II, 53.

slightly;<sup>1</sup> he develops the artillery attack and the combined tactics of artillery and cavalry; but meanwhile infantry becomes more and more ineffective, and at La Rothière we have a monstrous formation, a continuous line of guns, weak infantry supports, and no cavalry. War had changed. The large national army of low quality had displaced the small professional army of high quality, while tactical and strategical areas had increased in size. National war policies, a collective system of command based on scientific study of mobilization, transportation, and organization had become essential; but Napoleon remained behind the times, the child of the Revolution, the hero commander of the Caesar or Frederick type, in the midst of the new Europe, which his own efforts had largely called into being.

Von Clausewitz, with some of his English followers down to this day, classifies wars into those of which the object is either limited or unlimited. This distinction is largely academic, and the real one is that to be found between two Europes, that of before and that of after the Revolution. Before, distances are great, matériel weak, communications difficult, armies proprietary and professional; the scale of war is small, or limited. After the Revolution the distances shorten, matériel becomes ever more powerful, armies are national, the scale of war is huge. In other words, the changes of a century and a half tend to create what we see at the present day, war as unlimited as that in which Rome and Carthage gripped one another by the throat. Long before 1812 even, the iron hand of the despot had crushed out all initiative in the French army, so that even the marshals were as a rule insufficiently informed of the object of their movements and would take little on themselves. Worse than this, with war now conducted by great national armies, Napoleon left it to the Prussians to lay the foundations of an adequate system of command. He stuck blindly to his personal ambitions, to his genius, and to what he had learned from his masters.<sup>2</sup>

I have at most been able to give some indications of the lines along which this large subject may be approached. And I regret that time has not permitted me to illustrate my points more fully or to quote more from the numerous authorities on the subject. The student should be warned that Napoleon's own utterances on the act of war fit the conditions of 1796 admirably; but that they become increasingly out of date after we pass the year 1806.

<sup>1</sup> He speaks of his reforms as, "Modifications of M. de Gribeauval's system; they were made in a similar spirit, and he would not have objected to them . . ." Montholon, *Mems. of Napoleon*, London, 1823, I, 281.

<sup>2</sup> "The theory of . . . strategy . . . is beset with extraordinary difficulties and . . . very few men have clear conceptions of the separate subjects . . . In real action most men are guided merely by the tact of judgment . . . as they possess more or less genius. This is the way in which all great generals have acted . . ." Von Clausewitz, *Memorandum*.

Napoleon once spoke of a staff officer as "bon à tout faire pour les autres et bon à rien faire par lui-même!" Gneisenau got beyond that idea.





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XIII. CABINET MEETINGS UNDER PRESIDENT POLK.

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By HENRY BARRETT LEARNED,  
*Washington , D. C.*

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## CABINET MEETINGS UNDER PRESIDENT POLK.<sup>1</sup>

By HENRY BARRETT LEARNED.

The Cabinet meeting has always been to contemporaries other than Cabinet members something of a mystery. Rumors of proceedings and routine, the truth or falsity of which can not readily be tested, keep in circulation and accordingly afford an attractive theme for gossip and guessing. Regular days for Cabinet councils have long been understood to be Tuesdays and Fridays. These were taken for granted as such under the present administration until some one ventured the assertion early in the autumn of 1913 that President Wilson had departed from one more precedent by abandoning Cabinet meetings altogether. Whatever its source, this gossip-compelling statement fell upon listening ears. In the course of a few months, however, with an authentic sound as though coming from the White House, word once more got into print that the President wished it understood that meetings of the Cabinet were being held twice a week on the regular days, and that no member of the council absented himself from the meetings in Washington on Cabinet days without good reasons. This second rumor with respect to the regularity of Cabinet meetings from the opening of Mr. Wilson's term I was able accidentally to verify as correct. But as a rule the onlooker in Washington has no specially reliable sources of information about the nature of contemporary Cabinet meetings, for every administration is bound to have and to hold sacred—at least for a time—its Cabinet secrets.

On the other hand, secrets, especially such as must be shared by a group of official advisers and men active in public affairs, have a way of coming to light in the course of years.

If there's a hole in a' your coats,  
I rede ye tent it;  
A chiel's amang ye takin' notes,  
And, faith, he'll prent it.

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<sup>1</sup> For a much more extended study of cabinet meetings, the reader is referred to the author's paper entitled "Some Aspects of the Cabinet Meeting," printed in Proceedings of the Columbia Historical Society, Vol. XVIII, Washington, 1915.

Against the keeping of diaries there is no law even to members of the President's Cabinet. In a few instances the proceedings of Cabinet meetings have been carefully formulated by order and placed on file for future reference. One of these instances has long been known to readers of the *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*.<sup>1</sup> Two others may be seen in the manuscript sources of President Polk's and President Andrew Johnson's respective terms.<sup>2</sup> With some effort in a variety of directions the historian to-day is able to obtain glimpses, gleaned from the accounts of Cabinet members and from the intimate writings of the Presidents themselves, of many hundreds of sessions of the Cabinet from the epoch of Washington down to comparatively recent times. There were no fewer than 65 meetings of Washington's Cabinet—rather more than 40 of these held during the momentous year 1793 alone—of which there is some record.<sup>3</sup> In his *Memoirs* John Quincy Adams left accounts, often filled with much detail, regarding discussions, of perhaps 180 sessions of the Cabinet of Monroe (1817–1825), and of about 65 sessions during his term as President, which immediately followed. There are not far from 450 Cabinet meetings noticed in Gideon Welles's extensive diary, which covers the greater portion of the period of Presidents Lincoln and Johnson. To such sorts of material must the investigator turn who would make even an approach to some understanding of the Cabinet meeting. In the following paper I shall confine my considerations of the Cabinet meeting to the four-year term of President Polk.

Polk was 49 years old when in March, 1845, he entered upon his duties as President—the youngest incumbent of the Presidency up to that time. Ten years before he had been chosen Speaker of the House of Representatives, where for the following four years (1835–1839) he became widely acquainted, revealed to his party ability and remarkable industry, was pronounced in approving many of the measures of the Van Buren administration, and maintained and ripened a friendship for Andrew Jackson, which, begun many years before when he was a very young man and strengthened by intimacy with and support of President Jackson, lasted without a break until Jackson's death in June, 1845. Though a native of North Carolina, he had lived for the better part of his life in Tennessee, and for a single term (1839–1841) filled the governorship of that State. Influenced much by Jackson's counsel during the months

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs*, V, 5, 13, 15, March, 1820.

<sup>2</sup> Polk Papers, MSS. Division, Library of Congress, Vol. 77, February 22, 1848. Cf. Polk's Diary, III, 346–347; A. Johnson Papers, MSS. Division, L. of C., Vol. 115, under dates of June 18–19, 1867.

<sup>3</sup> Based upon an examination of manuscript materials on the subject now in possession of the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress and upon printed letters of the leading statesmen of the time.

of his canvass and even after his election, Polk went back to Jefferson for his ideal of a statesman. And he set himself to the task of carrying out the principles of the Republican party as it was usually referred to in the organ of the administration, the *Washington Daily Union*.<sup>1</sup>

Few men [said a writer in the *Union* of May 13, 1845] are capable of the labors which he [Polk] encounters; and few in his place would devote themselves with the same assiduity to the public service. He works from 10 to 12 hours in every 24. He holds two Cabinets a week. He sees visitors two hours every day when the Cabinet is not employed. . . . He is also in frequent communion with his secretaries.

Gossip though this was, it came from a source almost certain to be inspired by real information, for Thomas Ritchie, editor of the newly established paper, had been induced to come from Richmond to Washington for the direct purpose of giving the Administration an official organ—a mouthpiece through which even the President might occasionally address his party and the people. And in fact more than once Polk outlined an article for the *Union*.<sup>2</sup>

The publication of Polk's *Diary* in 1910, appearing about 60 years after its author's untimely death, in June, 1849, has already quickened interest in Polk and will probably tend to raise him as a man in the estimation of historians. For glimpses of nearly 400 sessions of the Cabinet, set down by the actual director of such sessions, it remains a unique record. Revealing no such range of view or literary facility as Adams's *Memoirs*, with little of the skill of characterization or the bitterness toward foes of Welles's *Diary*, it is, nevertheless, rather more directly informing than either of the foregoing works in the matter of routine practices and specific discussions of cabinet problems. There is an entry, however brief, for every day that Polk occupied the Executive Mansion from Tuesday, August 26, 1845, the day that the diary was begun, until Sunday, March 4, 1849, when Gen. Taylor succeeded him in office. Cabinet sessions were invariably noted, sometimes with careful and extended detail. It shows Polk and his counsellors at work.

Between early December, 1844, and the following March 4 members of the Cabinet were selected. There were six men in the first assembled group: James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of State—a shrewd and experienced politician, aged 54, taken from the leadership of his party in the Senate, ambitious of future distinctions which in the course of years he obtained, headstrong and vacillating; Robert J. Walker, of Mississippi, Secretary of the

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<sup>1</sup> The first issue came out in Washington on Thursday night, May 1, 1845.

<sup>2</sup> *Diary*, I, 351-352. April 24, 1846. "It is the second or third time since I have been President that I have sketched an article for the paper. I do so in this instance to allay, if possible, the excitement which I learned the article in yesterday's *Union* had produced \* \* \*."

Treasury—youngest member, aged 44, like Buchanan a native of Pennsylvania and taken from the Senate, allied by marriage to Vice President Dallas, a man of great promise, destined to win solid claims to statesmanship as chief author of the tariff act of 1846 and largely responsible for the formulation of the act which provided in 1849 for the organization of the Department of the Interior;<sup>1</sup> William L. Marcy, of New York, Secretary of War—oldest member of the group, aged 58, a veteran of the War of 1812, former Senator, and governor of his State, later chosen Secretary of State by Franklin Pierce, whom he served ably for four years; John Y. Mason of Virginia, Attorney General—aged 46, the single member of Tyler's Cabinet retained by Polk, later (1846) transferred to the secretaryship of the Navy; Cave Johnson, of Tennessee, Postmaster General—an experienced member of the House of Representatives, from which Polk summoned him at the age of 52, watchful of the President's minor political interests and a bosom friend; and George Bancroft, of Massachusetts, Secretary of the Navy—former candidate for the governorship of his Commonwealth, aged 45, an historian already favorably known, admirer of Polk, though a so-called Van Buren man, and satisfactory as a representative of the New England section. Two others changed slightly the color of this first group: Nathan Clifford, of Maine, at the age of 43, was made Attorney General, succeeding Mason, who was transferred to the Navy headship. He added marked ability, for he was one of the very able lawyers of his time, helping in 1848 to negotiate the final treaty with Mexico, attaining in 1858 to the position of Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, and finally serving his country in 1877 as president of the Electoral Commission. He was in turn succeeded in the attorney generalship by Isaac Toucey, of Connecticut, aged 52, recently unsuccessful candidate for the governorship of his native State. Toucey reappeared in national politics in 1852 as Senator, and closed his public career as Buchanan's Secretary of the Navy from 1857. The average age of this Cabinet was 49 years.

It proved to be an able group of advisers and was reasonably harmonious. But its ability in general would certainly have been increased (just as its harmony would probably have decreased), had it contained such leaders as Silas Wright of New York, Calhoun of South Carolina, Lewis Cass of Michigan, or Thomas H. Benton of Missouri. To Wright was tendered the secretaryship of the Treasury as early as December 7,<sup>2</sup> which was refused. To the others no offers of Cabinet positions were probably made. The men whom Polk selected were picked with reference to his declared interests in tariff reduction, in a policy of expansion which favored the acqui-

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<sup>1</sup> H. B. Learned, *The President's Cabinet* (1912), 275-287.

<sup>2</sup> Polk Papers, MSS. Vol. 68.

tion of Oregon and the annexation of Texas, and in the political and economic needs of the South and Southwest. Slavery he took no decided stand upon—that issue he desired as far as possible to avoid. Although it came at times into Cabinet discussions, Polk's Diary is notably casual upon the topic. Pledged himself from his nomination to a single term in office, the President forewarned his prospective counselors on no account to take advantage of their respective positions as advisers in order to promote ambition which had for its end either the presidency or the vice-presidency. "Should any member of my Cabinet," he wrote, "become a candidate for the presidency or vice presidency of the United States, it will be expected upon the happening of such an event, that he will retire from the Cabinet."<sup>1</sup> Absences from the seat of government he pledged them to make always as brief as possible, for he disapproved of the practice of leaving the management of the departments to chief clerks or other less responsible persons.

Has there been any President since 1789 who stuck so persistently to his tasks as did President Polk? During the four-year period he was not outside Washington for more than about six weeks. How many Presidents have confined themselves to vacations averaging 10 days a year? Polk spent a day at Mount Vernon in the spring of 1845;<sup>2</sup> late in August, 1846, for about a week he was at Old Point Comfort; in May-June, 1847, he made a visit of nine days to the University of North Carolina of which he and his Cabinet associate, John Y. Mason, were graduates in 1819;<sup>3</sup> he went for a fortnight's tour to New England, primarily to attend a Masonic celebration, in June-July, 1847; and finally in the late summer (August) of 1848, wearied and restless, he spent 10 days at Bedford Springs, Pa. There is no evidence of other absences on his part from the seat of government. Moreover, there was no cessation of Cabinet meetings while he was there, from the August day on which the Diary opens. The regularity of Cabinet sessions, regular and "special," becomes positively irksome in the record. These are Polk's words:

No President who performs his duty faithfully and conscientiously can have any leisure. If he intrusts the details and smaller matters to subordinates constant errors will occur. I prefer to supervise the whole operations of the Government myself rather than intrust the public business to subordinates, and this makes my duties very great.<sup>4</sup>

This was not idle sentiment on Polk's part, for the President's theory and practice were in accord, as the record of the Administra-

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<sup>1</sup> See the circular letter of Polk to prospective Cabinet associates, dated February 17, 1845, and printed in full in *The Works of James Buchanan* (ed. John Bassett Moore), VI, 110-111.

<sup>2</sup> Diary, II, 87. See also *Washington Daily Union*, Aug. 19, 1846, II, 370.

<sup>3</sup> *Washington Daily Union*, June 2, 1847, *et seq.*

<sup>4</sup> Diary, IV, 261, Dec. 29, 1848.

tion clearly proves. He was ill at times during his last year in office, and one may reasonably conclude that he was suffering from the effects of his incessant and tireless labors.

Whether Polk was the first President to introduce regularity into Cabinet sessions I do not feel certain, for as yet I have not examined with sufficient care the practices of the Cabinet during Van Buren's and Tyler's respective terms. Previous to 1837 it may be positively stated that there was no regularity in this respect. Polk's Cabinet met as a rule every week throughout the year if the President was not himself away from Washington. It made no difference to him whether Congress was or was not in session. On Tuesdays and Saturdays at 11 o'clock in the forenoon it assembled unsummoned and in accordance with a settled custom. In one year alone—1846, during which war with Mexico was begun—the council met about 114 times. In 1848, the year which witnessed the treaty settlement of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, there were approximately 120 meetings. As reckoned through the evidence of the Diary there were about 173 meetings on Tuesdays and 168 meetings on Saturdays. All others, perhaps 50, were known as "special" meetings, and were summoned on any one of the other days of the week. The following table, confined to the Diary record alone, will indicate at a glance the results of the whole enumeration:

	1845	1846	1847	1848	1849	Total
Sundays.....		4		5		9
Mondays.....		2	2	6		10
Tuesdays.....	18	50	47	49	9	173
Wednesdays.....	4	4	2	4	1	15
Thursdays.....		2	2	3	1	8
Fridays.....	1	1	2	5		9
Saturdays.....	16	51	44	48	9	168
Total.....	39	114	99	120	20	392

It was against Polk's strict sabbatarian views to summon the Cabinet to Sunday sessions, but occasionally, in 1846 and in 1848, the two most momentous years of his administration, he found it necessary to do so against his will. He was never resigned to missing attendance at church at 11 o'clock Sunday mornings. Regular sessions were seldom over before 2 p. m. Many meetings will be found, however, sitting as late as 3 and even 4 o'clock. Four and five hour meetings were regarded as long. Polk dined at 4 p. m. Only once is there record of a six-hour meeting—that convened at 9.30 a. m. on Friday, July 9, 1847.

The subject which I submitted for consideration [wrote the President] was the conduct of Gen. Scott and Mr. Trist, and the angry personal controversy into which these two functionaries had allowed themselves to be engaged. Dispatches from Gen. Scott to the Secretary of War, and from Mr.



Trist to the Secretary of State, received during my late tour to the Eastern States, were read. They exhibited a wretched state of things. So far from the harmony prevailing between these two officers, they are engaged in a violent personal correspondence.

Opinions differed as to what should be done. The President was ready with the suggestion that both men be recalled. In the discussion Marcy and Buchanan assumed the lead, and both of these advisers, followed by the other members of the Cabinet, opposed the suggestion. The Cabinet had its way, the President yielding, but not without adding his thought as to the possible desirability of sending some such capable assistant to Trist as Senator Pierre Soulé, of Louisiana.<sup>1</sup> The episode of the quarrel is well enough known to history,<sup>2</sup> though the way it touched the Cabinet is a contribution of this intimate record.

In view of the tasks of the administration, Polk's Cabinet sessions were on the whole brief as compared, for example, with the slow-gaited and occasionally very prolonged sessions of Monroe's Cabinet.<sup>3</sup> Seldom were meetings omitted on regular days, even with only two Cabinet advisers in Washington. The laying of the corner stone of the Smithsonian Institution<sup>4</sup> and the public funeral of John Quincy Adams<sup>5</sup> were among occasions when it seemed only fitting to omit meetings.

Unlike the meetings of John Quincy Adams's Cabinet, which were devoted to a few rather specific problems and were neither frequent nor at all regular, those of Polk were usually alive with a considerable variety of business and discussion. The epoch was alert. Its problems, especially those which were generated by the Oregon Question and the War with Mexico, were grave and complicated, burdened with consequences of a doubtful and very far-reaching kind. Large subjects came inevitably before the advisers—the tariff, Texas, Oregon, California, Army troubles, slavery, the treaty with Mexico—some of them demanding the enunciation of more or less definite attitudes on the part of the Executive. On the other hand, there were also numerous matters of minor, if not occasionally of petty, significance. The Cabinet heard much political gossip and discussed it pretty freely; it watched intently the proceedings of Congress and guided itself to some extent by what it observed. The President kept in close touch with party leaders in both the House and the Senate. Even the aged Calhoun was admitted early in 1846 to a session of

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<sup>1</sup> Diary, III, 75-79. Cf. Jesse S. Reeves, *American Diplomacy under Tyler and Polk* (1907), 315-316.

<sup>2</sup> Schouler, *History of the United States* (rev. ed.), V, 51-53.

<sup>3</sup> See J. Q. Adams's *Memoirs*, IV, 37, 168; VI, 389 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Diary, III, 1-2. Saturday, May 1, 1847. Secretary Walker was unable to attend the ceremony. See *Washington Daily Union*, May 10, 1847.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 362-363. Saturday, Feb. 26, 1848.

the Cabinet.<sup>1</sup> Senator Benton throughout the first two years of the administration was many times in conference with Polk, as was Senator Cass in the latter years. Vice-President Dallas was often consulted informally, but there is no evidence that he ever attended a session of the council. Thomas Ritchie, of the Union, was carefully consulted on various occasions, and allowed presidential secrets to slip into his partisan publication, at times much to Polk's disgust. We get glimpses of the figure of Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, flitting in and out of the Executive Mansion even thus early—distrusted and disliked by Polk. Johnson and his Tennessee colleagues "seem to assume to themselves the right to judge of the appointments in Tennessee," remarked the President, "and to denounce them among Members of Congress and in boarding houses as though they were responsible for them. I think it fortunate," he concluded, "that they have now learned that their course has not been unobserved by me."<sup>2</sup> Polk and his counselors, especially Buchanan, who became ambitious for the Presidency when he discovered that he could not easily obtain an appointment to the Supreme Court, scanned carefully many newspaper criticisms, and even attempted to dictate to some variety of newspapers. The subject of office-seeking politicians, haunting Polk day and night throughout his term, could not help coming at times into conciliar discussions.

The four annual messages, prepared by Polk promptly and with remarkable care, were not only submitted to the Cabinet but to men of influence and discretion outside that body—to Vice-President Dallas, Editor Ritchie, Senators Benton and Cass, and to many others. The fourth message,<sup>3</sup> which among presidential papers must always be reckoned remarkable—the President's valedictory to his Democratic followers as well as to the Nation—was given slow and long attention. The President yielded his convictions neither easily nor as a rule for petty reasons. Politics influenced him. But he seldom forgot principles even though he was obliged to sacrifice the friendship and influence of men as powerful as Senator Benton and the assistance to some extent of his Secretary of State, Buchanan. A less prudent man would probably have failed to hold through the administration three such ambitious and able advisers as Buchanan, Marcy, and Walker, for at one time or another they were all ready to abandon their places.

Votes in Cabinet sessions were infrequent.<sup>4</sup> Like most Presidents before and since his time, Polk asked now and again for written opinions on technical matters of law from his attorneys-general.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Diary, I, 161. Jan. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., II, 41. July 21, 1846.

<sup>3</sup> Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, IV, 629-670.

<sup>4</sup> Diary, III, 281.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., II, 79; IV, 202.

But he seldom, if ever, called for written opinions from the rest of his advisers. On this point his words are nearly conclusive: "I have never called for any written opinions from my Cabinet, preferring to take their opinions, after a discussion, in Cabinet, and in presence of each other. In this way harmony of opinion is more likely to exist."<sup>1</sup>

Thus a practice begun by Washington and characteristic of several of Washington's more immediate successors was voluntarily abandoned by Polk.

Polk's party was not a little aroused over the fact that two such pronounced Whigs as Generals Scott and Taylor were likely to gain most of the honors in the war. Hence an effort was made to have created a new office of lieutenant-general—an acting general-in-chief in the field. Polk commended the project. It was introduced into Congress but there failed. And Benton, who was to have had the new command, placed the blame for its failure upon Secretaries Buchanan, Walker, and Marcy.<sup>2</sup> The proof of this charge it would probably be difficult, if not impossible, to establish. While this whole matter was pending, the President's mind being disturbed over the question of Benton's possible right to precedence over the Whig generals actually in the field, Richard Rush, then an elderly man of 65 about to take up his duties as newly appointed Minister to France, spent the late evening of Tuesday, January 19, 1847, with Polk. Once Attorney General under President Madison and later serving President J. Q. Adams for four years as Secretary of the Treasury, Rush, as an experienced Cabinet officer revealed quickly his interest in the knotty problem of precedence which at the moment was disturbing Polk. He related at length the story of a Cabinet session under President Adams about 19 years before, in which a similar problem had to be disposed of. In both instances there were contentious factions in and outside the respective Cabinets. The frank statements of Rush, his clear recollections as well as the applicability of his story to the situation—all moved the President's interest. He confided the interview to his Diary in a way to indicate his ability as an accurate reporter, for the account of Adams's Cabinet session as taken down from Rush's narration of it, agrees in essential particulars with the account of the same session which President Adams himself had written in his Memoirs. Thus might a cabinet discussion of one administration be transmitted and made helpful to another many years removed.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 131. September 23, 1848.

<sup>2</sup> *Thirty Years' View*, II, 679. The subject was commented on in the *Washington Daily Union* of March 11, 1847, letters between Polk and Benton there printed.

<sup>3</sup> *Cf. Memoirs of J. Q. Adams*, VII, 506-507. April 14, 1828.

It was the rule of the administration to admit no one to Cabinet sessions outside the circle of regular advisers. But J. Knox Walker, the President's private secretary, was frequently present<sup>1</sup> just as Col. W. G. Moore, Johnson's secretary 20 years later, was likewise present on many occasions.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps Tobias Lear attended Washington's council, although there is no record, so far as I know, of his attendance. When in future the story of President Wilson's administration can be written from authentic records shall we learn of the attendance of Mr. Joseph Tumulty at Cabinet councils? As I have already pointed out,<sup>3</sup> Senator Calhoun took part in a Cabinet discussion over the Oregon situation on Saturday, January 10, 1846—an exception to Polk's rule. Benton declared that he was present at a Cabinet session in the autumn of the same year making objections to a particular policy.<sup>4</sup> This rests on Benton's statement alone, and without corroborative evidence is of no significance. It is true that the assembled Cabinet listened to outsiders either just before or just after their regular session for the purpose usually of obtaining special information not easy otherwise to acquire. Brig. Gen. Philip Kearny appeared before them,<sup>5</sup> likewise Maj. Gen. James Shields.<sup>6</sup> Mayor William Winston Seaton and sundry public men were received by the Cabinet in the autumn of 1848.<sup>7</sup> Thomas G. Clemson, son-in-law of Calhoun, just returned from his post as chargé d'affaires in Belgium, was introduced to the Cabinet.<sup>8</sup> And Senator Spencer Jarnagin, of Tennessee, and Representative Horace Wheaton, of New York, as members of the Committee on Enrolled Bills, performed their formal tasks in the presence of the council.<sup>9</sup> Once Nicholas P. Trist, then clerk in the Department of State, but soon to start on his special mission to Mexico as the President's private envoy, was summoned into a session for the purpose of enlightening the Cabinet as to the exact meaning of a Spanish letter.<sup>10</sup>

Attention may be called to a matter of policy extending over many sessions of the Cabinet, in which the President revealed his independence and principle. It may not be at once recalled that there was in 1847-8 a widespread and vigorous movement, fostered by many prominent and influential politicians, to force the President to the task of absorbing the whole of Mexico. Polk was an expansionist of a pronounced type, but this project appears to have been not

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<sup>1</sup> Diary, II, 486. Apr. 22, 1847.

<sup>2</sup> American Historical Review (October, 1913), XIX, 98 *et seq.*

<sup>3</sup> *Supra*, p. 237.

<sup>4</sup> Thirty Years' View, II, 693.

<sup>5</sup> Diary, III, 168. Sept. 12, 1847.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 261. Dec. 28, 1847.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 125. Sept. 19.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 196. Nov. 14, 1848.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 47, 51. July 25, 1846.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 432. Mar. 20, 1847.

finally approved by him. That we escaped annexing Mexico in 1848 was due to some variety of causes. But not the least important of these was that Polk effectually controlled the policy of his advisers, for two of his ablest assistants, Buchanan and R. J. Walker, tried to prevent a settlement with Mexico on the terms of the treaty negotiated by Nicholas P. Trist, in accordance with instructions given to Trist in April, 1847, at the time when Trist had been sent on his treaty-making mission.<sup>1</sup>

In concluding this slight glimpse of the routine of Polk's conciliar sessions, I wish to quote a passage from John F. H. Claiborne's *Life and Correspondence of John A. Quitman*, for it contains, besides error, some elements of truth well worth observing. Of Polk, Claiborne writes:

He was a political martinet, a rigid disciplinarian. . . . He was a man of ability, but a man of expediency. . . . Polk was grave almost to sadness, self-restrained, and chilling. . . . [He] was indebted for his elevation to his energy, his circumspection, his capacity for labor, his fidelity to party, and, more than all, to the influence of Gen. Jackson. . . . He had a vigorous and able Cabinet—one of the ablest ever assembled around any executive . . . but he can be regarded as a man of mediocrity . . . exempt from positive vices, remarkable for his prudence, and a thorough master of the strategy of politics. . . . He, nevertheless, in four years, witnessed the decay of his popularity, and no one but himself dreamed of his reelection. . . .<sup>2</sup>

There is undoubtedly truth in the application of "martinet" to President Polk. He was a stickler for regularity in administrative practices—remarkably vigilant in keeping himself and his intimate assistants at work throughout a trying four-year term. One is safe in assuming from such evidence as we find that the Cabinet never met without the President. As the President kept his hand on a great many matters, so he was generally prepared to be the real director of discussions and the author of the administration's attitude or policy so far as the Executive Department was concerned. He had several conspicuously able assistants about him whose aid he sought and could accept. But if one may trust impressions derived largely from the *Diary*, Polk was never overpowered by any one of these able men. It was the President who at length usually dominated the situation by his ability to grasp details understandingly. In the Cabinet council he was guide and master. Principles he cher-

<sup>1</sup> See "The Proposed Absorption of Mexico in 1847-8," by the late Prof. Edward G. Bourne in his *Essays in Historical Criticism*, 1901. This paper was based upon a study of Polk's *Diary* while still in manuscript. Prof. W. E. Dodd, in a paper entitled "The West and the War with Mexico," in *Trans. of the Illinois State Historical Society* for the year 1912 (pp. 15-23), thinks that Polk was eager to annex Mexico after the treaty had been accepted on Mar. 10, 1848. Possibly. Relying on Prof. Bourne's researches, Prof. J. S. Reeves remarks (*American Diplomacy under Tyler and Polk*, p. 325): "Trist's assumption that Polk desired the absorption of all Mexico has been proven to be baseless."

<sup>2</sup> I, 228-235, *passim*.

ished and worked for. Ceremonies he disliked. But he was insistent upon such forms as aided him and his officials in getting things done. He was solemn and serious, at times much overworked. But can he be fairly termed "a man of mediocrity"? If ever a record so largely made up, as is this Diary, of observations on Cabinet sessions could prove that its author filled "the unforgiving minute with sixty seconds' worth of distance run," this has done so. At any rate, it will help to mark Polk as the most important figure in the Presidency between Andrew Jackson and Abraham Lincoln.

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XIV. TENNESSEE AND NATIONAL POLITICAL PARTIES, 1850-1860.

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By ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT,  
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## TENNESSEE AND NATIONAL POLITICAL PARTIES, 1850-1860.

By ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT.

Nature has divided Tennessee into three well-marked regions. East Tennessee is the high valley country, between the Smoky Mountains that crown North Carolina's western border and the Cumberland Plateau. From the Cumberland Plateau to the Tennessee River, as it flows northward into Kentucky, stretches Middle Tennessee, the continuation of the fertile Blue Grass region, watered for the most part by the Cumberland River and its tributaries. West of the Tennessee River and the barren hills along its banks, West Tennessee, long known as the "Western District," slowly falls to the Mississippi. A sectionalism resulting from these geographical differences strongly pervaded the State's political affairs and gave rise to much unfriendliness. Governors, Senators, and other officers of State-wide position, must be chosen in rotation from several sections, or there must be bargaining and exchange.<sup>1</sup> Over the location of banks and their branches, over the distribution of internal-improvement and other funds, and, especially, over the apportionment of representation in the assembly or in Congress, conflicts were frequent and bitter. Having dominated the State in the earlier days, when the political scepter departed westward the East Tennesseans felt themselves oppressed. In 1842 this feeling led to the discussion of the formation of a separate State, and in the Civil War period the same idea reappeared, but the forces of cohesion prevailed.

A careful student of southern history has stated that in Tennessee, in the ante bellum period, the river counties were prevailingly

<sup>1</sup> "Turney's time will soon expire. He is again a candidate and will have five or six backers in his own section. East Tennessee claims it as a prescribed right. The western district also claims on the ground of population, and if the Democrats succeed in the next election the first will insist on John Blair, the second Coe or W. T. Brown. Middle Tennessee will insist on Nicholson, A. V. Brown, Turney, and my own section will get my own name into the m  le, which I have peremptorily declined. Bell, they allege, was elected in the place of the East Tennessee senator, which supersedes its claims until the expiration of his term." Cave Johnson to James Buchanan, Oct. 14, 1849. MS. in the Buchanan MSS. in the possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society. Grateful acknowledgment is made to the Pennsylvania Historical Society for the permission to make use of this collection. The long and important series of letters of Cave Johnson to Buchanan is hereafter cited, for convenience, as Johnson-Buchanan Letters.

Whig and the mountain counties prevailingly Democratic. This generalization is largely true, but there are conspicuous exceptions which are to be accounted for through the influence of individuals.<sup>1</sup> It is at least certain that in each of the three grand divisions of the State there were grouped counties of both political persuasions, so that no rigid identification is possible between the sections and the parties. In studying the statistics as to elections in Tennessee in the two decades prior to 1861, one is struck with the evenness with which the Whig and Democratic parties were balanced. In presidential elections, from 1836 to 1852 inclusive, the electoral votes of the State were always given against the Democrats, and a return to this position was manifest in 1860. Of Representatives in Congress, on the other hand, the Democrats usually commanded a majority. In State elections, especially in the choice of a governor, there was the keenest competition. Between 1840 and 1850 the total vote of the State was between 100,000 and 125,000. In no election for governor was there more than 4,000 majority for either party; and more than once the successful candidate could claim hardly a thousand votes in his favor. "Our State," wrote Cave Johnson in 1851, "is the most nearly balanced in the Union, success depending mainly on the organization and activity of the party; the party out being generally successful because the more active."<sup>2</sup> While throughout the State there were some strong newspapers, the readers of them bore but a small proportion to the number of voters. Thus, in political campaigns in Tennessee personality counted for a great deal. The canvasses for governor, especially, were marked by a series of joint debates throughout every part of the State, which required an iron frame to stand the physical strain and a ready wit to please the assembled crowds.<sup>3</sup>

Over the distribution of patronage, from the time of Jackson's presidency onward, there was always much searching of spirit, and dissatisfaction as to this matter frequently accounted for disaffection. There was not much complaint as to actual corruption in politics, but there were frequent accusations as to the "swapping" of votes.

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<sup>1</sup> Phillips, *The Southern Whigs, 1834-1854*, in *Essays in American History*, dedicated to Frederick Jackson Turner, 1910, 214. As exceptions to the rule may be noted the long-continued control of their respective districts by Cave Johnson, James K. Polk, and Andrew Johnson.

<sup>2</sup> Johnson-Buchanan Letters, Sept. 15, 1851.

<sup>3</sup> Phelan, James, *History of Tennessee*, 1889, 377, 399-411. Of Gov. Trousdale's campaign of 1849, Cave Johnson wrote: "His reputation for courage cramped the energy and vigor of his opponent, who had gained some reputation as a 'fire eater' two years ago by the browbeating and braggadocio manner toward Gov. A. V. B., who, I regret to say, lost probably his election by tamely submitting to it. Such is the opinion of the intelligent Democrats in this neighborhood. Neil S. Brown evidently quailed beneath the fierce look and hard face of Trousdale, and hence he failed to sustain his reputation as an orator." Johnson-Buchanan Letters, Aug. 12, 1849. Before this very campaign the newspapers had discussed the abandonment of this sort of canvass. *Nashville Union*, Jan. 16, 1849, citing Gallatin Tenth Legion.

One other characteristic of Tennessee politics is thus summed up by Cave Johnson, who, having served many years as Representative in Congress and having been Postmaster-General of the United States under Polk, was in a position to speak with authority. Writing to Buchanan after the presidential election of 1852, he said:

Whilst I rejoice with you at the result in Pennsylvania and the other States, you will with me deplore the result in Tennessee—the State of Jackson and Polk—and yet we may in some degree attribute the loss to their influence. They did more than all other men to inspire our people with a devotion to military glory. No other qualification is looked to or sought for. We elected Carroll governor term by term until he was proscribed by the new Constitution. We voted for Jackson with an unanimity never equaled in any country. Even White obtained the vote of the State upon his renown. Harrison and Taylor were irresistible until Brown was run against Trousdale. Scott was made the greatest hero that ever lived. The Jackson men were called on to reward his gallantry, as they had done all others. Why refuse him who had done more than all others the honors awarded to Jackson, Harrison, and Taylor?<sup>1</sup>

To understand the issues upon which the two great party organizations in Tennessee, in the period 1850–1860, disagreed, and the causes of factional differences within each party, it is necessary first to give a very brief review of Tennessee politics in the period immediately preceding, and secondly to sketch the personnel of the leaders within the State. When the wave of resentment against the dominating policy of Gen. Jackson resulted, in 1836, in a great majority in Tennessee for Hugh Lawson White, and when next year Gen. Robert Armstrong, selected by the Jackson managers to overcome Gov. Newton Cannon, had sustained a disastrous defeat, the Jackson Democrats resolved in 1839 to make another and greater effort to redeem the State. As their standard bearer was selected James K. Polk, who, having been one of the ablest and most faithful of the party men in Congress, had been rewarded with the speakership of the House of Representatives. Backed by the united efforts of the Tennessee Democrats, with the additional help of new editors secured for the two chief Democratic papers, Polk, a master of stump speaking, was elected. Though his efforts at reelection were twice unsuccessful, he was henceforth first in command of the State organization. While the Sage of the Hermitage lived, he did not fail to give counsel; but the younger men carried on the active work. The tirelessness of Polk as political manager is best evidenced by his voluminous correspondence, now in the Library of Congress. His continued political importance outside of Tennessee is shown by the approaches which were made to him on the part of friends of Calhoun and by the tentative offer of a seat in Tyler's Cabinet, which was declined by Polk.<sup>2</sup> It was definitely understood in 1844 that he would be a

<sup>1</sup> Johnson-Buchanan Letters, Nov. 18, 1852.

<sup>2</sup> Theophilus Fisk to James K. Polk, Mar. 9 and Mar. 13, 1844; James K. Polk to Theophilus Fisk, Mar. 22, 1844. Polk MSS., Library of Congress, Vol. 56.

candidate for the Vice Presidency, but to some, at least in Tennessee, the possibility of his nomination as a dark horse was not unimagined before the development of the combination that was actually effected at the Baltimore convention.<sup>1</sup>

When Polk became President, quarrels among the State politicians and disappointment over the distribution of Federal offices shook his control of the State organization. In 1845 a Democratic Senator, Hopkins L. Turney, was elected, but, it was alleged, only by a trade with the Whigs, which aroused deep resentment in Tennessee.<sup>2</sup> The chief aspirant for this Senatorship had been A. O. P. Nicholson, of Columbia, who had already been appointed a United States Senator by Polk to fill an unexpired term, and who regarded the place as his by right. He was an able lawyer, of great literary ability, and a man of commanding influence, though he was accused of selfishness by more than one of his rivals. During Polk's Presidency Nicholson, bitterly indignant at Turney's election, was suspected of disloyalty to Polk, and thus drew upon himself the dislike of Polk's numerous and powerful connection.<sup>3</sup> In the period 1847-1852 Nicholson—as the phrase "Nicholson letter" may suggest—was supporting actively the interests of Gen. Cass; in this position he was followed by two of the congressional delegation, George W. Jones, an experienced and useful member, and Andrew Johnson, of the first district in East Tennessee. Intimately associated with Nicholson in party affairs but tending constantly toward rivalry for the headship of the organization was Aaron V. Brown, also of Middle Tennessee. In 1845 Brown, retiring from a long and active congressional service, became a candidate for the governorship and was successful, as Polk had been, in once breaking the Whig control of the State; but, like Polk, he failed of reelection. Like Polk, also, he looked to a return to national prominence. In these larger aspirations, as well as in the manipulation of State affairs, he was supported by Gideon J. Pillow, with whom he was connected by domestic ties. Pillow it was who, in Tennessee, claimed credit for putting through the Baltimore convention of 1844 the nomination of Polk. Pillow had military aspirations, which found room for employment in the Mexican War, in which, in addition to his exploits as a soldier, he was honored with the special duty of reporting to the President the delinquencies of his superior officer, Gen. Taylor.<sup>4</sup> He was a man of affairs in the business world; in 1849 he was brought forward as a candidate for nomination for governor, but declined; and later he aspired to higher stations. Combined with that of his kinsman, Brown, his

<sup>1</sup> Smith, J. H., *The Annexation of Texas*, 1911, 250-251.

<sup>2</sup> *The Diary of James K. Polk during his Presidency, 1845 to 1849* (ed. M. M. Quaife, 1910) I, 112-115; hereafter cited as *Diary of James K. Polk*.

<sup>3</sup> Johnson-Buchanan Letters, Oct. 14, 1849; *ibid.*, Sept. 20, 1850.

<sup>4</sup> *Diary of James K. Polk*, II, 211.

political influence was strong and was used to offset the ambitions of Nicholson.

To one of the Democratic leaders, Cave Johnson, we have already referred. In Polk's Cabinet he had formed a close friendship, in both the political and personal senses, with James Buchanan; and throughout the period under review he was active in his efforts to direct the sentiment of Tennessee toward Buchanan as a presidential candidate. To this friendship we owe a series of letters, written by Cave Johnson to Buchanan, which are highly valuable for their light upon Tennessee politics and from which has been taken much of the material for this paper.

In the Whig Party the two most eminent men were Ephraim H. Foster and John Bell. Foster had twice represented Tennessee in the Senate, though in each case for only a brief period. On the expiration of his term in 1845 he contested with Aaron V. Brown for the governorship but was defeated. He was offended by the election of Bell to the Senate in 1847, and the defeat of the Whigs in 1849 was ascribed, in part, to his disaffection.<sup>1</sup> At the time of which we write, while his name was still a powerful one, his activities were limited by ill-health.

In John Bell the Tennessee Whigs had a representative of whose intellectual capacity they might well be and were proud, but who lacked temperamental qualities of sympathy such as those which endeared Henry Clay to so many of his fellow-citizens. After a long service in the House of Representatives, in 1841 he had been appointed Secretary of War in the Cabinet of Harrison and on Harrison's death had retired with his colleagues, except Webster, on the occasion of the breach with Tyler. For the next six years he declined public office. In 1847, after an exciting contest, he was elected United States Senator. Bell and Polk had been bitter personal, as well as political, enemies; but, on returning to Washington as a Senator, Bell sought to reestablish cordial relations. When he called on Polk on January 4, 1848, the two men had not spoken for 13 years.<sup>2</sup> Of other prominent Whigs, such as Gentry, Jones, and Brownlow, we shall have more to say below.

In 1847-1850 national attention was focused upon the adjustment by Congress of the dispute as to the government of the territory acquired from Mexico. After it was evident that the Wilmot Proviso could not pass the Senate it became equally certain that Cass's doctrine of non-intervention would not furnish a practical solution

<sup>1</sup> W. B. Campbell to David Campbell, Aug. 19, 1849. MS. in possession of Mr. Lemuel R. Campbell, of Nashville, Tenn., who has kindly allowed the writer to make use of the extensive correspondence of W. B. Campbell with David Campbell. Hereafter cited as Campbell Letters.

<sup>2</sup> Diary of James K. Polk, III, 258-260, 264, 265, 284, 285.

to the problem; but this doctrine was very popular among the Democrats of Tennessee. The administration of Polk, however, began the efforts at compromise with the proposal to extend the Missouri Compromise line of  $36^{\circ} 30'$  over the new acquisitions. This, however, was not accepted, nor did a better fate attend the so-called "Clayton Compromise," of 1848, or the "Walker Amendment" of 1849. Thus Polk's Presidency came to an end March 4, 1849, without any solution of the problems at issue, beyond the extension to California of the Federal revenue laws. A new phase was soon given to the matter by the stiff, uncompromising attitude developed by President Taylor, so unpopular in the South.

In the discussions which throughout these months filled the newspapers of Tennessee one very plainly sees two currents. One is that of party advantage. Whigs and Democrats vied with each other in the effort to put the opposition in the wrong. The most unpopular thing that could be alleged of any person or party was abolitionism and the support of the Wilmot Proviso. Thus it was a favorite argument of the Whigs that Polk and the Democrats, by accepting the exclusion of slavery from Oregon, had consented to the principle of the Wilmot Proviso; and the answer that Oregon lay north of  $36^{\circ} 30'$  was ridiculed. On the other hand, Taylor's course and the suspected influence of Seward upon the President opened the Whigs to the same sort of taunt. The other current was that of sectionalism, which set in mutual opposition southern rights and the conservation of the Union. The Democratic tradition, inherited from Jackson and Polk and continued by such men as Cave Johnson, was one of strong devotion to the Union. Nullification had found little favor in Tennessee. Such men as Aaron V. Brown, however, were meeting what they considered northern aggression with a distinctly vigorous southern point of view. In the summer of 1849 the campaign of the Democrats, led by their candidate for governor, William Trousdale, was of a distinctly fire-eating tone. "Gen. T. takes the Virginia resolutions," Cave Johnson told Buchanan, "and is for resisting in every manner to the last extremity, and insists that this is the best, if not the only, mode of preserving the Union. I do not like his position, but it is possible that may secure Calhoun Whigs enough to carry the election in the western districts."<sup>1</sup> One of the Democratic leaders from Memphis came to the State convention with a proposal to advise the severance of commercial relations with the North, but the proposal was not formally presented.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, the Whigs, with the exception of a few in the western district, avoided

<sup>1</sup> Johnson-Buchanan Letters, June 17, 1849. But the next year Johnson thought that Trousdale's radical views had endangered his success and that he was only saved by explaining that resistance meant non-intercourse with the North. *Ibid.*, Apr. 14, 1850.

<sup>2</sup> Nashville Union, Apr. 28, 1849.

altogether the dangerous ground of sectionalism and proclaimed their devotion to the Union so loudly that the Democrats taunted them with being mere submissionists. The Whigs followed the standard of their general-in-chief, John Bell, upon whose alleged surrender to the North the Democratic editors did not cease to harp.

In the period of the territorial controversy, Bell's course was that of a pacificator; but one gains the impression of an uncertainty of thought and action on his part, and finds it difficult to estimate the real purposes which he had in view. He opposed the Clayton Compromise,<sup>1</sup> because it seemed to him only to postpone the controversy. In the course of the discussion over the "Walker Amendment" of 1849, Bell introduced an amendment similar to the bill of Douglas to admit the possessions acquired from Mexico into the Union as one State, but besides himself only three Senators voted for his proposal.<sup>2</sup> Bell voted with the South for the Walker Amendment.<sup>3</sup> In the debate over the compromise measures of Henry Clay, Bell submitted a plan of his own which emphasized the possibility of creating new slave States out of Texas.<sup>4</sup> This suggestion was noticed by Webster in his "Seventh-of-March" speech,<sup>5</sup> and several days later Toombs, of Georgia, wrote to Linton Stephens that "Bell's proposition as backed by Webster" would probably afford a basis of settlement.<sup>6</sup> Bell was elected a member of the Committee of Thirteen,<sup>7</sup> but that committee reported adversely to his suggestion as to Texas.<sup>8</sup> He then pursued a somewhat doubtful course, deserting his own plan of compromise, which he said had been presented at the suggestion of others, and criticising in an unfriendly way, but without very positive objections, the plan of Clay and the majority of the committee. He obviously championed the President's ideas as opposed to those of Clay, maintaining, however, his devotion to southern interests.<sup>9</sup> Taylor's death, the accession of Fillmore, and the victory of the compromise therefore left him in a weak position. He voted against the Utah bill, supported the bill for the admission of California, the Texas boundary bill, and the fugitive slave bill, and he did not vote

<sup>1</sup> Congressional Globe, 30 Cong., 1 sess., 1002.

<sup>2</sup> Congressional Globe, 30 Cong., 2 sess., 561 ff. See also Appendix, 253 ff. Bell's amendment differed in details from Douglas's bill, especially with reference to the boundaries of the proposed State and with reference to the holding of a constitutional convention. Bell's argument was violently combated by Berrien. As to the Walker Amendment, see Diary of James K. Polk, IV, 364-369.

<sup>3</sup> Congressional Globe, 30 Cong., 2 sess., Appendix, 309.

<sup>4</sup> Feb. 28, 1850, Congressional Globe, 31 Cong., 1 sess., 436-439. Bell's resolutions were "then considered a modified form of the executive policy for a proper adjustment." Stephens, A Constitutional View of the Late War Between the States, 1870, II, 205.

<sup>5</sup> Congressional Globe, 31 Cong., 1 sess., Appendix, I, 272, 274.

<sup>6</sup> Correspondence of Robert Toombs, Alexander H. Stephens, Howell Cobb. American Historical Association, Annual Report, 1911, II, 188.

<sup>7</sup> Congressional Globe, 31 Cong., 1 sess., 780.

<sup>8</sup> Congressional Globe, 31 Cong., 1 sess., 944 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Congressional Globe, 31 Cong., 1 sess., Appendix, 1088 ff, 1095 ff, 1106 ff.

on the bills to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia and to establish the Territory of New Mexico.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, the most "ultra" Southern spokesman in Tennessee was the Democratic colleague of Bell, Senator Turney. In February, 1847, doubtless with the intention of demonstrating his faithfulness to Polk, he had bitterly attacked the venerable Calhoun for endeavoring to form a "third party."<sup>2</sup> After Polk's retirement, however, Turney, as one of the opposition Senators, associated himself with the Southern movement in Congress, was one of the signers of the Southern Address, and, later, joined with Davis, Soulé, and other radicals, first in a pledge to use every effort to prevent the admission of California unless the southern boundary of that State were reduced to 36° 30', and secondly, in a protest against the California Act.<sup>3</sup> He also supported the movement for a new paper in Washington to represent the interests of the south.<sup>4</sup>

The course of the radical Southern movement of 1849-1851 in South Carolina, Georgia, and the lower South, and the relation of it to the struggle in Congress over the Compromise of 1850, have been set in a much clearer light of late in more than one scholarly monograph; and, in this connection, there has been brought anew to the attention of the student of history the convention which met in June, 1850, in the city of Nashville, and of which a shadowy remnant reconvened in that city in November of the same year.<sup>5</sup> In each of the sessions of the Nashville convention, Tennessee was represented. As to the first, the plan of the Democrats, headed by the fiery governor, Trousdale, had been to provide by law or resolution that the governor should appoint delegates; but the Whig Senate prevented this.<sup>6</sup> The Whig press denounced the convention before it met;<sup>7</sup> the Union, the leading Democratic paper, defended it, denying that secession was the purpose in view.<sup>8</sup> The first session, imposing in numbers and dignified in action, made a deep impression in Tennessee. The Tennessee delegation voted both for moderate resolutions and the

<sup>1</sup> Clusky, M. W., *The Political Textbook or Encyclopedia*, 1857, 107.

<sup>2</sup> *Congressional Globe*, 29 Cong., 2 sess., 395 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Hearon, C., *Mississippi and the Compromise of 1850*, 139, n. *Congressional Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 sess., 1578.

<sup>4</sup> *Nashville Union*, May 21, 1850.

<sup>5</sup> Herndon, D. T., *The Nashville Convention of 1850*, *Publications of the Alabama Historical Society, Transactions*, 1904, V, 203-237; Newberry, F., *The Nashville Convention and Southern Sentiment of 1850*, *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XII, 259-273 (July, 1912); Hearon, C., *Mississippi and the Compromise of 1850*, 1913, Ch. VI, in *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. XIV, and reprinted; Cole, A. C., *The Whig Party in the South*, 1914, Ch. V.

An extended account, by the present writer, of the attitude of Tennessee toward the compromise measures and toward the Nashville convention will be found in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for December, 1915.

<sup>6</sup> *Nashville Union*, Feb. 15, 1850.

<sup>7</sup> *Nashville Banner and Whig*, Feb. 14, 1850.

<sup>8</sup> *Nashville Union*, Feb. 21, 1850.



more radical address, but as to the latter, they caused the adoption of important amendments, especially the formal statement that the sentiment of the convention was not unanimous. Brown and Nicholson both wrote letters reviewing the convention's work: that of Brown was friendly; that of Nicholson was an incisive criticism of the address.

Notwithstanding the adoption by Congress of the compromise measures, the convention came together again in November, reduced both in the number of States represented and in the number of delegates. Brown, Pillow, Nicholson, and A. J. Donelson, Andrew Jackson's nephew, were again present as delegates, and again endeavored to stem the tide of radicalism. This time, however, the radicals were not conciliatory but were determined to see no good in the compromise. In opposition, the delegation of Tennessee, through Brown, Nicholson, and Pillow, brought in what were known as the Tennessee Resolutions, which urged that the compromise should be given a trial. These resolutions failed and the efforts of the Tennesseans to argue in their behalf were blocked by parliamentary tactics. The Tennessee Resolutions were printed, however, and exerted a wide influence.<sup>1</sup>

The difference between Brown and Nicholson now became bitter. The Union supported Nicholson's strictures upon the convention; the American expressed Brown's sympathies with the southern radicals, although it was careful not to uphold the doctrine of secession. This hostility between the two leading Democrats of Middle Tennessee was augmented by the desire of both men to be elected Senator.<sup>2</sup> The effect of the quarrel was to lose the State to the Whigs,<sup>3</sup> who consistently denounced the convention and fastened upon the Democrats the charge of plotting disunion. In the election of 1851 they wisely put forward, in their turn, a military hero, William B. Campbell, who, like Trousdale, had won laurels in the Mexican War. They obtained a majority in the assembly also and thus were enabled to send to Washington as Senator, in the place of Turney, James C. Jones, who had vanquished Polk in 1841 and 1843. "Lean Jimmy," as he was familiarly called, was a man of more ability than the traditional account of him would lead one to expect. Of late he had been much interested in railroad matters, rendering the State good service in the building of those lines to the Mississippi so necessary to the welfare of Tennessee. Originally a supporter of Clay as against Taylor, he had none the less worked actively for the party, and now had high political aspirations.

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<sup>1</sup> The convention in each session authorized the publication in pamphlet form of the journal of its proceedings. In addition the Nashville newspapers gave more or less full accounts of the work of each day. For further detail, see the references under note 5 ante.

<sup>2</sup> Johnson-Buchanan Letters, Dec. 13, 1850. Ibid., Mar. 31, 1851.

<sup>3</sup> Johnson-Buchanan Letters, Nov. 20, 1853.

But the Whigs were quarrelling, too. In the path of Jones's advancement was a bitter enemy. This was Meredith P. Gentry, a member of the House of Representatives—the only Whig member from Tennessee who had had long experience. In the celebrated contest for the speakership in 1849, it was Gentry for whom Toombs and his five bolting companions cast their votes. Later, according to Gentry's own statement, he was one of the group of seven, five Whigs and two Democrats, who had initiated the address which declared the finality of the Compromise of 1850, to which 44 signatures were finally appended. In March, 1851, he warned the Whig convention in Nashville of the unsound elements in both parties and predicted the disruption of both. He was devoted to the candidacy of Fillmore and, in 1852, especially in the congressional Whig caucus of April 9, he bitterly opposed the nomination of Scott. When on June 14, 1852, he spoke in the House of Representatives in reply to Stanly of North Carolina, he took the position of an excommunicated Whig, closing his speech with a passage which became famous in the political annals of Tennessee. "I will go home," said Gentry. "In a sequestered valley in the State of Tennessee there is a smiling farm, with bubbling fountains, covered with rich pasturage, and fat flocks, and all that is needful for the occupation and enjoyment of a man of uncorrupted tastes. I will go there and pray for 'Rome.'"<sup>1</sup>

But the Tennessee Whig organization accepted the nomination of Scott; and in the forefront of the Scott supporters stood James C. Jones. If Gentry's charges were true, Jones played a double game in 1852, hoping that there might arrive in the Whig national convention a deadlock and that he might have the same luck as that which fell to Polk in 1844. Failing in this, he strove for the Vice-Presidency.<sup>2</sup> The Democrats, too, had a candidate for that office in the person of Gideon J. Pillow. Andrew Johnson, in a private letter, expressed the opinion that if at the Democratic national convention the Tennessee delegation had unitedly worked for the nomination of Houston of Texas for the Presidency, Houston could have been nominated and elected. But the desire to secure the Vice-presidential nomination for Pillow or Brown rendered this impossible.<sup>3</sup>

When the presidential election took place in November, 1852, the Whig party went down in defeat, but Scott carried Tennessee. This

<sup>1</sup> Speech of Hon. M. P. Gentry, of Tennessee, on Presidential Candidates and Party Organization, delivered in the House of Representatives, June 14, 1852, Washington, 1852.

<sup>2</sup> Speech of M. P. Gentry, of Tennessee, vindicating his course in the late presidential election, delivered to his constituents at Franklin, Tenn., Nov. 20, 1852, Washington, 1853. Gentry's charge is supported by an authority of a very different sort, Andrew Johnson, who wrote to a friend that Jones, "since his arrival here, has been trying to play a bold game for either the first or the second place on the ticket, but without doubt has most signally failed. . . . Bell, Gentry, and Watkins were dead against him in Washington; Brownlow and Nelson and others at home." Andrew Johnson to D. P. Patterson, Apr. 4, 1852, Johnson MSS., Library of Congress.

<sup>3</sup> Andrew Johnson to S. Milligan, July 20, 1852. MS. in Library of Pennsylvania Historical Society.

was unfortunate for the Tennessee Democrats, as the State had thereby less claim on Pierce's administration with regard to Cabinet offices and patronage. The Whigs, Governor Campbell wrote, were "broken to pieces."<sup>1</sup> For personal reasons Campbell refused to run a second time. Among the other Whig leaders there does not seem to have been much eagerness to make the race for governor, but finally Gustavus A. Henry was put forward. On the Democratic side a curious situation developed. The Democratic leaders, it seems, determined to nominate Andrew Ewing, a Democrat with strong Whig connections, who had thereby accomplished the unusual success at the last congressional election of carrying for the Democrats the Nashville district, which was prevailingly Whig. But the majority of the convention had been in favor of Andrew Johnson of Greeneville in East Tennessee, and, moved, it is said, by a letter of Johnson's in which the latter shrewdly commended his interests to Ewing's keeping, Ewing withdrew from the contest and Johnson received the nomination.<sup>2</sup>

Thus there returned to State politics a figure unique in southern political history. In March, 1853, Andrew Johnson brought to a close 10 years of continuous service as the representative of the first district. In the assembly of 1851-2 the Tennessee Whigs took advantage of the reapportionment necessitated by the census of 1850, so to gerrymander East Tennessee as to make Johnson's district difficult, if not impossible for the Democrats to carry. If there was one man hated by the Whigs it was Andrew Johnson, but on this occasion they only succeeded—to use the familiar figure—in "kicking upstairs" the object of their scorn. Johnson, indeed, was not much more popular with the Democratic leaders within or without the State. Polk had early recognized his ability, but Johnson had bitterly fallen out with the President.<sup>3</sup> Other prominent Democrats, for example, Bayly of Virginia and Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, had been the subject of bitter attacks by Johnson. Nor in Tennessee was there any love lost between Johnson and A. V. Brown. Of the Tennessee leaders only two seemed to have kept in cordial relations with Johnson—George W. Jones, who continued in Congress, and A. O. P. Nicholson, who, with more discerning eye than the others, saw in Johnson possibilities of popular strength.

Johnson had consistently posed as the friend of the people, the enemy of aristocrats. In earlier days, in the State legislature, an energetic party fighter, he had opposed internal improvements, supported a plan for making a separate State out of East Tennessee, and had proposed the substitution of the "white basis" as the principle upon which the congressional districts should be apportioned

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<sup>1</sup> W. B. Campbell to David Campbell, Mar. 23, 1853. *Campbell Letters*.

<sup>2</sup> Nashville True Whig, Apr. 29, 1853; Nashville Union, Apr. 30, 1853.

<sup>3</sup> Diary of James K. Polk, II, 35-41.

within Tennessee. In Congress he had consistently opposed financial extravagance, and had moved amendments to the Constitution looking to the popular election of Senators, judges, and the President. He claimed the fatherhood of the Homestead bill and was certainly its most energetic supporter. But withal he was a regular Democrat, denouncing the abolitionists, standing out for States' rights, and dealing heavy blows at "Whiggery," as he called it. Now, in Tennessee this radical of the tailor's bench did what no one of the more aristocratic leaders of Middle Tennessee had been able to accomplish—as candidate for governor he twice carried Tennessee for the democracy. Johnson's victory of 1853 was largely a personal one and on local issues. The assembly was Whig and reelected John Bell to the Senate. But two years later in a much more exciting campaign Johnson was opposed by Meredith P. Gentry, the representative of a combination of Know-Nothings, Whigs, and temperance advocates. It was the issue of Americanism rather than the Kansas development which Johnson selected for his attack, and on this ground he won a victory no less remarkable than that of Henry A. Wise in Virginia. There is something humorous in the fact that Americanism should be the issue in Tennessee in 1855, for even in the towns of Memphis and Nashville Roman Catholics and foreigners were so few as certainly to cause no alarm. It is doubtful if Gentry really had any great enthusiasm for the American party, but over in East Tennessee there was a high prophet in the person of another individual no less unique than Johnson. If anyone would acquaint himself with the fullness of bitterness which can be obtained through the use of the pen, let him devote a few hours to the literary productions of him whom Andrew Johnson called "an hyena," the editor of the Knoxville Whig, William G. Brownlow.<sup>1</sup> Brownlow's newspaper, always loyal to John Bell, was now also devoted to the cause of the American party, and, in particular to the support of the Vice-presidential candidacy of Andrew J. Donelson, the nephew of Andrew Jackson, who had deserted his former Democratic affiliations. The most vigorous of his manifestos Brownlow reproduced in a book.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Of his own character Brownlow held a different view. Introducing himself through one of his books to the American people he modestly describes himself as follows: "I am known throughout the length and breadth of the land as the 'Fighting Parson'; while I may say, without incurring the charge of egotism, that no man is more peaceable, as my neighbors will testify. Always poor, and always pressed with security debts, few men of my section and of my limited means have given away more in the course of each year to charitable objects. I have never been arraigned in the church for any immorality. I never played a card. I never was a profane swearer. I never drank a dram of liquor until within a few years, when it was taken as a medicine. I never had a cigar or a chew of tobacco in my mouth. I never was in attendance at a theater. I never attended a horse race, and never witnessed their running, save on the fair grounds of my own county. I never courted but one woman, and her I married. I may be allowed to say," he continues, with *raiveté*, "that I have ever been, as I still am, quite a politician, though I have never been an office seeker nor an officeholder." *Sketches of the Rise, Progress, and Decline of Secession, with a Narrative of Personal Adventures among the Rebels, 1862, 18.*

<sup>2</sup> Brownlow, *Americanism Contrasted with Foreignism, Romanism, etc.* Nashville, 1856

In 1856 Andrew Johnson, too, aspired to nomination as a Vice-presidential candidate, and the fact that he was not put forward by the Tennessee delegation was not overlooked by Brownlow. Unfortunately for some of Johnson's later plans, he was not an original supporter of Buchanan, although he entered the canvass, and made speeches in favor of the party ticket.<sup>1</sup> Aaron V. Brown, whom Cave Johnson had long pressed upon Buchanan's notice, received the honor of a cabinet appointment, but died in office. In the State election of 1857 the Democrats were again successful and Isham G. Harris was elected governor. Harris came from the western district—an indication of the rising weight of that section in the scale of politics. Between Harris and Johnson, as in the older days between A. V. Brown and Johnson, there was little political sympathy. It is all the more remarkable, therefore, that through his strength with the people, and with the assembly, Johnson was able to compel his own election as Senator, for the term beginning in 1857, and that of Nicholson for the term which would begin in 1859. As the term of John Bell continued until 1859, Bell and Johnson were brought face to face in the Senate, where Johnson adopted the same snarling attitude that he had shown in his previous conflicts with political rivals. In Johnson's continued support of the Homestead bill, which by this time was directly opposed by the southern Democrats, it is possible to see the suggestion of an appeal to the democracy of the Northwest, and one is not surprised to find that, in 1860, there was an effort on the part of the supporters of Stephen A. Douglas to secure a combination with Johnson, in the support of the former.<sup>2</sup> But Johnson's whole rise to power had been on the basis of his loyalty, at least outwardly, to the Democratic Party of the South, and, moreover, we know from his letters that he had acquired, long before, a deep dislike of Douglas.<sup>3</sup> Hence it was that Johnson, hav-

<sup>1</sup> Johnson-Buchanan Letters, Aug. 24, 1856.

<sup>2</sup> J. Fowlkes to Andrew Johnson, May 19, May 28, 1860. MSS. in possession of Hon. A. J. Patterson, of Greeneville, Tenn.

<sup>3</sup> "Douglas, the candidate of the cormorants of our party and some few adjuncts from the other, is now considered as a dead cock in the pit unless some throe in the agony of political death should enable him to kill off his opponents, which is not likely to offer [obtain?]. He is a mere hotbed production, a precocious politician, warmed into and kept in existence by a set of interested plunderers [?] that would, in the event of success, disembowel the treasury, disgrace the country, and damn the party to all eternity that brought them into power. Their arms thrown about his neck along the street—reading pieces to him in the oyster cellar of a complimentary character which are to be sent off to some subsidized press for publication, then a drink, next a hough, hough—then some claim to be discussed by which they expect to practice some swindle on the Government. If you were here where you could see some of the persons engaged and the appliances brought to bear for the purpose of securing his election, you would involuntarily denounce the whole concern, a poor, miserable, vile banditti and much fitter to occupy places or cells in the penitentiary than places of state. I instinctively shrink from the thought of such ever being the case—it is too unnatural—it can never be." Andrew Johnson to D. T. Patterson, Apr. 4, 1852. Johnson MSS., Library of Congress.

ing brought about the election of Nicholson to the Senate in 1859, allowed the Democratic organization of Tennessee to present his own name to the Charleston convention, and to support him throughout many ballots. After the vicissitudes of that year he finally gave his adhesion to the Breckinridge-Lane ticket and made speeches in its behalf.

Meanwhile, the Whig leader, John Bell, so long overshadowed by Clay, and so often checkmated by the changes in the game of politics, led the forlorn hope of the Constitutional Union Party; and the large number of votes which that ticket received in the border States reveals the continuance of that conservatism which had appeared in the crisis of 1850, and which still clung to the hope of saving the Union. Within a few months the hand of a strange fate brought changes of bitter irony. John Bell, the apostle of the Union, wandered sadly with his people into the camp of the Confederacy. Parson Brownlow, the upholder of slavery, became the most violent enemy of that Confederacy which Bell had joined, while Johnson, more consistently perhaps, if his whole course be viewed, definitely threw in his lot with the Government of the Union, and returned ere long to the capital of the State of Tennessee, in the midst of a public sentiment which denounced him as a traitor. But the election of Lincoln and the secession of the cotton States mark the beginning of a new transitional period in Tennessee politics, which lies outside the field of this paper.

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XV. THE GENESIS OF THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT.

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By P. ORMAN RAY,  
*Professor in Trinity College.*

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## THE GENESIS OF THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT.

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By P. ORMAN RAY.

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The genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska act presents a striking illustration of the importance of a careful study of State politics in order to arrive at a solution of not a few problems in the history of national politics.

My theory of the genesis of this important piece of legislation stated very briefly is (1) that the act originated in western conditions, particularly in political conditions in Missouri; (2) that the immediate occasion for the passing of the act in 1854 is to be found in the Missouri senatorial campaign of 1853-1854, when Thomas H. Benton was seeking restoration to the United States Senate in the place of David R. Atchison; and (3) so far as any one individual can be regarded as responsible for the repeal of the Missouri compromise, that such circumstantial and direct evidence as has been found points very strongly to Senator Atchison of Missouri. I believe that we shall never arrive at a true explanation of the origin of this celebrated act so long as we keep our eyes glued on Stephen A. Douglas and are unable to see the possible influence of others.<sup>1</sup>

No theory of the genesis of this act is adequate which does not explain from the evidence at hand two essential points: (1) Why the passage of the act occurred in 1854, and neither sooner nor later; and (2) why the feature which repealed the Missouri compromise was added. A Nebraska bill without repeal of the Missouri compromise might have passed Congress in 1853. At least Douglas himself said in the Senate in March, 1853, that he knew there was a majority in favor of the bill which had passed the House, if only the bill could be brought to a final vote. It therefore becomes of the greatest importance to ascertain what had been happening between March, 1853, and January, 1854, which resulted in adding to the Nebraska bill the repeal of the Missouri compromise prohibition of slavery in the proposed territory.

During that period, and while Douglas was absent six months in Europe, the Wyandott Indians and the people of Iowa and Missouri

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<sup>1</sup> This theory, together with the evidence upon which it is based, is elaborated in my book, *The Repeal of the Missouri Compromise: Its Origin and Authorship*, Cleveland. The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1909; hereafter cited as Ray.

had become intensely and actively interested in the organization of Nebraska Territory, in the construction of a Pacific railroad across it, and in the question of slavery or freedom in the new territory. All of these factors are important elements in explaining the genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska act *minus* the repeal feature. They would serve equally well to explain the genesis of such an act after 1854. But the most important factor of all, in my judgment, because it seems to be the only one which serves to concentrate the force of all these other factors and to focus them in a demand for definite congressional action at a definite point of time, was the schism which had rent the Democratic Party in Missouri during the preceding decade, and which culminated in the Missouri senatorial campaign of 1853-1854. This factor seems to me to be the only one which is sufficient to account for the appearance of the Kansas-Nebraska act, *plus* its most distinguishing feature, early in the year of our Lord, 1854.

Since the year 1844 there had existed a bitter factional contest in the Democratic Party in Missouri. One faction, comprising the conservatives on the slavery question and those with free-soil sympathies, was led by Col. Thomas H. Benton. The other faction included the radical proslavery men, led by David R. Atchison and James S. Green, who looked to John C. Calhoun for inspiration. After several years of plotting and strife, the Atchison wing of the party succeeded in 1850 in preventing Benton's reelection to the Senate. According to the reckoning of his enemies, this defeat should have annihilated Benton politically, but herein they miscalculated. In tracing Benton's subsequent political career we find a clue which leads us straight toward what I am convinced is the true explanation of the Kansas-Nebraska act, with the section which repealed the Missouri compromise.

Benton's election to the House of Representatives in 1852 was merely an episode in his efforts to compass his restoration to the Senate in 1853-1854 as successor to the leader of the opposing faction, David R. Atchison. The same fury and vehemence and vituperation that had distinguished Benton's senatorial campaign in 1849 characterized his campaign in 1852. A hostile New Orleans newspaper<sup>1</sup> thus describes it:

He spared no public or personal denunciation. He exhausted every expletive of abuse. He ransacked the entire range of the English language for terms of scorn and derision. He spared no character. He wavered in no contest. He struck at everything and everybody, fiercely, powerfully, and with a rude grandeur of gigantic rage and hate. He was an angry Vulcan, forging and launching thunderbolts of hate.

<sup>1</sup> New Orleans Crescent, quoted in Jefferson Inquirer, Aug. 28, 1852; also in Ray, 69, n. 87.

In the few minutes at my disposal I can indicate only in the briefest way some of the steps which marked the metamorphosis of a State factional contest into an issue fraught with the most serious national consequences.

It was an important, if not the leading, part in Col. Benton's plan of campaign in 1853 so to associate the organization of Nebraska Territory and the construction of the railroad from St. Louis across Missouri to the Pacific that the people of Missouri should look upon the establishment of the territorial government as indispensable to the success of the railroad.<sup>1</sup> In the execution of this plan Benton grossly misrepresented Atchison as not only not favoring the railroad but as being positively hostile to it, and also as hostile to the organization of the territorial government in Nebraska; and, therefore, as acting in opposition to the most important interests of his constituents.

As a direct result, we find a great reawakening of interest in Nebraska Territory late in 1852 and throughout 1853 among the people of Missouri and Iowa and among the Wyandott Indians. Consequently, the attitude of Senator Atchison upon the Territorial question underwent a change in the winter of 1852-1853. He came to realize that the people of western Missouri in particular, his own immediate constituents, eagerly favored the early creation of a Territorial government. As a practical politician he saw that there was nothing for him to do but to accede to their wishes, notwithstanding his own previous opposition to the organization of Nebraska, due in part to the prohibition of slavery therein. Accordingly, when the Nebraska bill came before the Senate in March, 1853, he turned as graceful and as dignified a political somersault as was possible and indicated his willingness to support the bill in spite of the obnoxious compromise restriction.<sup>2</sup>

From Atchison's remarks in the Senate upon this occasion and from the letters of Abelard Guthrie,<sup>3</sup> the Wyandott delegate, written late in 1852, it was not difficult to forecast the attitude which Benton and Atchison would assume in case an issue arose which involved the retention or the repeal of the Missouri compromise as applied to the

<sup>1</sup> Although Benton, as early as 1849 and again in 1850, had introduced in the Senate two bills which embodied his pretentious plan for a great "central national highway" from the Mississippi to the Pacific, and had made two speeches thereon in the Senate, I have been unable to find any evidence of belief on the part of Benton that a territorial government for Nebraska was "indispensably necessary," as Prof. Hodder says, to the success of the Pacific railroad prior to his speech at Jackson, Mo., late in October, 1852. (See Ray, Chapter III.) The emphasis which Benton placed on this alleged indispensability seems to me to have been designed for campaign consumption in Missouri. Inasmuch as Prof. Hodder's theory, to be discussed later in this paper, rests very largely upon the assumption, without proof, that the territorial government was "indispensably necessary" to the Pacific railroad, I shall revert to the matter again. (See *post*, p. 267.)

<sup>2</sup> Congressional Globe, XXVI, 1111 ff.; quoted in Ray, 102 ff. See also Ray, 112 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted in Ray, 87 ff.

new territory. Upholding the power of Congress to exclude slavery from the territories, Benton would certainly oppose any attempt to repeal the old restriction. Denying the power of Congress in the premises, Atchison would be found vigorously supporting a direct or even an indirect repeal of that restriction; and, a fortiori, would he do so if his political existence seemed to depend upon it.

As soon as Congress adjourned in March, 1853, the Missouri senatorial campaign was vigorously renewed, and the organization of Nebraska Territory as a prerequisite to the construction of the Pacific Railroad, owing to Benton's tactics, became the all-engrossing issue. Benton soon visited the western counties of the State, which formed Atchison's "stamping ground," and found the inhabitants feverish to get across the river into the rich lands of Nebraska. In this eagerness Benton perceived an opportunity to make much-needed political capital for himself at the expense of his rival. Shortly thereafter he proclaimed the startling doctrine that Nebraska was then legally open to immediate settlement without the necessity of further action by Congress or by the Executive, and at the same time pledged himself to champion a Territorial bill at the next session of Congress. Thus he hoped to detach from Atchison and transfer to himself the political allegiance of those populous frontier counties.

Benton's disconcerting aggressiveness in declaring Nebraska legally open to settlement, as well as his misrepresentation of Atchison's attitude toward the Pacific Railroad, although in the end proving a boomerang, had the immediate effect of seriously weakening Atchison's position as a candidate and of compelling him to act upon the defensive, a situation relished by no politician who is opposed by a formidable antagonist. Indeed, the political situation throughout the summer and autumn of 1853 was full of difficulty for Atchison. In order to recover the ground lost as a result of Benton's unexpected maneuver, Atchison was not slow to see that he, too, must adopt, even at the risk of a charge of inconsistency, an aggressive Nebraska policy; but it must, of course, be one essentially different from that of Benton. In this crisis, to extricate himself from a most embarrassing position in which his very political existence seemed at stake, he boldly announced himself in favor of the organization of Nebraska, *but only upon the condition* that the ancient restriction upon slavery be repealed in order to permit his slaveholding constituents to enter Nebraska and raise hemp with the help of their slaves.

This was the Missouri political situation, briefly summarized, at the time when the Thirty-third Congress met in December, 1853. There can be no mistake that the most important issue between the warring factions in Missouri was nothing less than the retention or the repeal of the Missouri compromise. Since these issues related directly to subjects peculiarly within the scope of congress-

sional action, the contest was certain to reappear in one form or another at Washington, for there alone could the issues be finally determined. It seems highly improbable that Members of Congress who had been conspicuous in the increasingly acrimonious discussions in Missouri in the summer and fall of 1853 should abruptly drop all their personal animosities and discard their interest in the Nebraska question as soon as Congress convened. Not only the Missouri newspapers but also prominent newspapers of the East, both northern and southern, freely expressed the belief that all the questions connected with the Nebraska movement in Missouri would be transferred to the halls of Congress.<sup>1</sup>

At any rate, with Missourians, Iowans, and Indians all at work, the Nebraska question was certain to assume in the Thirty-third Congress an importance far greater than in any preceding session. In all probability it would have caused a renewal of the slavery agitation even if Senator Douglas had not been in Congress. Certain it is that the territorial question came before the Senate Committee on Territories, and Senator Douglas was thus compelled to take one side or the other of the issues championed by Atchison and Benton. He was obliged to act either with the conservative slavery-restrictionist element in the party or with the radical pro-slavery wing or else devise some middle ground upon which both factions could unite.

That Senator Atchison should seek to influence Douglas's decision was not unnatural but highly probable, especially since they were not only fellow-partisans but also close friends. It is not difficult to see how powerful an appeal Atchison could make for the incorporation into the Dodge Nebraska bill of some clause which should in effect repeal the old compromise restriction. It is not unfair to argue that Atchison's political necessity could have been so presented as to appear to be Douglas's great political opportunity. In the first place, by championing the repeal, Mr. Douglas would be assisting a political and personal friend in dire straits. Furthermore, he would be placing the southern Democracy under obligation to himself, and thus would materially increase his chances of obtaining the presidential nomination in 1856. The principle of popular sovereignty would afford ground upon which the rank and file of the factions in Missouri might unite with some semblance of harmony, since each faction there had but recently declared in favor of that method of deciding the "vexed" question; and this would enhance the popularity of the measure in other portions of the West. Ready at hand was a plausible justification for attaching the repeal feature to the bill, for Democratic newspapers had already interpreted the

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Ray, 179 ff.

compromise of 1850 as applicable to Nebraska.<sup>1</sup> Loyalty to that compromise, as thus interpreted, could be made a test of political orthodoxy in New York where also the party was "in distracted condition." To this basis for the repeal, moreover, objections from either of the two national parties would be forestalled by the doctrine of supersedure, for both parties stood committed to the finality of the compromise of 1850. If, in addition to all these considerations, it be conceded that Mr. Douglas was a sincere believer in the dogma of popular sovereignty as a cure for the slavery agitation, then it requires no abnormal imagination to conceive how effectually a personal and political friend could have made his appeal to the chairman of the Senate Committee on Territories so to shape the Nebraska bill as to meet the Missouri political situation. In a word, it might have been represented as a turning point in Douglas's political career.

At any rate, we all know what followed. Just how the plan embodied in the Kansas-Nebraska bill bore upon the old fight in Missouri is easily explained. After passing the Senate, the bill repealing the compromise came before the House, of which Col. Benton was then a picturesque member, and he was thus compelled to face a dilemma. If he supported the Nebraska bill with the repealing clause, he would go counter to his well-known free-soil opinions and sympathies, and, in consequence, he would lose the support of the Missouri restrictionists in the ensuing August legislative elections. If, on the other hand, he should oppose the bill, he would go counter to his recent and repeated pledges to bring about the immediate establishment of a territorial government, and consequently would be certain to lose the support of the populous pro-slavery counties on the western border, which he had taken such extraordinary pains to win over. Either course involved the loss of an important political following in his fight for restoration to the Senate. In the end, Col. Benton spoke and voted against the bill, thus doing, in the words of a Missouri newspaper editorial,<sup>2</sup> "all that his worst enemy could ask." His vote largely explains his defeat in the next senatorial election, but he doubtless derived a compensating satisfaction from the fact that Atchison also failed of reelection.

This, in greatly condensed outline, is my theory of the genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska act with its repeal feature. As to the relative

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Ray, 187 ff. Prof. Hodder dismisses the importation by Douglas into the Kansas-Nebraska bill of the doctrine that the Missouri compromise had been superseded by the principles of the compromise of 1850 (Jan. 20, 1854), as "verbal jugglery intended to cover his defeat." To this method of historical writing, I for one take exception. There is evidence which tends to prove that this doctrine of repeal by supersedure was not an invention of Douglas; that, on the contrary, there was a considerable, respectable, and influential portion of the Democratic Party which held that the compromise measures of 1850 had established a new principle to be followed in the creation of future territories; and that their views had been publicly expressed editorially in leading Democratic newspapers weeks before the appearance of the doctrine in the Senate. Prof. Hodder ignores this evidence.

<sup>2</sup> Editorial in the *Missouri Republican*, Mar. 14, 1854; quoted in Ray, 224.

importance of Atchison, Douglas, and Dixon in shaping the act. I am content to rest my conclusion on the probabilities of the case thus briefly outlined, in order to simplify our discussion by avoiding controversy over Atchison's own claims in the matter as well as over the testimony of Col. Parker, Francis P. Blair, and others, which is a stumblingblock and rock of offense to some: whereas to me that testimony seems to be corroborative and cumulative in its effect.<sup>1</sup>

The remaining portion of my remarks will be confined to an attempt to establish the unsoundness of Prof. Hodder's theory of the genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska act.

Prof. Hodder's paper on *The Genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska Act*<sup>2</sup> illustrates three not uncommon defects in historical writing, namely, (1) a tendency to attach to past events and discussions an importance, based upon subsequent developments, which is wholly out of proportion to that felt by most contemporaries, that is to say, by the general public. (2) The oft-noted and criticised tendency to write antebellum history chiefly from the pages of the *Congressional Globe* is also conspicuous; but since Prof. Hodder appears to rely mainly upon that source, I may perhaps be pardoned if I attempt to answer some of his arguments by appealing to the same source. (3) Equally prominent is the tendency of the special pleader plausibly to present all the evidence that supports his own theories and to overlook, if not to ignore, evidence which tends to establish a different conclusion. The specific points which seem to justify these three general criticisms will, I think, appear clearly if, passing over the introductory and irrelevant portions of the article, we analyze carefully the main assertions and arguments, together with the evidence or lack of evidence upon which they are based.

Prof. Hodder's main propositions, as I understand them, are (1) that the chief factor in the genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska act was the agitation for a transcontinental railroad;<sup>3</sup> (2) that Douglas was "above all other things interested in the railroad development

<sup>1</sup> See Ray, 230 ff. and Appendices C, D, and E; also MS. of Philip Phillips, quoted in McMaster, VIII, 195, n.

<sup>2</sup> "The Genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska Act," Wisconsin State Historical Society Proceedings, 1912; hereafter cited as Hodder.

<sup>3</sup> Hodder, 69. Prof. Hodder's statement (p. 70) that "the rivalry [over routes] was all the keener because it was supposed at that time that not more than one Pacific railway would ever be needed and that the first one constructed would remain the permanent highway across the continent," seems to be disproved by a careful reading of the Senate debates in the second session of the Thirty-second Congress over the Rusk Pacific railroad bill. For example, Seward, of New York, said: "It is idle to suppose that one road across this continent is to answer the purposes of trade and commerce perpetually or for any long time." Cong. Globe, XXVI, 766.

Prof. Hodder also exaggerates the necessity for a Pacific railroad via the South Pass. Douglas himself did not regard the South Pass as essential. On Feb. 19, 1853, he said in the Senate while speaking in support of the Rusk bill: "When I used the expression 'South Pass' in an illustration, I had not the slightest idea that there was any implication, directly or indirectly, in the bill that would indicate that as the location of the road. I will go further and say, as I can say, I do not believe under this bill that Gen.

of the West";<sup>1</sup> (3) that the creation of a territorial government in Nebraska was "indispensably necessary" to the construction of the Pacific railroad,<sup>2</sup> and that these two subjects "were coupled in Douglas's mind from the beginning of his national career";<sup>3</sup> (4) that his desire to promote western railroad interests, especially those of Chicago, was the controlling motive which induced him to champion the Kansas-Nebraska bill;<sup>4</sup> (5) that in order to insure the passage of that bill, by attracting to its support southern votes in Congress, Douglas, reluctantly and under pressure, added the clauses which repealed the Missouri compromise;<sup>5</sup> and (6) that Douglas can not fairly be charged with having been actuated chiefly by selfish ambition for the presidency.<sup>6</sup> With the last two propositions I am in general accord, but upon the first four I take issue with Prof. Hodder.

Prof. Hodder begins by saying that the Kansas-Nebraska act was the resultant of "four distinct elements."<sup>7</sup> Although each of these

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Pierce would locate it through that pass. And I will go further and say that I believe there are half a dozen passes through the mountains practicable for a railroad south of the South Pass, where it could be located, and that on a tolerably direct line, without touching any one of the States. I do not believe that the bill gives the slightest advantage either way in the location of the road. I believe that a central position will be selected under it, if it passes, not because I have any information, but simply because it is being left to the Executive to do justice to the North and to the South, and he will have a due regard to both sections. I disclaim any idea that the North is getting the slightest advantage under the terms here used." Cong. Globe, XXVI, 708.

In this connection it would be interesting to know the circumstances which led to the rescinding by the Illinois legislature of instructions to Illinois senators and representatives to support the bill of the preceding session, which made provision for the construction of both a northern and a southern road, mentioned by Douglas on the day of the remark quoted in the preceding paragraph. See Cong. Globe, XXVI, 714.

<sup>1</sup> Hodder, 71.

<sup>2</sup> Hodder, 72, 74. Prof. Hodder says (p. 72), "It was indispensably necessary that the territory through which the road was to be built be organized in order to provide means for building it by the sale of land and in order to provide both protection and business after the road should be built. Unless the northern territory could also be organized, the chance of securing a northern route was lost." Although it is essential to the validity of Prof. Hodder's theory that this indispensability be established, it should be noted that he produces no evidence to prove it. The assumption seems to me to be entirely unwarranted. (See ante, p. 267.) Certainly, in the lengthy Senate discussion of the Rusk Pacific railroad bill in 1853, in the course of which many members favorable and unfavorable to the bill took part, I think I am safe in saying that there is nothing which indicates at all conclusively that any Senator regarded the territorial government as in the least degree indispensable. As a matter of fact the subjects are not coupled in the Senate debate.

<sup>3</sup> Hodder, 76.

<sup>4</sup> Hodder, 71, 84.

<sup>5</sup> Hodder, 81, 85.

<sup>6</sup> Hodder, 85, 86.

<sup>7</sup> Hodder, 69. As a matter of fact, it was the resultant of five elements: the four which Prof. Hodder names—(a) the agitation for a transcontinental railway, (b) the question of slavery in the Territories, (c) the local demand in Missouri and Iowa for the organization of Nebraska Territory, and (d) the activity of the Wyandott Indians. These elements may be sufficient to explain the genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska act minus the repeal of the Missouri compromise restriction; but, to me at least, they do not seem sufficient to explain the genesis of that act plus the repeal, which is the most important feature of the act, although kept in the background in the paper under consideration. Neither are these elements sufficient to explain why the act and repeal came in the year 1854. We must, therefore, if our enumeration is to be complete, add a fifth element, namely, the dissensions in the Democratic Party in Missouri of nearly 10 years' standing.



elements is clearly distinguishable from the others, I can not agree with Prof. Hodder that they were "distinct." To me it seems perfectly clear that they acted and reacted upon one another in a most unmistakable manner.

Neither can I agree with his assertion that of these elements or factors the "agitation for a transcontinental railroad" was "the first and most important." We must remember that this agitation extended over a period of nearly 20 years, a period longer than that which has elapsed since the Spanish-American War, before Congress finally passed the necessary legislation for its construction. The genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska act fell in the first half of that long period when a priori it may fairly be presumed that there was much less public interest in the subject to warrant congressional action than in the years which just preceded the final legislation of 1862. Eight years elapsed after the enactment of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and then only after the Civil War had been in progress a year, before Congress felt justified in making the first definite provision for the actual construction of the road. I am not saying that the Pacific railroad project was not an important subject in 1853-1854, especially in certain sections and in some minds and with certain special interests. But it requires more evidence than Prof. Hodder has yet produced to prove that the subject had, in those years, become of sufficient general importance to justify us in calling it "the first and most important" element, "the mainspring,"<sup>1</sup> in the appearance and passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill.

This seems to be borne out in part (a) by my interpretation of Douglas's letter to Walker and Lanphier, his newspaper friends in Illinois, written in November, 1853, and which Prof. Hodder cites.<sup>2</sup> If the order of the topics mentioned in this letter is likely to come before Congress and the phraseology used is of any significance, one may, I think, fairly regard the Pacific railroad as the least important of the subjects which Douglas mentions. Characteristically, the first two subjects mentioned, and the ones which I think were probably "uppermost" in his mind, were (1) the distracted condition of the party and the importance of "consolidating its power and perpetuating its principles"; and (2) the mistakes of the admin-

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<sup>1</sup> In this connection the remarks of John Bell of Tennessee are important: "I am sorry to see an advantage taken of the interest excited by other business and questions before the Senate to defeat this measure. The resolution in relation to Cuba, Central America, to the Clayton and Bulwer Treaty, British Honduras, the Bay Islands, the Tehuantepec grant, and the Texas debt bill have each and all of them been magnified into subjects of far greater public interest than the construction of a railroad to the Pacific. In the midst of so many more interesting and exciting questions it is difficult to get Senators to give any attention to such a project as this. The truth is that this subject has not the advantage of the outside pressure of personal and individual interest and solicitude as some other measures have. All the influences of this kind are against it." Cong. Globe, XXVII, 227 (Feb. 17, 1853).

<sup>2</sup> This letter is printed in full in Ray, 185-186.

istration, especially in the distribution of the spoils, and his willingness to support the administration, nevertheless; but the difficulties ahead of it, he says, "*must* be met boldly and fairly." (3) There is a surplus revenue "*which must* be disposed of, and (4) the tariff reduced to a legitimate revenue standard." (5) "The river and harbor question *must* be met and decided." And finally he gets around to mention (6) the fact that the Pacific railroad will be "*a disturbing element,*" etc. Whether this order of topics and phraseology is of any significance or not, one thing is certain, it can not fairly be claimed from anything in this letter, written less than a month before Congress met, that Pacific railroad considerations were "*the mainspring*" to the movement for the organization of Nebraska Territory, a subject which, it should be noted, is entirely unmentioned in this letter.<sup>1</sup>

(b) It should be further noted in this connection that less than two years before the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act the subject of the Pacific railroad was not deemed of sufficient importance by any national party to be mentioned in its platform of 1852; and even in 1856, more than two years after the passage of the act, of which we are told that the mainspring was the Pacific railroad agitation, there is no mention of that subject in the Democratic platform or in the Whig platform.<sup>2</sup> In that year only the new Republican Party, the "progressive" party of that day, felt warranted in giving the Pacific railroad honorable mention in its national platform. It was not until 1860 that the subject had assumed sufficient importance in the estimation of Mr. Douglas's own party to find a place in the Democratic platform.

Passing to his second main proposition, we find Prof. Hodder asserting that "above all other things, Douglas was interested in the railroad development of the West." In support of this statement he cites (a) Douglas's well-known activity in procuring the land grant in 1850 for the Illinois Central; (b) his proposal of 1845, while a Member of the House, for land grants to the four middle-western States for a railroad from Lake Erie to the Missouri River; and (c) his bill of December, 1844, for the organization of Nebraska and Oregon Territories, which, according to Douglas's father-in-law, provided for a land grant to these Territories for a railway from Missouri to the Pacific. These last two bills are cited for the purpose of showing that the creation of a Territorial government for Nebraska

<sup>1</sup>"Had Nebraska and the Missouri compromise been uppermost in his [Douglas's] thoughts, he would have referred to the subject; for the letter was written in strict confidence to friends from whom he kept no secrets and before whom he was not wont to pose." Johnson, Stephen A. Douglas, 228.

<sup>2</sup>Prof. Hodder says (p. 84) that in 1856 "both parties declared in their platforms for a transcontinental road." The Whig and Democratic platforms as printed in Stanwood's History of the Presidency and in Cooper's American Politics contain no such declaration.

and the construction of a Pacific railroad "were coupled in Douglas's mind from the beginning of his national career."<sup>1</sup>

If this be true, what inference shall we draw from the fact that, so far as Prof. Hodder indicates, Mr. Douglas thereafter was silent on these important and so vitally related subjects for a period of over three years, from December, 1844, to March, 1848, during which period Asa Whitney, the John the Baptist of the Pacific railway movement, was going up and down the land not wholly unlike "the voice of one crying in the wilderness." Finally, in March, 1848, Mr. Douglas, then serving his first term in the Senate, broke his silence and introduced his second Nebraska bill. If this bill contained any evidence that the Territorial government and the Pacific railway were "coupled" in Douglas's mind, Prof. Hodder does not mention the fact. On the other hand, apparently the impulse resulting in the introduction of this second Nebraska bill came not from the State of Illinois but from Missouri, for, three months before Douglas introduced this bill, a Representative from Missouri and a Senator from Missouri had presented to Congress a memorial from the legislature of that State which argued for the organization of Nebraska Territory, but made no mention of the Pacific railroad. This memorial had been referred to Douglas's Committee on Territories, and not long thereafter appeared this second Nebraska bill. The following December (1848) Douglas introduced his third Nebraska bill and, at the same time, bills for the organization of Minnesota and New Mexico. Here again, if there is any evidence of the connection of the Territorial government and the Pacific railroad, Prof. Hodder does not mention it. Then there ensued a period of over four years during which Douglas did not introduce or report any bill for the organization of Nebraska.

In the meantime Douglas did introduce one bill which Prof. Hodder thinks has a tendency to prove Douglas's great interest in the Pacific railroad. In April, 1852, he introduced a bill "for the protection of the emigrant route" for a telegraph line and overland mail from the Missouri River to California and Oregon. But Prof. Hodder fails to give us Douglas's own explanation of how he came to introduce this bill at this particular time. With some show of impatience, it seems to me, Douglas declared that "Memorials upon memorials in piles, from all the western States" had been flowing in upon the Committee on Territories during this session of Congress, "memorials for the protection of the emigrant lines \* \* \* between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Ocean." At least one such memorial had come from Missouri, having been drawn up in Park-

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<sup>1</sup> The first Nebraska bill (1844) apparently originated not with Douglas, but with William Wilkins, Secretary of War, in his report submitted to Congress in November, 1844. (See House Executive Documents, 2 sess., 28 Cong., I, 124 ff; and Ray, 95 ff.)

ville on the western border of the State, and presented to the Senate by Senator Atchison a week before these remarks by Douglas. In spite of all this Western demand for the protection of the emigrant routes, Mr. Douglas could declare to the Senate: "I was not ambitious to come forward with a proposition of this kind."<sup>1</sup> A careful study of the debates over this bill<sup>2</sup> and over the Rusk Pacific Railroad bill of 1853 which was substituted for it in the Senate fails to disclose any distinguishing enthusiasm on Douglas's part for the railroad bill, or that there was any vital connection between the two measures in the mind of Douglas or of any other member of the Senate.

Another point which I wish to criticize is Prof. Hodder's reply to my objection that Douglas was not controlled by Pacific Railroad considerations or else he would have testified to the fact when defending himself either in Congress or upon the stump for his part in the repeal.<sup>3</sup> The reply of Prof. Hodder is that Douglas "could

<sup>1</sup> Cong. Globe, XXIV, pt. II, 1161, 1683-84.

<sup>2</sup> That this bill at its inception had no connection with the Pacific railroad question appears from Douglas's statement in the Senate: "It is an important bill, I admit, but it is important only for this reason: That we have no protection provided for the emigrants, travelers, and traders, and the mail carriers between the western settlements and the Pacific Ocean; and murders, robberies, and all sorts of aggressions are committed by the Indians upon our people while they are passing through the Indian territory. Some protection is due and necessary to those people . . . The only new principle introduced into this bill is that under it volunteers are to be raised to go and build these [military] posts of the materials along the line . . ." Cong. Globe XXIV, pt. II, 1684 (July 8, 1852). This is the burden of his entire argument for this bill. Several other speakers referred to the subject of the Pacific railroad, but in all of Douglas's remarks the following is, I think, the only allusion to the railroad: "Is there a man in this body who does not know that this Union can not exist unless we have some means, either this road [i. e., the military road] or a railroad, or some other means of communication with the Pacific?" *Ibid.*, 1762.

From Prof. Hodder's summary reference to this emigrant protection bill of 1852 and to the Rusk Pacific Railroad bill of 1853 one is easily led to infer that Douglas was chiefly responsible for the substitution of the railroad bill for the former by the select committee to which his bill had been referred at the opening of the second session of the Thirty-second Congress. I am unable to discover that Douglas was even a member of this select committee. Rusk, of Texas, was the chairman, and without doubt the moving spirit in the committee. Weller, of California said: "I know and I admit that the Senator from Texas has labored more assiduously than any Senator on this floor in the preparation of this bill. I know that all his energies—and great they are—have been devoted to accomplish this great national work, and that the section of the Union from which I come owes him a deep debt of gratitude for the friendly interest he exhibits in it." Cong. Globe, XXVI, 774 (Feb. 22, 1853).

Of the two bills, Douglas was more interested in that for the protection of the emigrant route, for which the Rusk bill had been substituted. This will appear from a careful study of the debates upon the two measures. It is significant that two or three days after debate upon the railroad bill closed Douglas revived his bill to protect the emigrant route by offering it in modified form as an amendment to the Army appropriation bill, and it passed the Senate in this form, although later it was stricken out in conference. This bill could not have passed the Senate had any Senator believed that it had any vital bearing upon the route of the railroad. Senator Bradbury, of Maine, had opposed the emigrant protection bill at the preceding session upon the specific ground that it was a measure "that would embarrass and probably defeat the railroad by absorbing the means necessary for that purpose;" and John Bell opposed Douglas's rider to the Army appropriation bill, saying, "it will retard a greater improvement—a railroad to the Pacific." See Cong. Globe, XXIV, pt. III, 1763; *Ibid.*, XXVI, 845; and Senate Journal, 2 sess., 32 Cong., 242 (Feb. 25, 1853).

<sup>3</sup> Hodder, 71, 85-86; Ray, 242.

not openly favor either a Chicago or a St. Louis terminal without losing support in one section [of Illinois] or the other," meaning the northern section, tributary to Chicago, or the southern section, tributary to St. Louis. In other words, the Kansas-Nebraska bill, with its repeal of the Missouri compromise, was a cleverly devised scheme to benefit Chicago at the expense of southern Illinois. If this was the true purpose of the bill, Prof. Hodder is quite right in his reply: such a purpose Douglas could not, of course, avow publicly, because it could be made to appear strangely like robbing Peter to pay Paul, a very reckless act of grand larceny for any politician to attempt in the arena of national politics. But to my mind this reply is wholly inadequate, as is the main contention underlying the reply, namely, that the act was primarily designed for the benefit of Chicago interests. In the first place, the reply is merely an unsupported assertion and a deduction from premises the insufficiency of which I am trying to indicate. Furthermore, if the reply gives us the real reason for Douglas's silence it belittles the political keenness and perspicacity of Douglas's numerous political opponents. If the existence of this subterranean motive is so perfectly clear to Prof. Hodder 60 years after the event, and without any direct contemporary evidence, is it reasonable to suppose that its existence could have escaped exposure in the debates in Congress, on the stump, or in the newspapers in those days when Douglas said, if my recollection is correct, that he could travel from Washington to Chicago by the light of his own burning effigies; or that it could have escaped the notice of all of our historians who have been over this period so carefully? Prof. Hodder unfortunately does not present in his article a scintilla of contemporary testimony, direct or hearsay, to support his reply to my objection.<sup>1</sup>

Over against the lack of evidence of distinguishing interest or enthusiasm on the part of Douglas in either Nebraska Territory<sup>2</sup> or the Pacific Railroad, let us set the evidence of such activity and interest coming from the State of Missouri. The fourth Nebraska bill was introduced in the House by Willard P. Hall, of Missouri, in December, 1851; and, in July, 1852, Senator Atchison, of Missouri, presented the resolutions adopted at a meeting of citizens

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<sup>1</sup> Although Prof. Hodder takes exception to my claim that the Senate vote of March, 1853, on the Nebraska bill indicates that the opposition to the bill was connected with the choice of route for the Pacific Railroad, he comes around to substantially the same conclusions, namely, that "the situation was too complex to render it possible to interpret the vote from any single point of view" (p. 79).

<sup>2</sup> This seeming lack of interest in Nebraska Territory on the part of Douglas is all the more surprising in view of the fact that in the first session of the Thirty-second Congress (December, 1851), several petitions from inhabitants of his own State, as well as of Indiana, for the organization of Nebraska Territory were presented to the Senate, some of them by Douglas himself, and were referred to his Committee on Territories. (Senate Journal, 190, 330, 345, 478.)

in Parkville, on the western border of Missouri, asking for the early organization of Nebraska for the protection of the emigrant route, but making no reference to the Pacific Railroad. Again, in December, 1852, Mr. Hall, of Missouri, reintroduced his Nebraska bill (called the Richardson bill by Prof. Hodder), which was the first of the series of Nebraska bills to pass either House of Congress. It is in the discussion of this bill in the House in February, 1853, that we have the two incidental references of Hall, of Missouri, and Richardson, of Illinois, to an opposition to the bill based upon Pacific Railroad considerations. When isolated, these remarks seem to have the significance attached to them, I admit; but when read carefully along with the entire context, there seems to me to be little, if any, justification for the importance which has been attached to them.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, it should be noted that the Nebraska bill of the Thirty-third Congress, which ultimately passed as the Kansas-Nebraska act, was not introduced by Douglas, but by Senator Dodge, of Iowa, and in the House by Mr. Miller, of Missouri.

Prof. Hodder seems to be deeply impressed by the activity of the Iowa people, especially Senator Dodge,<sup>2</sup> and properly so. Even before the Hall-Richardson bill had passed the House in February, 1853, Senator Dodge, apparently dissatisfied with the inactivity of the Committee on Territories, seems to have attempted to prod that committee into activity by introducing a resolution early in 1853, which was adopted, actually instructing the Committee on Territories "to inquire into the expediency of a territorial government for . . . Nebraska."<sup>3</sup>

On the other hand, Prof. Hodder seems strangely blind in his article to evidence of similar activity with respect to obtaining land grants for railways on the part of Senator Atchison of Missouri. The latter's record in Congress shows quite as much active and efficient interest in obtaining such grants for railroads across Missouri, as preliminaries to the transcontinental road, as the record of the Senators from Illinois and Iowa. The very year in which

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<sup>1</sup> Prof. Hodder is correct in saying that I erroneously state that Hall's remarks are the only ones in which reference is made to the subject of the Pacific Railroad in the House debates on the Nebraska bill in 1853 (p. 78, n.). I overlooked the brief allusion to the subject by Richardson, of Illinois, which, however, Prof. Hodder erroneously says that I quote (Ray, 241). He also erroneously quotes, as having been made by Hall, the remark which Richardson made (p. 78). The error is immaterial, however.

<sup>2</sup> Mention is also made of the bill introduced by Senator Jones, of Iowa, in March, 1852, and amended by Senator Dodge, providing for a land grant to aid in the construction of two railroads across the State of Iowa, apparently as preliminaries to the construction of the Pacific road.

<sup>3</sup> This fact is not mentioned by Prof. Hodder, nor does he mention the fact that active interest among the people of western Iowa in the Nebraska question in 1853 seems to be directly traceable to the interest and activity which had previously developed in Missouri and among the Wyandotts. The earliest evidence of Iowa interest which I have been able to find appears in October, 1853, when Hadley D. Johnson was elected Territorial Delegate. Senator Dodge's visit to western Iowa occurred the following month. (See Hadley D. Johnson's statement, quoted in Ray, 175 ff.)

Douglas procured the land grant for the Illinois Central, Senator Atchison had introduced bills which subsequently became laws, providing for land grants to aid in the construction of a railway from St. Louis to the western limits of Missouri; and even before that, Atchison had introduced bills which became laws, providing for a land grant for a railroad from Hannibal to St. Joseph in Missouri. I believe that it is possible to cite as much evidence of legislative activity on the part of Atchison connected with the construction of preliminary sections of a transcontinental system as in the case of any other Member of Congress before 1854.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, in Atchison's case the success of railroad legislation, especially in 1853 and 1854, was essential to the maintenance of his political influence at home. About this last point there can be no mistake; there is no need for conjecture or mere assertion; the evidence is indubitable and unimpeachable. Atchison thus had a direct personal interest and motive in promoting Nebraska and Pacific railway legislation which has not yet been established in the case of Douglas.

It is in his treatment of the events of 1853 and 1854 that the weaknesses of Prof. Hodder's article as a piece of special pleading are perhaps most conspicuous. In the first place, I do not think that it is an unfair, but rather the obvious, interpretation of what Prof. Hodder says about the visit of Col. Manypenny, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to the Nebraska country in the summer of 1853,<sup>2</sup> to say that the statement seems calculated to convey the impression that the commissioner's visit was in some way unexplained, intimately connected with the choice of the route for the Pacific Railroad, and that his return without having negotiated any treaties of cession with the Indians was part of a conspiracy to rush through the choice of a southern route, in order to prevent which Douglas felt that "if anything was to be done to prevent it, it must be done quickly"; ergo, his support in the following winter of the Nebraska bill plus the repeal of the Missouri compromise.<sup>3</sup> No evidence or authority is cited in

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<sup>1</sup> See Ray, 77-80, and footnotes.

<sup>2</sup> Hodder, 80.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 80. For Prof. Hodder's further assumption that Douglas blocked the building of the southern road, "which in 1853 was upon the eve of accomplishment," I can find no warrant. Where evidence may be found to justify this assertion, Prof. Hodder nowhere indicates. Yet, in order to explain why the Kansas-Nebraska act came in 1854, it is essential for him firmly to establish this point. In the Senate debate on the Rusk bill in 1853 I am unable to find the slightest ground for the assertion. That bill, which was discussed at length, did not fix upon any route, but left the choice to the incoming President after the necessary surveys, for which the bill carried an appropriation. For this very reason not a few Senators supported the bill who would have opposed it had it specified any route for the railroad. Douglas himself supported the bill. (See ante, p. 267.)

The surveys which Prof. Hodder mentions (pp. 78-79) were not submitted to Congress until 1855. If Douglas was excited in the winter of 1853-54 by the fear of a "snap" selection of the southern route, his fears were groundless. A simple inquiry at the proper office in Washington would have elicited the fact that the surveys would not be ready for that session of Congress.

support of this cavalier treatment of Manypenny's visit to Nebraska. If we may assume that in his subsequent report<sup>1</sup> Col. Manypenny told the truth—and his veracity has never, so far as I am aware, been impeached—the reason given for his failure to negotiate treaties had no connection whatever with the southern route. On the contrary, the commissioner distinctly states that his failure was due to the excitement stirred up among the Indians by reason of Benton's extraordinary claim, made in his campaign in 1853 to defeat Atchison for reelection to the Senate, that Nebraska was then legally open to settlement by white people without the necessity of preliminary treaties of cession on the part of the Indians or of any act of Congress establishing a territorial government.

From the little that Prof. Hodder says of this senatorial campaign in Missouri one might infer that it was a purely one-sided, *ex parte*, Bentonian affair in which Benton was running upon a platform "of a Missouri terminal for the Pacific Railway and the immediate opening of Nebraska to settlement in order to secure it [the Missouri terminal]." He has nothing whatever to say about the equally vigorous and spirited campaign that Atchison was conducting for his own reelection nor of his pledges on the stump and in the press to support a Nebraska bill which should accomplish, for the benefit of his slave-holding constituents in western Missouri, exactly what the Kansas-Nebraska act accomplished. All this was taking place in Missouri while Mr. Douglas was enjoying himself, let us hope, on a six months' European trip, during which time the question of a Territorial government for Nebraska, the question of slavery in the new Territory, Missouri's interest in the route of the Pacific Railway, and the interest of the Wyandott Indians therein had all become inextricably involved with the political fortunes of Atchison as well as Benton.

Prof. Hodder also makes the unsupported assertion that "The organization of Nebraska was not needed by the westward movement, as there were still in Missouri thousands of acres of unoccupied land; but it was indispensable to a Missouri terminus for the Pacific Railroad."<sup>2</sup> Now, it may be true that the organization of Nebraska was not needed, for the reason given by Prof. Hodder, but there is evidence tending to prove that the people of Missouri thought and claimed that it was needed by the "westward movement." Prof. Hodder can not have read carefully the well-known book of J. Madison Cutts, the proud father-in-law of Douglas, which he cites as an authority upon other points, or else he would have discovered this passage, purporting to come from Douglas

<sup>1</sup> See House Executive Documents, 1 sess., 33 Cong., pt. I, 243 ff, 269 ff; quoted in part in Ray, 154, and notes.

<sup>2</sup> Hodder, 74.



himself, respecting the necessity for the organization of Nebraska Territory. Please observe the prominence here given to political conditions in Missouri and also the statement respecting the purpose of Col. Manypenny's visit to the Nebraska Indians. The passage referred to is as follows:

In the meantime [1844-1853] the passion of the western people for emigration had become so aroused that they could no longer be restrained; and Col. Benton, who was a candidate in Missouri for reelection to the Senate in 1852 and 1853, so far yielded to the popular clamor as to advise the emigrants who had assembled in a force of fifteen or twenty thousand on the western border of Missouri, carrying their tents and wagons, to invade the territory and take possession, in defiance of the Indian intercourse laws and of the authority of the Federal Government, which, if executed, must inevitably have precipitated an Indian war with all those tribes.

When this movement on the part of Col. Benton became known at Washington, the President of the United States dispatched the Commissioner of Indian Affairs [Col. Manypenny] to the scene of excitement, with orders to the commanding officer at Fort Leavenworth to use the United States Army in resisting the invasion if he could not succeed in restraining the emigrants by persuasion and remonstrances. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs succeeded in procuring the agreement of the emigrants that they would encamp on the western borders of Missouri until the end of the next session of Congress, in order to see if Congress would not in the meantime by law open the country to emigration. When Congress assembled at the session of 1853-54, in view of this state of facts, Mr. Douglas renewed his [sic] Nebraska act, which was modified, pending discussion, by dividing into two Territories, and became the Kansas-Nebraska act. From these facts you can draw your own conclusions whether there was any necessity for the organization of the Territory and of congressional action at that time.<sup>1</sup>

We now come to the question, Was force or persuasion used upon Douglas to accomplish the repeal of the Missouri compromise? And if so, who employed this force or persuasion? Prof. Hodder says that "Douglas did not originally intend to repeal the Missouri compromise, but having made one concession he made a second, and then was forced to make a third and a fourth," referring, of course, to the mutations which the bill underwent in the Senate, and that Douglas "yielded to pressure."<sup>2</sup> In this last statement Prof. Hodder is quite right; but it is his answer to the natural and unavoidable question, whence came this pressure, to which I take exception. He asserts in a footnote that "it was Dixon who forced direct repeal,"<sup>3</sup> and later on he asserts that Douglas's "hand was further forced by Dixon's motion for direct repeal of the Missouri compromise."<sup>4</sup> This

<sup>1</sup> J. Madison Cutts, *A Brief Treatise upon Constitutional and Party Questions*, 90-91; quoted in Ray, 163-164, n. 128. See also Atchison's speech in the Senate, March, 1853, *Cong. Globe*, XXVI, 1111 ff.; quoted in Ray, 102 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Hodder, 81. Douglas himself afterwards admitted this in a speech at the Illinois State Agricultural Fair in October, 1854, when he said, "I was no volunteer in this matter. It devolved upon me as a duty." Ray, 200.

<sup>3</sup> Hodder, 73.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 81.

is all that Prof. Hodder has to say upon this important point, except that in a footnote he seems unwilling to concede that by any possibility, still less any probability, this pressure could have come from Senator Atchison of Missouri.<sup>1</sup>

In other words, Prof. Hodder claims that a Whig Senator from a State which apparently was not peculiarly interested in the Pacific Railroad or in the Territorial question could have forced Douglas to a course of action which a Senator belonging to Douglas's own party and coming from a State where the Nebraska and allied questions had been prominent issues for months previous could not accomplish. I am perfectly willing to concede that the Dixon pressure—perhaps persuasion would be a better term—may have had some weight with Douglas, for there is some evidence tending to prove that. But from this admission, it does not follow that pressure or persuasion could not have come from other sources also, particularly from Atchison, who was a friend of both Douglas and Dixon.<sup>2</sup> Leaving entirely out of consideration any subsequent claims made by Atchison, whether drunk or sober, is there anything unreasonable or even improbable in the suggestion that pressure or persuasion coming from a personal friend and a fellow partisan who was fighting for his political existence should have been quite as effective with Douglas as any pressure that might have come from a Whig Senator serving the unexpired term of Henry Clay? In this case, the probabilities are supported by evidence, irrespective of Atchison's own claims, which is not impeached by Prof. Hodder, nor even mentioned by him.<sup>3</sup>

But, says Prof. Hodder in a footnote, "Atchison was allied with the Calhoun wing of the Democratic Party and would not have fathered a bill which assumed popular sovereignty."<sup>4</sup> It is true that Atchison was allied with the Calhoun wing of the party; I will go further and say that for years he had been one of the bright and shining leaders of that wing of the party in Missouri. But Prof. Hodder's assertion assumes that a practical politician, fighting for his political existence, did not modify his position in order to win reelection and to satisfy the demands of his slaveholding constituents.<sup>5</sup> This is precisely what Atchison did, and for the inconsistency he was vehemently denounced by his enemies in Missouri. Nevertheless, under the circumstances existing there, it was the only course left for him to take in the face of Benton's disconcerting tactics in 1853. His inconsistency was rendered less damaging than one might suppose by his being able to plant himself squarely upon the resolu-

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<sup>1</sup> Hodder, 73-74, note.

<sup>2</sup> See Ray, 273.

<sup>3</sup> See Ray, Chs. VII and VIII.

<sup>4</sup> Hodder, 73-74.

<sup>5</sup> See Ray, 112 ff.

tions adopted by the Missouri Legislature of 1845, wherein the principle of popular sovereignty had been formally indorsed, as well as upon similar resolutions more recently adopted by numerous popular meetings in Missouri. The evidence that this change of attitude on the part of Atchison actually took place is incontrovertible, although ignored by Prof. Hodder.<sup>1</sup>

But what was the ultimate purpose in Douglas's yielding to pressure? Prof. Hodder answers, and I agree with him so far, that "His object was to clearly secure the organization of the Territory at any cost,"<sup>2</sup> and that "he yielded to pressure to save the party" which was "in distracted condition." Further on he tells us, and again I concur, that Douglas was "an opportunist in politics."<sup>3</sup> Now why does not Prof. Hodder tell us where the party stood in peculiar need of salvation, where it was in a peculiarly "distracted condition," and where lay Douglas's greatest opportunity to play the part of "an opportunist in politics"? Had these questions been answered from the evidence in the case, we should have been informed that in New York and Missouri the Democratic Party was rent with dissensions as in no other States in the Union; that in New York we find clear-cut enunciations in the Democratic press of the doctrine of supersedure applied to Nebraska some weeks before Douglas proclaimed it in the Senate; that in Missouri, Atchison and Benton had been waging, on the stump and in the press during the summer and fall of 1853, perhaps the bitterest political campaign that has even been waged in American State politics; that the leading issues in this campaign related to the organization of Nebraska, the permission or prohibition of slavery therein, and the Pacific Railway—all of them subjects within the peculiar province of Congress to consider and determine, and in which the people of Missouri appear to have been more generally interested than the people of any other State, not excepting Iowa. Why does not Prof. Hodder tell us that during this campaign Atchison had repeatedly given pledges to his slaveholding constituents, who were eager to enter Nebraska with their slaves, to endeavor to bring about the repeal of the old restriction upon slavery in that Territory at the opening of the Thirty-third Congress; and further, that the form in which the repeal of that restriction was finally consummated fitted in exactly with the political needs of Atchison at just this time; that the method provided for the settlement of the slavery question in the new Territory harmonized perfectly with the method formally recommended to Congress by the Missouri Legislature and upon which Atchison had firmly planted himself in 1853; that Missouri newspapers early in 1854 saw the

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<sup>1</sup> See Ray, Ch. VI.

<sup>2</sup> Hodder, 85.

<sup>3</sup> Hodder, 82.

direct connection between this early expression of the Missouri Legislature on the subject of slavery and the provisions in the pending Kansas-Nebraska bill; that the Washington correspondents of the principal newspapers in Missouri and in the East perceived and repeatedly called the attention of their readers to the bearing which the various changes in the Nebraska bill would have upon the contest going on in Missouri?<sup>1</sup> These are facts which are not disproved by anything contained in Prof. Hodder's article; indeed, to establish his main propositions he is obliged to ignore them. But surely, if anywhere, here in Missouri existed an ideal situation for one who was "an opportunist in politics."

For the foregoing reasons, I find myself unable to extend a more cordial welcome to this new theory of the genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska act. In a word, the theory is inadequate to explain why the repeal of the Missouri compromise was added to the act, or why the passage of the act occurred in 1854, and neither sooner nor later. It can be established only by producing new evidence or by ignoring a large amount of evidence supporting a different theory. It is of course quite possible that in time evidence will be discovered which will supply all the deficiencies which I have pointed out. My contention now is merely that as Prof. Hodder has presented his case, we must return a Scotch verdict, "Not proved."

It seems to me that Prof. Hodder took a much more defensible position when, in reviewing my book in "The Dial,"<sup>2</sup> he said—

The question as to what was Douglas's motive remains very much the same as before. It is necessarily a matter of pure conjecture, since there is no particle of [direct] evidence bearing upon it. His primary purpose probably was to secure the success of the bill, since the fate of the Richardson [Hall] bill had shown that Nebraska could not [?] be organized under the Missouri restriction.<sup>3</sup> His most probable secondary purpose seems to have been to compromise opposing opinions in his own party with respect to slavery in the territories.

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<sup>1</sup> See Ray, Chs. VII and VIII.

<sup>2</sup> Issue of Sept. 1, 1909, 120 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Contra: The passage of the Hall (Richardson) bill in the House, 1853, and Douglas's remarks in the Senate to the effect that he knew the bill would pass if it could be brought to a vote. I have not taken pains to verify Prof. Hodder's assertions with respect to Douglas's interest in Pacific Railway legislation *after* the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act. Until supported by other than inferential evidence, they have no tendency to prove Douglas's great interest in the Pacific Railroad *before* 1854, whatever the extent of his interest may have been after that date. May it not be that Douglas's apparent interest in the Pacific Railroad during and after 1854 was the effect, not the cause, of the Kansas-Nebraska movement? At any rate it would be interesting to follow up this suggestion.

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XVI. ASIATIC TRADE AND AMERICAN OCCUPATION OF THE  
PACIFIC COAST.

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By ROBERT G. CLELAND,  
*Professor in Occidental College.*

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## ASIATIC TRADE AND THE AMERICAN OCCUPATION OF THE PACIFIC COAST.

By ROBERT G. CLELAND.

“On all great subjects,” says Walter Bagehot, quoting from Mill, “much remains to be said.” Certainly this is true with regard to the westward expansion of the American people, a movement which, forming the characteristic feature of our national life, was the product of many complex and diverse motives. In the present paper an attempt is made to show the influence of one of these motives, namely, the desire to secure control of Asiatic trade upon the acquisition of Oregon and California. Owing to limitations of space the treatment of the subject is confessedly inadequate, and should be regarded more as a general survey than as a finished treatise.

If we look first at the occupation of Oregon, we shall find that American interest in that Territory owed its very beginning to commercial motives.<sup>1</sup> Thomas Jefferson, whose far-sighted wisdom began the trans-Mississippi westward movement, throughout his long life cherished a desire to secure a share of oriental trade for the United States. With this object in view he encouraged the somewhat chimerical but none the less heroic scheme of John Ledyard to journey eastward from Paris to the northwest coast and from there to explore a way across the continent to the American settlements, thus opening an overland route for the transportation of the merchandise of China.

Some 10 years later, when engaging the services of André Michaux on behalf of the American Philosophical Society for the proposed explorations of the regions west of the Mississippi, Jefferson showed that his interest in the idea of Ledyard had not abated and that the primary purpose of the Michaux enterprise was the discovery of the suggested route for eastern commerce. Michaux was given permission to disregard all instructions concerning the conduct of the expe-

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<sup>1</sup> In this discussion no attempt whatever is made to describe the actual commerce which American merchants carried on with the Orient. Their first acquaintance with the Pacific Northwest and California was due to the fur trade from those regions to China. This continued to be a most lucrative enterprise until well along in the nineteenth century, when other and more ordinary forms of commerce took its place.

dition, "except, indeed, what is the first of all objects," as Jefferson wrote, "that you seek for and pursue that route which shall form the shortest and most convenient communication between the higher parts of the Missouri and the Pacific Ocean."<sup>1</sup>

The same purpose also constituted the principal motive for the explorations of Lewis and Clark. "The object of your mission," ran Jefferson's instructions to Lewis, "is to explore the Missouri River and such principal streams of it as by its course and communication with the waters of the Pacific Ocean may offer the most direct and practical water communication across the continent for the purpose of commerce."<sup>2</sup> As Benton afterwards said, "Jefferson thus was the first to propose the North American road to India and the introduction of Asiatic trade on that road."<sup>3</sup> Benton might have added that Jefferson thus was the first to bring about the exploration of Oregon and prepare the way for the American advance to the Pacific.

The first settlement in Oregon, like its exploration, had its beginning in oriental trade. In later years, giving his reason for the establishment of Astoria, Astor wrote that he desired it "to serve as a place of depot [deposit] and give further facilities for conducting a trade across this continent to that river [the Columbia], and from there . . . to Canton in China, and from thence to the United States."<sup>4</sup>

In 1818 when the agitation for the occupation of the regions around the Columbia began to assume considerable proportions, the influence of Asiatic trade becomes even more important. The chief objection to the treaty of joint occupation with Great Britain was the strategic position of Oregon relative to the Orient. And when Floyd, as chairman of the House Committee on the Occupation of the Columbia River brought in his report, he was careful to lay emphasis upon this point.

From every reflection [he said] which the committee have been able to bestow upon the facts connected with this subject, they are inclined to believe the Columbia, in a commercial point of view, a position of the utmost importance; the fishing on that coast, its open sea, and its position in regard to China, which offers the best market for the vast quantities of furs taken in those regions, and our increasing trade throughout that ocean, seems to demand immediate attention.<sup>5</sup>

Elsewhere in the report, following Jefferson's idea, Floyd outlined a plan for a route from the Atlantic to the Pacific by making use of

<sup>1</sup> Writings of Thomas Jefferson, Ford ed., VI, 158-161.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., VIII, 194. The same idea was emphasized in practically all of the letters from Jefferson to Lewis touching the expedition.

<sup>3</sup> Benton, *Thirty Years' View*, I, 14.

<sup>4</sup> Astor to Adams, Jan. 4, 1823. *American State Papers*, Miscellaneous, II, 1009.

<sup>5</sup> *Annals of Congress*, XXXVII, 955-956.



the waterways of the continent and constructing a road from the headwaters of the Missouri to those of the Columbia. This road he believed could be built by 20 men in 10 days. A final suggestion was offered that an immediate settlement of Chinese colonists be made in Oregon to hold the territory until the arrival of sufficient Americans to displace them.

When this report was politely but effectually killed by an incredulous Congress, the interests of Oregon passed into the hands of a small group of western Senators and Representatives one of whose leaders was Thomas H. Benton. The motives of Benton in advocating the occupation of Oregon were numerous. His chief purpose, however, is best expressed in the following extract from one of his public addresses near the close of his political career. After tracing the historical development of the idea of a transcontinental route for Asiatic commerce, going back indeed to the very early days of French and Spanish colonization, Benton continued:

About 30 years ago I myself began to turn my attention to this subject and conceived the plan of the establishment of a route extending up the Missouri River and down the Columbia. I followed the idea of Mr. Jefferson, La Salle, and others, and I endeavored to revive attention to their plans. . . . I believed that Asiatic commerce might be brought into the Mississippi Valley along that line and wrote essays to support that idea. The scope of these essays was to show that Asiatic commerce had been the pursuit of all western nations from the time of the Phoenicians down to the present day—a space of 3,000 years; that during all this time this commerce had been shifting its channel, and that wealth and power followed it and disappeared upon its loss; that one channel more was to be found—a last one, and our America its seat. . . . Occupied with this idea I sought to impress it upon others. Looking to a practical issue I sought information of the country and of the mountains from all that could give it . . . and the results were most satisfactory.<sup>1</sup>

The final contest over the Oregon question from 1842 to 1846 brought out afresh the important part Asiatic trade had in quickening American interest in securing the territory. Frémont, having found that the mythical Buena Ventura River, supposed to flow from the Salt Lake to the Pacific, was nonexistent, laid new emphasis upon holding the Columbia as the only feasible continental route.<sup>2</sup> Calhoun, while opposing the abrogation of the treaty of joint occupation, agreed with Benton's estimate of the importance of the territory.

A vast market in China and India will be created, and a mighty influence will be given to commerce [he declared]. No small portion of the share that will fall to us . . . is destined to pass through the ports of the Oregon

<sup>1</sup> Delivered in the Senate, February 7, 1849. Reprinted in California Pamphlets, No. 53. It is fitting that Benton's monument in St. Louis was erected with its face toward the Pacific, while underneath was the inscription: "There lies the East; there lies the road to India."

<sup>2</sup> Frémont, Report of the Exploring Expedition of 1842, etc., 255-256.

Territory to the valley of the Mississippi. . . . It is mainly because I place this high estimate on its prospective value that I am so concerned to preserve it.<sup>1</sup>

The whole issue I have so far been trying to set before you was well summed up by C. J. Ingersoll in the course of an address before the House in February, 1845.

The Oregon question [said Mr. Ingersoll], by too many deemed a mere matter of land or territorial acquisition, is, in its larger and better estimate, a commercial question. . . . It embraces consequences to the Republic equal, if not superior, to any question of acquisition or annexation that has arisen. . . . The American Continent presents extraordinary advantages to its population for commercial intercourse. Its position is one of nature's monopolies. From its Atlantic ports it can grasp the commerce of Europe; from those on the Pacific it may seize the trade of the East Indies and China. Seat the United States firmly in Oregon and the commercial enterprise and the wealth of the world will centralize within our limits. . . . It [Asiatic commerce] would diffuse its stores throughout the Union—the long and dangerous passage around the Capes would be given up—and Europe would seek in our Atlantic ports the products of the tropical garden of southern Asia. No question has yet arisen in our history so closely connected with the extension of American power and greatness.<sup>2</sup>

Asiatic trade as a motive for annexation was even more apparent in the case of California than of Oregon. It is significant that the first extended description of California to attract the attention of American readers was written by a sea captain engaged in the Chinese trade and bore the title, "Journal of a Voyage between China and the Northwestern Coast of America made in the Year 1804."<sup>3</sup> The author, a New Englander named Robert Shaler, devoted especial attention to a description of the harbors of the California coast and to the latent commercial possibilities of the province, making no attempt to conceal his purpose of arousing interest in its acquisition.

In later years, also, when the sentiment for securing California had begun to crystallize throughout the United States, commercial motives continually intrude themselves into the foreground. In the several attempts that Jackson made to secure the province from Mexico, he emphasized chiefly the importance of acquiring the harbor of San Francisco because of the advantages it possessed for the trading interests of the Nation.<sup>4</sup> During the presidency of Tyler, when principally through the activities of Daniel Webster the California movement was given new impetus, San Francisco continued to appear the chief object of desire. Webster's interest in securing the Pacific port was for the most part of commercial concern. As part of the same program, he advocated sending a special diplomatic

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<sup>1</sup> Thirty Years' View, II, 471.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix, Congressional Globe, 28 Cong., 2 sess., 241. Much of the quoted extract was from a newspaper clipping read by Ingersoll.

<sup>3</sup> Printed in the American Register, III, 136-175.

<sup>4</sup> House Ex. Docs., 25 Cong., 1 sess., No. 42, pp. 361-362.

mission to China, largely for the purpose of fostering trade relations between the two countries, and of strengthening a commercial intercourse that, already of considerable proportions, was susceptible of enormous increase.<sup>1</sup>

The natural interest of the administration in the commercial importance of California was still further increased by dispatches from Waddy Thompson, the American minister to Mexico, whose chief purpose during his diplomatic career was the purchase of California. A single extract from one of his communications to the home Government will serve to illustrate the general tenor of the remainder. On April 29, 1842, he wrote Webster:

I believe that this Government would cede to us Texas and the Californias. . . . As to Texas, I regard it as of but little value compared with California—the richest, the most beautiful, the healthiest country in the world. Our Atlantic border secures us a commercial ascendancy there; with the acquisition of Upper California we should have the same ascendancy on the Pacific. The harbor of St. Francisco is capacious enough to receive the navies of all the world, and the neighborhood furnishes live oak enough to build all the ships of those navies. Besides this there is the Bay of St. Iajo [San Diego], Monterey, and others. . . . The possession of these harbors would . . . no doubt, by internal communication with the Arkansas and other western streams, secure the trade of India and the whole Pacific Ocean.<sup>2</sup>

Although Thompson was mistaken in thinking that Mexico would sell California to the United States, Webster and Tyler still hoped to secure its cession by the so-called tripartite agreement. The sanction of Congress was sought for a special mission to England which Webster himself should head for the purpose of securing Upper California for the United States. Upon the defeat of this plan, Tyler proposed to Everett, minister to England, that he accept the position of minister to China and allow Webster to take his place at London and push forward the negotiations for California and the settlement of the Oregon dispute. Everett declined and Webster's active part in the acquisition of the province came to an end.<sup>3</sup> His interest in it, however, remained unabated. Four years later he wrote Fletcher Webster:

You know my opinion to have been, and now is, that the port of San Francisco would be twenty times more valuable to us than all Texas.<sup>4</sup>

The President who succeeded Tyler was from the beginning an avowed expansionist and particularly an ardent advocate of the annexation of California. Commonly this policy is ascribed to a

<sup>1</sup> Webster to Cushing, May 8, 1843. Writings and Speeches of Daniel Webster (national ed.), XII, 141-146. See also XIV, 433-442.

<sup>2</sup> MSS., State Department. See also Rives, *United States and Mexico*, II, 46.

<sup>3</sup> For a discussion of the tripartite agreement and Webster's interest in the annexation of California, see Cleland, *The Early Sentiment for the Annexation of California*. *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XVIII, No. 1, pp. 32-34.

<sup>4</sup> Curtis, *Life of Webster*, I., 250.

desire to extend the area of slavery; yet the dominant motive was not slavery but oriental trade. A few citations from Polk's official correspondence and messages should make this clear.

In the instructions issued to guide Slidell in his negotiations for California, emphasis was placed entirely upon the purchase of the ports of Monterey and San Francisco. "The possession of the bay and harbor of San Francisco," ran Buchanan's note, "is all important to the United States. The advantages to us of its acquisition are so striking that it would be a waste of time to enumerate them here. If all these should be turned against us by the cession of California to Great Britain, our principal commercial rival, the consequences would be most disastrous."<sup>1</sup> Instructions of similar character were sent to Larkin upon his appointment as confidential agent of the United States Government at Monterey. "The interests of our commerce and of our whale fisheries on the Pacific Ocean demand that you should exert the greatest vigilance in discovering and defeating any attempts which may be made by foreign governments to acquire control over that country."<sup>2</sup>

On another occasion Polk told Benton that the "Fine Bay of San Francisco" was to be kept from the clutches of Great Britain at all hazards.<sup>3</sup> And, indeed, from the beginning to the end of his dealings with California runs this note of the necessity of holding the commercial possibilities of the Pacific coast as a monopoly for the United States. It occurs, for example, in his third annual message of December 7, 1847, when Congress is urged to keep California as indemnity for the Mexican War, because otherwise European nations, long eager for commercial opportunities, will seize the province; and its ports, certain one day to become "the marts of an extensive and profitable commerce with China and the countries of the East," will be lost to the United States.

In two subsequent messages<sup>4</sup> Polk similarly brought out the importance of Chinese trade to the commercial interest of the country; while in his last formal communication to Congress, justifying the policy of his administration in foreign affairs and predicting large benefit from the acquisition of California because of its great resources, he added:

From its position it [Upper California] must command the rich commerce of China, of Asia, of the islands of the Pacific, of western Mexico, of Central America, the South American States, and the Russian possessions on that ocean. A great emporium will doubtless speedily arise on the California coast which may be destined to rival in importance New Orleans itself. The depot of the immense commerce which must exist on the Pacific will probably be

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<sup>1</sup> The Works of James Buchanan (Ed. J. B. Moore), VI, 304-306.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 275-278.

<sup>3</sup> Diary of James K. Polk, I, 71.

<sup>4</sup> Messages of July 6, 1848, and of July 24.

at some point on the Bay of San Francisco, and will occupy the same relation to the whole western coast of that ocean as New Orleans does to the Valley of the Mississippi and the Gulf of Mexico.

Lack of time forbids the further discussion of this subject. But if the view I have been endeavoring to set before you is correct, then the American occupation of the Pacific coast assumes a new and peculiar interest. It becomes a chapter in the oldest movement of our history—a movement that reaches back from this present day to the far voyages of Columbus, of Magellan, of Henry Hudson, of La Salle, of that adventurous host of Spanish explorers who sought through unknown seas the mysterious and fabled Straits of Anian; of that even larger host of English colonists on the Atlantic coast who “looked to find the South Sea up the nearest northwest branch of the spreading river at their feet.”<sup>1</sup> At the same time, it becomes a part of the great world-struggle for the control of the rich and varied Eastern trade—a trade which has been one of the powerful forces of the world’s past, as it is of its present, and bids fair to be through the unknown years of the future. As a phase of this old rivalry for commercial supremacy through the control of Asiatic trade, especially in this day of oriental awakening and canal construction, to those of us whose faces turn hopefully across the Pacific, the early American occupation of Oregon and California takes on new meaning and becomes clothed with fresh significance. Assuredly the subject is one of transcendent interest.

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<sup>1</sup> Woodrow Wilson, “The Truth of the Matter,” in *Mere Literature*, p. 184. The quotation has been changed from the second to the third person.



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XVII. PROCEEDINGS OF THE ELEVENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE  
OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

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CHICAGO, DECEMBER 31, 1914.

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## PROCEEDINGS OF THE ELEVENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

The eleventh annual conference of historical societies was held during the meeting of the American Historical Association in Chicago, December 31, 1914. It was presided over by Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, president of the Illinois State Historical Society, and a member of the board of trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, and was attended by about 70 people, most of whom were delegates from various historical societies.

The chairman opened the conference with a paper on the Chicago Historical Society in which he reviewed briefly the history of the society, outlined its present activities, and discussed its plans for future work.

### THE CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

By OTTO L. SCHMIDT.

The Chicago Historical Society, the oldest society of its kind in Illinois, was organized in April, 1856, and legally established in February, 1857, by a special act of incorporation passed by the Illinois State Assembly.

Chicago, then a city of unparalleled growth, having increased its population of 4,000 in 1837, when it was chartered as a city, to 93,000 at the time of our society's foundation, possibly had been somewhat neglected in the creation of such higher cultural institutions as are usually dependent in this country on the public spirited munificence of citizens. Possibly the strife of business, the tremendous demands on the public interest element of its citizens in the building and plotting of a city having many peculiar and disadvantageous conditions, such as being placed mostly on low, marshy lands, with great difficulties of drainage, the advent of the all-absorbing railroad-building period, prevented the city from embarking earlier in ventures of a higher endeavor. To be sure, schools and societies of higher learning were in existence and some even had already had their existence finished, for instance, from the founding of the city to about 1847 there existed an institution called the Chicago Lyceum, at which for many years lectures of high quality were regularly delivered. Now, evidently came a new impulse, as within a year

of 1857, the first Chicago University, the Chicago Historical Society, the Chicago Academy of Sciences, and the Chicago Astronomical Society were started.

Of these, the Chicago Historical Society and the Academy of Sciences have celebrated their fiftieth anniversaries and are constantly increasing their usefulness, while the Chicago University, favored during the last years of Stephen A. Douglas by his personal assistance and his liberal donation of land, eventually was forced to close its doors. It was a Baptist institution, and may be said to have reappeared in 1888 as the present University of Chicago, but related only in a somewhat similar name and by virtue of both institutions being dedicated to the glory of the same religious sect.

The Chicago Astronomical Society flourished for many years, and during its existence was a bulwark of western American astronomical work.

The organizers of the Chicago Historical Society declared its function in the first article of its constitution, as follows:

Its object shall be to institute and encourage historical inquiry, to collect and preserve the materials of history, and to spread historical information, especially concerning the northwestern States.

This liberal and well-defined direction for the society's work gave a rapid start and quick progress in its library and museum collections, as it was Chicago's first larger library. None of the other large libraries of to-day had yet been established, the present public library coming into existence after the great fire largely through the overflowing munificence of charity toward the stricken city. The Newberry and Crerar libraries are of very much later date.

The incorporators of the society were: William Barry, James Van Zandt Blaney, Mason Brayman, William Hubbard Brown, Nathan Smith Davis, Van Hollis Higgins, John Harris Kinzie, George Manierre, Ezra Butler McCagg, Mahlon Dickerson Ogden, William Butler Ogden, Charles Henry Ray, Franklin Scammon, Jonathan Young Scammon, Mark Skinner, William A. Smallwood, Edward Islay Tinkham, Samuel Dexter Ward, Joseph Dana Webster.

This coterie of citizens is worthy of a few words, as it shows the high type of men that came to Chicago within the first few years of its city charter, in fact, a number of them even before this.

While the majority of these 19 incorporators were lawyers by education, business men preponderated slightly as a body when we consider that some of those counted as lawyers were essentially in commercial pursuits. There were eight practising lawyers, two physicians, one civil engineer, one journalist, and one minister. The latter was William Barry, a Unitarian, who truthfully may be called the founder of the society, as through his enthusiasm and energy the society was organized and flourished to the time of his death.

William Hubbard Brown, the first president, lawyer, and financier, had been in Vandalia, the capital of the State at that time, from 1820 to 1835; there he had been a member of the first historical society in the State, the Antiquarian and Historical Society of Illinois. He was one of the group of early patriots who successfully resisted the attempt to plant slavery in Illinois, 1823-1824. At the Chicago Lyceum in 1840 he read a paper on "The History of Illinois."

John Harris Kinzie, the second Kinzie of Chicago, was brought by his father from Detroit to Fort Dearborn in 1804. In his early boyhood he was a famous Indian interpreter and Indian agent in Fort Winnebago, Wis., but at the close of the Black Hawk War took up his permanent residence in Chicago and became one of the prominent men of affairs in the city up to the time of his death in 1865.

William Butler Ogden, first mayor of Chicago in 1837, was the city's great railroad builder, concerned especially in the Galena and Chicago Railroad, which ultimately became the Chicago and North Western Railroad. He was prominent in many of the largest municipal and financial undertakings of the city and generally recognized as Chicago's foremost citizen from 1837 to the time of his death in 1877.

Dr. Jerome Van Zandt Blaney, a chemist of national fame, whose services were frequently called upon even in New York, and the founder of Rush Medical College in 1843, during the war was medical director and surgeon-in-chief on the staff of Gen. Sheridan.

Mason Brayman, lawyer and soldier, a commissioner appointed by Gov. Ford to adjust the Mormon troubles, revised the statutes of the State, 1844-1845, was prominent as a railroad attorney, especially of the Illinois Central Railroad, and for conspicuous services in the Army received the brevet rank of major general at the close of the war.

Dr. Nathan Smith Davis, the most eminent physician of Chicago for many years, founder of the Chicago Medical College, was the so-called father of the powerful American Medical Association and a fearless advocate of many public sanitary and hygienic advances in Chicago.

Van Hollis Higgins was a lawyer, politician, and judge.

George Manierre was a lawyer and judge of high repute.

Ezra Butler McCagg, a very eminent lawyer of Chicago, lived to read a lecture on the society at its fiftieth anniversary in 1897.

Mahlon D. Ogden, lawyer, probate judge, and financier of Chicago, was partner of Isaac N. Arnold.

Charles Henry Ray, journalist, was associated with Joseph Medill and John C. Vaughan in the purchase and management of the Chicago Tribune. Dr. Ray was editor-in-chief and was one of the most

influential writers during the period of the organization of the Republican Party.

Jonathan Young Scammon, prominent lawyer and banker, was the third president, 1868-1870.

Mark Skinner, eminent jurist, held many political positions in Chicago, was city attorney in 1840, died in 1887.

Joseph Dana Webster, engineer and soldier, president of the commission that perfected the Chicago sewerage system and designed and executed the raising of the grade of a large portion of the city from 2 to 4 feet, served during the war and was breveted major general of volunteers in 1865.

The presidents of the society have been William Hubbard Brown, Walter Loomis Newberry, Jonathan Young Scammon, Edwin Holmes Sheldon, Isaac Newton Arnold, Elihu Benjamin Washburn, Edward Gay Mason, John Nelson Jewett, Franklin Harvey Head, Thomas Dent, and Clarence W. Burley, the president at this time.

Mr. William Hubbard Brown and Jonathan Young Scammon, incorporators, respectively, the first and the third presidents, have already been mentioned.

Walter L. Newberry, the second president, one of the great merchants of Chicago, active in municipal affairs from the village era of Chicago to his death, became the founder by legacy of the Newberry Library.

Edwin Holmes Sheldon, the fourth president, has been one of the commercial and real estate upbuilders of the city.

Isaac N. Arnold, the fifth president, famous Congressman from 1861 to 1865, was a staunch friend and supporter of President Lincoln and the well-known author of "Life of Abraham Lincoln."

Elihu Benjamin Washburn, sixth president, was Congressman, secretary of state under General Grant and envoy to France during the Franco-German war.

Edward Gay Mason, president from 1887 to 1898, was one of the most active officers of the society, through whose personal efforts the funds for the present building were subscribed and the building erected. Mr. Mason was prolific as an historical writer of early Illinois history at a time when scientific historical research had not yet been introduced in the colleges of the State. Mr. Mason's writings were in a charming style and of historical value. At his untimely death he was engaged in the writing of a history of the State.

Among the secretaries and librarians Mr. William Barry, the founder, was the most prominent; Albert A. Hager and John Moses added much to the society's stores; Miss Caroline M. McIlvaine has been its energetic librarian since 1901; Mr. Seymour Morris has been secretary for three years.

The existence of the society twice met with almost ruinous catastrophes. The Great Fire found the society in possession of a suitable building, on the present location, which had been proudly announced publicly as fireproof, as the frequent fires in the city, consisting mostly of frame houses, demanded of the society the utmost protection against destruction of its valuable possessions by fire. Through its active librarian, Dr. Barry, and through the support of its members the library within 15 years had grown to large proportions. Its shelves contained 100,205 volumes, pamphlets, and manuscripts, much of which was irreplaceable.

Dr. Barry, with truly historic insight, had collected almost complete files of the session laws and legislative records of the old northwest States, and much associated documentary material. Such men as John H. Kinzie and Gurdon S. Hubbard, of whom the latter had lived here since 1818, when there were but few houses outside of Fort Dearborn, with other pioneer citizens of the village of Chicago, had taken great pride in bestowing on the society many collections of private letters and early business files. The Chicago Historical Society was one of the favorite institutions of the city. Within a few hours in the night of October 8 to 9, 1871, its entire collection of colonial, territorial, and State documents, with its other innumerable collections of manuscripts, letters, and writings, was destroyed. Its collection of slavery and Civil War material was thought to be the largest in the country. The original Emancipation Proclamation also had been in its possession and was destroyed.

The secretary, Dr. Barry, to almost the last moment believed that the building would withstand the fire. He endeavored to save some of the most valuable items, but through the peculiarities of the rapid spread of the fire, which was at many places recorded as jumping over blocks and attacking houses at a great distance from the actual flames, he was unable to carry off anything.

With renewed effort another collection was brought together, but was again destroyed in the second large fire of Chicago in August of 1874.

Through a lucky streak the manuscript of the Edwards papers had been loaned to a member of the society at this time and thus the valuable manuscript of this later publication of the society was saved.

In 1877 the society again occupied a modest building of its own, also on the present location. The building was replaced by the present structure, dedicated in 1896. On account of the society's sad experience with fires this building was erected in an absolutely fireproof manner at a time when the modern fireproof construction had not yet been introduced. There is not a piece of wood in the construction of the house not even in doors or window frames. To guard against other destruction of its collections there was no water

pipe above the basement floor. This latter precaution appears excessive, but to demonstrate that there is much reason for care in this particular, considerable damage has been done to the writer's knowledge in a library of this State by the flooding of books from water coming from a break in a water pipe on a floor above. Even the furniture in the present building is of metal construction. The intention of the president, Mr. Mason, had been never to permit any wooden furniture in the building, but his successors have found it necessary to use some wooden showcases and a few wooden chairs and desks.

At present the society values its real estate and building at \$225,000. It is maintained by annual membership dues amounting to \$5,000, and a further income of about \$7,000 from its special funds originating in bequest and gift.

The principal fund is the Henry D. Gilpin fund, donated by Henry D. Gilpin, a resident of Philadelphia, one time Attorney General of the United States, who had had large investments in Chicago. He died in 1860.

The proceeds of this fund are stipulated for use of the Gilpin Library only.

The present library contains about 100,000 items, among which are:

The James Wilkinson Papers—1779–1823, in four folio volumes containing many letters of Wilkinson, Jefferson, Pickering, Claibourne, Gen. Dearborn, and letters from Spanish and French commanders, and also copies of letters of Aaron Burr and of letters in regard to his capture.

The Ninian Edwards Papers, consisting of public and private letters, and of documents of Illinois Territorial governors from 1800–1832.

The Pierre Menard Papers, consisting of three volumes mostly of official documents of the first governor of Illinois.

Many papers of the French régime in Illinois and many files of letters of the pioneers of the State.

Complete files of the Northwest, Indiana, and Illinois territorial laws from 1787–1818, with the exception of the volume of the laws of 1812.

The earliest newspapers of Chicago and also a complete file of the Chicago Tribune.

The society owned the James Madison Papers—1778–1836, in eleven volumes, and also the Diary of James K. Polk, kept during his administration, but at the solicitation of the Library of Congress the society sold these valuable collections to the Library of Congress at the original cost of purchase, thereby showing its endeavor to place this source of material at its proper place in the national capital.

The Brig.-Gen. Mason Brayman Papers, lately acquired, consisting of correspondence from 1852 to 1883, many of the period when he was governor of Idaho, 1876-1880, but also many slavery and Civil War letters, telegrams, military maps, and newspaper clippings, gathered apparently with a view to publication; also many political and Illinois miscellanii, political and otherwise—1829-1876, containing valuable Mormon items, Illinois Central Railroad correspondence of 1848 to 1868, and many Lincolniana.

The publications of the society are the following:

## COLLECTIONS.

- Vol. I. The History of the English Settlement in Edwards County, by George Flower.
- II. A Sketch of Enoch Long, an Illinois Pioneer, by Harvey Reid.
- III. The Edwards Papers.
- IV. Early Chicago and Illinois, which latter includes a selection of Pierre Menard Papers and other manuscripts relating to the early French settlement.
- V. The Settlement of Illinois, by Arthur Clinton Boggess.
- VI-IX. The Polk Diary, in three volumes, edited by M. M. Quaife.

## PAMPHLETS.

- Early Society in Southern Illinois, by Robert W. Patterson.
- Eleazer Williams, by William Ward Wight.
- The Chicago Common Council and the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, by Charles W. Mann.
- Early Days of Peoria and Chicago, by David McCullough.
- In Memoriam: John Nelson Jewett.
- The Boundary Dispute Between Illinois and Wisconsin, by William Radebaugh.
- Some Indian Landmarks of the North Shore, by Frank R. Grover.
- Biographical Sketch of Hon. Joseph Duncan, by E. W. Blatchford.
- Biographical Sketch of Hon. John Peter Altgelt, by Edward Osgood Brown.
- The Old Kaskaskia Records, by Clarence W. Alvord.
- Abraham Lincoln, the Evolution of His Emancipation Policy, by Paul Selby.
- Chicago Historical Society: 1857-1907. Addresses by Ezra B. McCagg and Franklin H. Head.
- The Indian as a Diplomatic Factor in the History of the Old Northwest, by Isaac Joslin Cox.
- Father Pierre François Pinet and His Mission of the Guardian Angel of Chicago, by Frank R. Grover.
- Biographical Sketch of Gurdon Saltonstall Hubbard, by Henry E. Hamilton.
- The Masters of the Wilderness, by Charles B. Reed.
- The Preamble and Boundary Clauses of the Illinois Constitution, by Herman G. James.
- Lincoln-Douglas Debates, 1914, by Horace White.
- The Jefferson-Lemen Compact: the Relations of Thomas Jefferson and James Lemen in the Exclusion of Slavery from Illinois and the Northwest Territory, by Willard C. MacNaul.

The policy of the society in later years has been to confine its collections more strictly to Illinois on account of the establishment of larger libraries capable of covering the field of general United States history and the adjoining States more thoroughly.

Greater efficiency for serving inquiries in detailed local history is one of the society's constant aims.

The society owns much museum material and on account of lack of space is continuously changing many of its exhibits according to anniversary celebrations, etc. At present on account of the celebration of December 3 as Illinois Day, marking the day of 1818 when Illinois was admitted into the Union, there is on exhibition a large collection of letters, public documents, and pictures of the early governors and officials of that time.

The policy of the society is partly directed toward publication, and as it was long felt that its publications can not be thoroughly advertised and placed before the public unless in the hands of a publishing firm, it entered into an agreement with the University of Chicago Press whereby the latter regularly advertises the publications of the Chicago Historical Society of the past as well as of the present and handles them in a manner as if they were its own publications. The society believes that this is a step in advance from the older method of society publications by which usually only the members and the friends of the society know of its publications. Furthermore, the society believes that it is doing thereby more justice to the authors in making their works more accessible for purchase by the general public.

The society is now maintaining in its fourth year regular Saturday lectures for school children on Chicago and Illinois history during the school months. In the first year the society's lecturer, Mrs. Mary Ridpath Mann, visited the different schools, but the difficulty in getting suitable accommodations with lantern slide facilities and regular announcement gave rather unsatisfactory results. The society has now developed a system of attendance at these lectures by means of delegates from the seventh grade of the grammar schools. There is a usual attendance of 300 pupils. There is great enthusiasm among them for the lectures and also for the museum exhibits. We are thus enabled to bring approximately 18,000 children into the building yearly. From numerous letters from teachers and the pupils themselves the society is assured that these lectures have greatly stimulated the interest of the pupils in history and that regularly after the attendance of a class this manifests itself in the essays and conversations of the children with their teachers.

The secretary of the conference, Dr. Solon J. Buck, presented no formal report, but stated that the usual blanks had been sent to the



various State and local historical societies and that the replies would be summarized in the appendix to the annual report of the conference. The secretary stated also that the resolution adopted by the conference in 1913, requesting the council of the American Historical Association to consider ways and means for the continuation and revision of Griffin's Bibliography of Historical Societies, was presented to the council and referred by it to a committee, which is to report at the next meeting of the council.

The report of the committee on cooperation among historical societies and departments was presented by Dr. Dunbar Rowland, as follows:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON COOPERATION OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES AND DEPARTMENTS TO THE CONFERENCE OF STATE AND LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

The committee on cooperation of historical societies and departments submits the following report of progress:

The last report of the committee submitted to the conference at its meeting at Charleston held out the hope that a final report on the work of calendaring the documents in the French archives concerning the history of the Mississippi Valley would be submitted to this meeting. That hope would have been realized under ordinary conditions. The great events which have been in progress since last summer now fill the thought of the world.

In August a state of war existed between France, Russia, England, Belgium, Serbia, and Montenegro on one side and Germany and Austria-Hungary on the other. France was invaded by the German-Austrian army, and Paris for a time was in danger of being besieged and occupied. In the face of this danger the French Government, with all its activities, was removed to Bordeaux, and the work of the committee for a time made impossible. But for this most unexpected delay, our work, in so far as the direct use of the archives is concerned, would have been completed by this time.

Mr. Leland, the scholarly representative of the committee, has submitted to us the following statement of the work accomplished since the last report:

REPORT OF WORK IN 1914 ON THE CATALOGUE OF DOCUMENTS IN FRENCH ARCHIVES RELATING TO THE HISTORY OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY.

My report of December 5, 1913, presented a résumé of the results of the work accomplished to that date. The report for this year covers mainly the first half of the year, for since July 1, owing first to the illness of assistants and later to the outbreak of war, the work has been nearly at a standstill. Mr. Doysié, who so faithfully supervised the immediate execution of the work, was called to the colors

on August 4. The rest of the assistants left Paris during August, and I returned to America in September. Within the last month, however, one of the assistants, Madame Vila, has resumed the work, which I am directing by correspondence. The task must then be completed very slowly, and while by far the greater part of the more important of the documents have been listed there still remain a considerable number to be dealt with. I am glad to say that the notes have all reached America in safety and are in my office in Washington, where consultation of them (although they have not yet been put into final form) is possible.

The work of the year has been mainly in the Foreign Office, in the Colonial Archives, and in the National Archives. Of the material found in the Foreign Office should be noted a number of letters, accounts, and other documents relating to G. R. Clark, to Collot, and to others employed by Genet in his intrigues in the Mississippi Valley. These originally formed a part of the archives of the French legation in Washington, which were transferred to Paris during the last century.

In the Colonial Archives the most important work has been the searching of the series for Martinique and Santo Domingo. Some 226 volumes have been examined, and the work is being continued to include the series for all the French West Indies. They contain a considerable amount of material relating to commerce with Louisiana, to the supply of provisions, to vessels bound to or from Louisiana and putting in at Santo Domingo, etc. There have also been listed the contents of five cartons which serve as a supplement to the main series for Louisiana. Nearly every one of these documents, of which there are over 500, is very valuable.

In the National Archives, properly speaking, there have been found a number of edicts relating to Louisiana, as well as many documents relating to negotiations under the Directory touching on Louisiana. All the American maps in the National Archives have also been listed—most of them cover, in part at least, the Mississippi Valley.

It should be understood that the work has been performed in conjunction with my work for the Carnegie Institution—a fact which has made it possible to cover far more ground than could have been done had the Mississippi Valley research been made a distinct and separate undertaking.

Although the work of cataloguing is not yet completed, and can not be until after the close of the war, it will probably not be necessary to secure additional funds, and the editorial work can now be commenced.

Respectfully submitted.

W. G. LELAND.

WASHINGTON, *December 18, 1914.*

Dr. J. F. Jameson, the treasurer of the committee, has submitted his financial report, as follows:

*Report of the treasurer of the fund for calendaring documents in the French archives relating to the history of the Mississippi Valley.*

	Cr.	Dr.
Balance on hand December 15, 1913-----	-----	\$250. 00
Received from the Louisiana Historical Society-----	-----	200. 00
Interest to date-----	-----	3. 23
Remittances to W. G. Leland at various times from December 27, 1913, to October 10, 1914-----	\$440. 00	-----
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	440. 00	453. 23
Balance on hand December 24, 1914-----	-----	13. 23

Respectfully submitted.

J. F. JAMESON, *Treasurer.*

WASHINGTON, *December 24, 1914.*

Mr. Leland's report shows a balance in his hands of 828.38 francs (about \$160.85), and \$200 has been subscribed by the Texas State Historical Library.

#### MISSISSIPPI VALLEY FUND.

*W. G. Leland in account with J. F. Jameson, treasurer, December 3, 1913-December 18, 1914.*

#### RECEIPTS.

		Francs.
1913. December 3, cash on hand-----	-----	674. 48
December 27, remittance from treasurer-----	\$50. 00	260. 65
1914. January 22, remittance from treasurer-----	50. 00	259. 20
February 26, remittance from treasurer-----	50. 00	257. 50
March 26, remittance from treasurer-----	50. 00	259. 25
April 25, remittance from treasurer-----	50. 00	258. 50
June 25, remittance from treasurer-----	50. 00	256. 15
August 3, remittance from treasurer-----	50. 00	256. 60
August 31, remittance from treasurer-----	50. 00	250. 00
October 10, remittance from treasurer-----	40. 00	198. 00
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	440. 00	2, 930. 33

#### DISBURSEMENTS.

Services of assistants, research and cataloguing:	Francs.
Mme. Vila, December 27, 1913-December 18, 1914-----	1, 127. 65
A. Doysié, December 29, 1913-July 16, 1914-----	626. 50
Mme. Autissier, April 30-July 31, 1914-----	112. 50
Mlle. Mairesse, December 23, 1913-March 31, 1914-----	106. 00
Miss Norman, June 15, 1914-----	33. 00
	<hr/>
	2, 005. 65

Customary fees to attendants-----	54. 00
Postage and supplies-----	31. 05
Car fares of assistants-----	11. 25
	<hr/>
	2, 101. 95
Balance on hand December 18, 1914 (about \$160.85)-----	828. 38
	<hr/>
	2, 930. 33

Respectfully submitted.

DUNBAR ROWLAND.  
 WORTHINGTON C. FORD.  
 J. F. JAMESON.  
 THOMAS M. OWEN.  
 EVARTS B. GREENE.  
 B. F. SHAMBAUGH.

The two subjects assigned for discussion were then taken up as follows:

#### RESEARCH IN STATE HISTORY AT STATE UNIVERSITIES.

By JAMES A. WOODBURN.

It is not the purpose of this paper to describe the extent to which State universities are carrying on research in State and local history, or what courses they may be offering to their students in this field of research and study. Information on that subject is being sought by a committee of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and when it is obtained it will be made available to the members of this organization. I shall speak rather of the duties, opportunities, and responsibilities of the State university in this direction. In the brief time at my disposal I shall attempt only a categorical summary of observations, leaving to the discussion any elaboration that may be thought fruitful.

1. The first obligation resting on a State university is that which rests on every university—it should be a university within the scope of its endeavor. As university men we all have the same aim. Whether in research or in teaching the purpose of a State university is the same as that of any other university—to advance learning, to promote culture, to discover truth, and to give to men and women an opportunity, in touch with leaders and laboratories of learning, to know more of the arts and sciences of life. I do not see that research in State history is essentially any more the function of a State university than of any other university.

2. But a State is a people under some form of political organization, and every organized society, and more especially the State, owes something to its history. A State entirely indifferent to its

history would be a sorry spectacle. Such a State is hardly known in the record of human life, because should a State sink to that low level or fail to attain above it, it would cease to have a history and would drop from view. Having lost all interest in its own ancestry it would cease to be of interest to its posterity. The State is under obligation, for its own sake, not only to preserve its history, as found in its materials and memorials, its archives and documents, but to celebrate that history, to publish it, and to make it available to its students, its historians, and its people. The State may, therefore, very properly endow and employ its university for the promotion of this end within limits consistent with the privileges and duties of the university in all other directions. This obligation the State ought to recognize and fulfill. There is not a better, more efficient, or more constant agency for this work of the State than the State university. It is the obvious medium, in connection with its State historical society and its historical commission, for the prosecution of this function of the State.

3. It is not to be deemed essential, nor even important, that the university should establish undergraduate courses in State history in its college of liberal arts. Arts are long and time is fleeting. Other things demand attention in a liberal-arts education. Graduate courses in State history would be more proper; but no one has a right to demand even these in a State university or in any other university. Such courses, it should be candidly recognized, may be of interest and benefit to but a small body of students. In a short university life most students will desire, very properly, to devote their time to other and more important lines of study. I say this with some appreciation of the fact that upon the question as to what knowledge is most worth while there will be sharp differences of opinion and that there are those who will contend that it is most important for a student to know his own life and that of his own people in his own State. I can only give my judgment for what it may be worth, and that judgment is that other things than State and local history are more likely to be conducive to a student's culture, to his training, and to his higher education. We may properly appreciate our local history without contending that it is just as important for the training of our youth in history that they should know as well the battles of "Pigeon Roost" and "Horse Shoe Bend" as to know the significance of Marathon and Waterloo. Let us base our contention for local history on tenable ground.

4. The department of history in a State university should be ready and willing, within the limits of its equipment, its powers, and its other duties, to lend its aid and cooperation to every agency in the State toward the promotion of a public interest in, and a

knowledge of the State's history; to an intelligent, public-spirited preservation of historical materials; and toward making the content of this material available in published forms. State and local historical societies, teachers' associations, the public schools, etc., may be sought by departments of history in State universities as fitting instruments for cooperation.

5. The State university should do more. It should sustain some agency to promote the collection and publication of such materials in State history. A special historical library and librarian, scholarships, and research fellowships in State history, lectureships, bulletins, magazines, a well-organized and well-directed historical survey—these are obvious connections and instrumentalities by which research in State history may be promoted. This would involve subsidy, support, a money maintenance of men who give all or much of their time to this work, whether they be on or off the teaching staff. These workers in State history at the State universities should be in close cooperation with the State libraries, the State historical commissions, and State historical societies.

6. The work by such means should be in connection with and under the direction of the department of history. There need be no separate department of State history, except in the sense that here is a special field of research in which trained historical workers may serve the State. But a separate teaching department in the college of liberal arts is uncalled for. A student is not to be expected, nor should he be allowed, to choose such a local field as a major subject for graduation. The field may be a department of useful and fruitful labor worthy of additional laborers, to which State encouragement and subsidy may be given; but it does not call for a coordinate department of teaching and administration.

7. But research in State history offers a very fruitful field for the application and further training of advanced students in history. It offers a field from which, if the field be properly tilled, we may expect valuable contributions which will be of great assistance in the study of our national history as well as valued additions to our historical literature. It is now easy to be discerned that he who would study our national development must needs study the country in sections; he must study the South or West, the frontier, the States that grew up here in the Mississippi Valley, the people that settled and builded these commonwealths, the motives and influences and spirit that prompted these people. He who would study our national politics and parties of a hundred years ago must study the States—the parties, the factions, the conditions, the political leaders in New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Virginia, and the Carolinas. The intelligent student sees clearly that the decisive influences moved

from the States to the center. No one will understand what happened and why in national politics without a knowledge of State affairs and State life. Nothing is more obvious than this to the students of our history. Not only these students but intelligent men of affairs readily understand this. It is very forcibly illustrated for them as they look at current political history. Recent American history can not be indifferent to what Oregon has been doing in the field of politics. What is going on in the political life of Kansas, of New York, of Pennsylvania, of Wisconsin, and of Illinois, determines the course of American politics. From a knowledge of conditions in these and other States must the historian of America make up his account. Without the records from the States he can not portray our national life in any serious or significant way. For his sources he will have to look to the documents preserved in the States, to monographs and contributions on local history which have been produced by laborious workers in the local field. As we know, much of this kind of work has already been done, and certainly the State universities should encourage more of it in every possible way. They have, or they can collect, the materials. They have, or they can train, the advanced students capable of doing the work. They can find fruitful themes for master's theses if not for doctoral dissertations, with a view to productions, not merely of local or remote or antiquarian interest but of interest to our common history. I may be pardoned for naming a few such themes as have been used in Indiana which may serve to suggest similar themes for use anywhere else: The Whig Party in Indiana, 1832 to 1852; The Greenback Party in Indiana; Party Politics in Indiana During the Civil War; Internal Improvements in Early Indiana; State Banking in Indiana, 1816-1860; Early Indiana Journalism; the edition of the Governors' Messages of Indiana. These are merely examples of the possibilities that are open.

It behooves the State to collect and preserve the materials of its history, not only for its own sake but for the sake of the country at large. The State's history will best be served in this direction by the trained historical student, by men and women who can live in library and university centers apart from earning a livelihood, and who, if not themselves experts, may be apprenticed to experts in investigation and research. It is at this point and in this direction that the State university should lend its aid to State history by providing men who can oversee and direct capable students in the study of appropriate topics, and in arranging and editing local historical material. There is abundant reason why the State university should cultivate this field. It is a rich field for historical study and production. The problem and expense of publication and

preservation need not be assumed by the university alone. It may be undertaken in cooperation with other agencies of the State. Some State historical societies have direct State connection and support. Where they have not, the State should be encouraged to establish a permanent historical commission which should perform for the State one of its most sacred duties—the collection, preservation, and publication of the State's archives and documentary history. I mean, of course, not monographic productions, nor any one's account of any movement or event, but the letters, correspondence, messages, documents, and other materials from which the history of the State may be studied and written. To such a commission the State university, or any university or college within the State, should lend its consistent aid and cooperation. And the commission, through State appropriations, should aid the university by making available to the public the edited documents and such worthy monographs as the historical workers of the university may be able to produce.

In discussion of Prof. Woodburn's paper, Prof. E. C. Barker, of the University of Texas, spoke as follows:

Prof. Woodburn truly remarks that the first duty of a State university is to be a university. A painful distance separates some of us from that ambitious goal of academic development; and for us, without adequate libraries for intensive work in European or even in general United States history, research in State history is a blessed solace. We go perforce to the State capitol, the county courthouse, and the local newspaper files to settle our little problems; but we go cheerfully, and, sometimes, with a lurking feeling of complacency, a conviction that our labor is neither mean nor unimportant.

In fact, if we guard our perspective, there is ground for this satisfaction. The mosaic-like texture of history is nowhere better illustrated than in the study of the United States. Each State, besides being a part of the broader national fabric, has generally figured as the prize in international rivalries. Scarcely a foot of soil of the United States has been unknown to the imperial ambition of at least three European nations; so that our local studies can frequently be made to illuminate some phase of British, French, or Spanish colonial activity or diplomatic contest.

Moreover, we are assured by our departments of education, with that unction which always embellishes their announcement of an obvious platitude, that the natural method in educational procedure is from the particular to the general. We have the satisfaction,



therefore, of working on a plan that is fundamentally sound, as well as providentially shaped to our means. Few State universities as yet have many candidates for the doctor's degree, but the crop of M. A.'s is fairly large, and topics in State history are generally better adapted to them than to doctoral dissertations. In another sense our tool is a convenient one; it furnishes a ready means for proving our usefulness, our reason for being, to the sovereign people who pay our salaries. There exists everywhere a surprising amount of local patriotism and interest in State history, and work in that field is sure of appreciation, which may be turned to good account in other directions. I think that as a rule history faculties in State supported institutions recognize their opportunities and obligations—one need only compare Von Holst, Schouler, and even Rhodes with the "American Nation" to convince himself of the genuine service of local studies to the historiography of the United States. This, in turn, has unquestionably reacted on the public and resulted in more liberal appropriations for State libraries, historical commissions, provision for transcripts and archive publications. Even in the South, during the past 10 years, we have begun to realize the futility of denouncing the unfairness of Yankee historians and to turn some of the energy thus saved to the collection and exploitation of our own historical materials—the only possible means, of course, of combating error, because we alone are in a position to do this work.

Research in local history is not a privilege of State institutions alone. All colleges and universities encourage it. The only real problem involved in this discussion, therefore, is how to better and advance such work in State universities, and the solution of this will vary from place to place. Seminars in a general field of American history, with thesis topics in local history, furnish training for a few students each year, but have little effect in stimulating public interest. Programs for club study, with brief notes on the nature of historical sources, can be employed to plant ideas here and there among the patriotic organizations, which may be useful in a movement for the preservation of history material. The University of Texas publishes a History Teachers' Bulletin three times a year, which is mailed free to all public-school teachers of history. While this is concerned primarily with problems of teaching, it can be used also to suggest lines of investigation in local history by high-school classes. And such exercises, I may remark, are much more effective agencies for training, when directed by a competent teacher, than can be derived from any "source book" in American history yet published. The publication of a history series, to include meritorious articles on State history by faculty, students, and others, will do much to stimulate productive interest. Of the 7,000 pages constituting the 18 volumes of the Texas State Historical Association Quarterly (now

the Southwestern Historical Quarterly), probably 6,000 would never had seen the light in any other publication, would not have been written, in fact; and yet one need only compare, for example, Smith's "Annexation of Texas" and Rives's "United States and Mexico, 1821-1848," with older books to realize the profound value of the Quarterly in every phase of southwestern history.

All these agencies, however, are more or less indirect. Thoroughly effective development of State history demands for its success the alert and persevering industry of a man who makes that his chief labor. Preferably he should be a member of the history faculty of the State university and should do enough teaching to keep himself in touch with the passing generations of students through whom much of his work may be accomplished; but his principal effort must be directed to a systematic survey of the historical resources of the State, a campaign for their better preservation, and their concentration, so far as possible, in preparation for their future exploitation. The work demands trained investigators of a somewhat special type, and funds. I believe that most State universities can now supply well-trained men for the work; and in time we shall get the funds. I am sure of this.

The discussion was continued by Prof. O. G. Libby, of the University of North Dakota:

In this discussion of research in State universities the definition of research that Prof. Woodburn gave us was that dealing largely with local history that is not found in documents but in the minds and memories of old settlers and of public men. The few remarks I make will have reference to that material, as well as to the material that is found in State archives.

Two by-products, it seems to me, will be produced if the State universities attack the problem of research in State history. First, the State university in its course will come in contact with the officers and members and supporters of the State historical society. Unfortunately, in many States they do not so come in contact. A charmed circle seems to be drawn about the university and its activities, and in the outer darkness are the people interested in State history. When a university man crosses that circle and gets into the field of history made by men who are living, or history known by the descendants of those who have made history, then he does not find a classroom with students who must stay and listen whether they want to or not. He has to find his audience, and he must say something that is worth listening to. In other words, the professor of history

must learn how to interview men who carry their historical documents in their heads. If he can not do it, he is a failure as far as historical societies are concerned. The man who can interview others and obtain valuable historical information from them can discount the man who can lecture perhaps learnedly on any subject assigned to him. I fancy better relations will come about between the historical societies and State universities, particularly in the working forces of the two, if universities will attack the problem of State history practically, not theoretically. That better relations are much needed we all know from personal experience.

The second by-product which will come about as a result of this activity on the part of the university is that university men will find their place in the State. The university man, in State research, is not addressing himself to a sympathetic or homogeneous audience. He is dealing with refractory material—material which has never yet yielded to publication, or even to definition or statement, and the question is, can he learn how to get valuable materials before they are lost? We believe the university man can obtain much valuable information by asking questions skillfully, but to do this some of them must pursue different methods from those in use in the class room, otherwise no results will follow.

There are just as many fakes now as there ever were, and the local men try them out on the university professor as the easiest mark. After he has been thus properly hazed, he will be taken into fellowship and into their organizations if he can stand being fooled with good nature, and can not be fooled again. That is the experience of some who have undertaken the problems of State research.

One of the points not touched on, but which I want to speak of briefly, is this: The man who goes out of the university into the problem of State research has a large constituency in touch with his problems, and having the same ideals and purposes as himself, and that constituency is the large body of college and university alumni to be found in every State in the Union. They are the farmers, the lawyers, the doctors, the bankers who have come from their alma mater with high ideals, which have been somewhat lowered and dimmed by the practical affairs of life. These men, however, still carry in their memories, and in their hearts the belief in, and love for those things they learned in university life.

The thing for the university man to do in research work is to find out this most valuable constituency. They were the pioneers of the State. They may not be familiar with the written history of the State, but they have come to know the men intimately in business and in professional life who have made history. We cannot, perhaps, reach the pioneer so as to do anything with him, or get

from him what he knows, but we can go to the general banker, who loans him money, to the lawyer who gets him out of difficulty, and to the doctor who saves the lives of children. These are the men who belong to us. They are our university constituency, and we need to reach them first. Let us try them in our effort to carry on research and they can help us to reach John Jones or Tom Smith, who has the story we want. I feel certain that in this way you will get something worth while, and at the same time you will be making for the university and for State research invaluable friends. If this alumni constituency has not been utilized to any great degree we do not know it. Lists of alumni are published every year, but they are not very accurate; it is a part of our research to make them accurate and to make full use of them. I point this out as one of the many things that can be secured in attempting genuine historical research in State history.

Prof. C. W. Alvord, of the University of Illinois, spoke as follows:

The subject which we are discussing here finds its justification in an aphorism. There can be no doubt about the duty which the universities of our country owe to the study of local history; and it seems to me that the mere statement of that duty is sufficient to carry conviction to the mind of everyone. There are, however, only a few universities that are performing that duty systematically and are using their opportunity to the fullest advantage at present, but it is a pleasure to note that more and more are coming into line. The statement of the duty is so much of an aphorism and has been discussed by three such able men, that there remains nothing for me to say concerning the principle, and so I shall limit myself to making suggestions on methods drawn from the experience of the University of Illinois.

Our local historical societies are obliged, or think they are obliged, to consider the public taste in their historical work, and in this way there is justified a certain lowering of the scientific standard of work, although it is doubtful whether such is absolutely necessary in order to gain popularity. In fact, I am rather inclined to think it is unnecessary, but still there is a feeling in historical societies that academic scholarship can never satisfy the public taste. In universities, however, no such necessity for pleasing the masses is placed upon those engaged in historical research, and the scientific standard of the work may be maintained at the highest. It is therefore of the utmost value to the State that university men should be engaged

in conducting researches in local history that will result in publications which will gain recognition by historians throughout the world.

The University of Illinois has for several years conducted scientific studies in State history, and we have at no time taken into consideration the necessity of courting popularity, but our sole criterion has been the requirements of the science of history. Strange as it may seem, we have received public support for these undertakings.

The other suggestion I have in mind is of a more practical nature. There has been some jealousy expressed by historical societies against the universities whenever the latter have attempted to enter the field of local history. It seems to me that historical societies have a work in the publication of collections of sources which will engage their attention for hundreds of years to come. The fulfillment of this duty will be doing the greatest good to the science of history, since it will make known to scholars the sources which are to be found. The use of these sources in monographic studies may well be left to the university scholars. If there can be brought about such a division of labor, jealousy between universities and societies will come to an end. In each State this problem naturally presents itself in a different form and its solutions will follow different lines.

A second suggestion is one that will not meet with the approval of all scholars. A quarterly publication is a difficult proposition for a university or a State historical society to maintain at the proper scientific standard. It seems to me that publications of universities at least should be more of a sporadic nature. That terrible grind of preparing copy every three months should be avoided, if possible. The better plan is to publish only when some study worth while is ready. The periodic publication means too frequently poor quality.

A final thought takes its origin directly in Prof. Woodburn's paper. He said, possibly not meaning it exactly in this limited form, that a study produced in a State survey should be published by some State agency. We have had that question up in the University of Illinois, and it has finally been decided that studies may be published wherever the particular author finds an opportunity. If there comes out of the department of the Illinois survey a worthy article it may be submitted to the editors of the *American Historical Review* or to Prof. Shambaugh for the *Iowa Journal*. If it is in book form it may be printed as a book by some publisher. In other words, we do not limit our scholars to the publication of the results of their labors in the bulletins or reports of the University of Illinois.

The result is, of course, that our students are more eager to do good work, because it may result in a very dignified publication.

In closing the discussion, Prof. Woodburn said:

With reference to the point raised by Prof. Alvord, I need not emphasize the importance of provision by the State for the publication of monographic material, and in that respect I am heartily in accord with the view expressed by him. If the material is valuable and meritorious, and can not be published by the State, some other means of publication should be sought, as the collection and sources of the material should be provided for and published and thus made accessible.

#### RESTRICTIONS ON THE USE OF HISTORICAL MATERIALS.

By LAWRENCE J. BURPEE.

At first sight it might seem that the subject we have before us offered little opportunity for profitable discussion; that there could be, at the most, but two points of view—that of the custodian, putting preservation before use, and that of the student, putting use before preservation. If one were inclined to be flippant, the case might be stated as *Man v. Manuscript*. The more one considers the problem, however, the more angles it presents, and the more involved become the relations of custodian and student to the document, to each other, and to the public. We are to discuss some of the phases of this many-sided question, and as the duty has been put upon me of opening the debate, I shall try to be as brief and judicial as the circumstances will permit.

For our present purposes the definition of historical materials may be confined mainly to manuscript sources, though the question of restriction might also be applied to rare printed books. Our problem, then, is how and to what extent should manuscript material be made accessible to students? It will be seen at once that any consideration of the question, to be satisfactory, must embrace not only restrictions on, but also facilities for, historical research. Broadly speaking, each is complementary to the other.

To get to the bottom of the matter, what is the primary object of archives? The answer to the question depends, no doubt, a good deal upon circumstances. "Preservation of documents," says one authority,<sup>1</sup> "should be the first end to be attained." "It must be borne in mind," says another,<sup>2</sup> "that to supply historical sources to the investigator is not the principal function, although an important

<sup>1</sup> Charles M. Andrews, *Lessons of the British Archives*, in *American Historical Association. Ann. Rep.*, 1909, 350.

<sup>2</sup> Waldo G. Leland, *American Archival Problems*, *Ibid.*, 347.

one, of archive depositories." One large library<sup>1</sup> lays down the principle that "the manuscript division has been established for purposes of reference and research;" and another<sup>2</sup> puts it this way: "Manuscripts and manuscript collections should be considered first as to preservation, second as to use. Preservation necessarily precedes use and largely determines and governs it, though it must be borne in mind that a manuscript withheld from consultation might almost as well be nonexistent." In theory at least there is no very serious difference of opinion as to the primary object of archives. In practice, one finds every conceivable variation from the practically total exclusion of the student to an almost reckless freedom of access and circulation. Nevertheless, the extremes of policy are comparatively rare, and there is an increasing tendency to find a mean that will meet all the legitimate needs of research workers without sacrificing the essential safeguarding of the documents.

The following replies from a number of representative institutions in the United States and Canada bear out the above statement:

Connecticut State Library:

We should encourage the use of manuscript material by all competent to use it to advantage for the public good.

Massachusetts State Library:

I think in this age of general knowledge and research the greatest freedom should be given in the use of historical materials in the possession of an historical society or archives bureau.

Pennsylvania State Library:

My invariable rule has been to furnish all the information possible to each student making a request for original material.

Iowa State Library:

A historical society or archives bureau, when supported by the State, should allow the fullest liberty to all who have a serious purpose either to copy or to photograph the material in its possession. I can see no justice in depriving any citizen of the State of opportunity to use material collected by the State at the taxpayers' expense.

California State Library:

Our plan in regard to historical material is to permit the freest consultation commensurate with the safety and preservation of the material.

State Historical Society of Wisconsin:

Our past and present policy favors the broadest and freest possible use of our historical materials.

Michigan Historical Commission:

My experience leads to the firm belief that all archives should be made accessible to any student or society either to copy or to photograph.

South Dakota Department of History:

I have conceived that our mission is to give the widest extension to the knowledge and use of the materials of history, and that in consequence everything we have and every service in our power have been at all times placed at the use of the public.

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<sup>1</sup> New York Public Library, Rules of the Manuscript Division.

<sup>2</sup> J. C. Fitzpatrick, Notes on the Care, Cataloguing, Calendaring, and Arranging of Manuscripts (Library of Congress), 1913, p. 5.

Alabama Department of Archives and History:

The practice here has been to allow the most liberal use of our entire collections, either printed or in manuscript.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania:

In my opinion all the United States, State, and other archives should be made accessible to all persons engaged in genuine historical research. Historical societies and public libraries which receive State aid should also come under this class.

Harvard University:

When papers have become historical documents I believe that a library or society should permit the freest use of them to serious-minded students. Their use as historical sources should not, it seems to me, be confined to members of the society that owns them or to students working in that particular library.

Yale University:

It is my policy as librarian to regard myself as custodian of the manuscripts and other treasures in my charge for the benefit of qualified users.

Princeton University:

No restriction should be placed on the liberty of use of manuscripts, save such as provide for the proper preservation of the manuscript itself. All selfishness in the way of reserving things for individuals, for institutions, so that they may have the exclusive or prime glory is contrary to the spirit for which institutions are founded and to the essence of the idea of scholarship.

University of Illinois:

Historical material should be open for use and copying so long as the original is not damaged.

Toronto University:

Our principle is to allow the freest possible use of historical material consistent with its safeguarding.

McGill University, Montreal:

Libraries, societies, archives, etc., should regard the books, records, and manuscripts which they possess in the light of a trust which they hold not for their own use or benefit, not alone for the use or convenience of their own immediate constituents, but for the benefit of all persons who are qualified to use them with advantage to themselves or to the world at large. On the other hand, the institutions, being trustees, must take all reasonable precautions against damage to or loss of the property they hold in trust.

Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario:

I feel very strongly that historical societies and bureaus of archives should as freely as possible allow other institutions to make copies of the materials in their possession. The materials exist for the use of historians, and the more widely they are made use of the better.

New York Public Library:

I agree with Mr. J. C. Fitzpatrick that "Manuscripts and manuscript collections should be considered first as to preservation, second as to use." This is the kernel of the whole matter, whether applied to manuscripts or rare and costly printed works. This principle carries with it respect for to-day, to-morrow, and generations yet to be. It does not deprive the present-day investigator of any legitimate use, and it also preserves the originals with a pious regard for the rights of the scholars of the future.



Chicago Public Library:

We believe in the widest liberty and latitude to students consistent with the safeguarding of the materials consulted.

Newberry Library, Chicago:

I believe that, in general, historical societies and archives bureaus should be most generous in granting permission to other institutions or to individuals to make copies of the material in their possession.

Having gained some light on the general practice as to the use of historical materials in public institutions, let us go a little more into detail. With a few exceptions, the consensus of opinion is that research workers should have the freest access to and use of historical materials consistent with their preservation. The character of these materials, however, makes imperative some restrictions in their use. Principles of access and circulation that are justifiable and praiseworthy in the case of books may be more than questionable in the use of manuscripts. A book destroyed or damaged may, as a general rule, be replaced. The loss of a manuscript, if no copy exists, is irreparable.

Let me state, then, some of the questions that suggest themselves in connection with the general subject of restriction:

To what extent should an institution possessing valuable historical material allow other institutions or individuals to make copies?

Should such material be loaned for use in another institution, either in the same city or farther afield?

Is it justifiable to refuse access to documents in course of publication, or whose publication has been decided upon, or which may be published by the institution possessing the documents, or by some individual acting under its authority?

Should the use of public documents be refused on or before a certain date, or of private documents of a confidential nature?

What restrictions should be placed upon the liberty of students desiring to consult manuscript or other material?

Should they be subjected to oversight in making copies or tracings of material?

Should they be required to submit their notes to an attendant?

Should their work be subjected to censorship or should they be left to their own judgment as to the character and extent of their extracts?

What credentials should a research worker be required to submit?

Should there be an age limit?

Is the custodian entitled to know the purpose for which copies are made; is he justified in refusing permission if the proposed use seems trivial or undesirable; and, on the other hand, is he entitled to grant exclusive use of certain material?

Should there be any limitation of the number of manuscripts or volumes used by a student at one time?

What hours should be available for research work?

What facilities should be provided, research rooms, suitable tables, adequate lighting, etc.?

What aids should be available, calendars, indexes, classification, guides, etc.?

Should an archives bureau contain a collection of books of reference for the use of the research worker?

What implements are permissible in the copying of manuscripts or rare books: Pencil, pen and ink, fountain pen, typewriter, or photostat?

Should tracing be permitted, with or without supervision?

Should the institution be equipped with a photostat?

Should one institution permit another to make photostat or other copies of its material, or should it exchange copies of material?

Taking these points in the order mentioned, it may be helpful to bring together a few notes based on the experience of representative men and institutions both in Europe and America. No attempt has been made to get the views of all the principal archivists and librarians of the two continents, but perhaps sufficient information is available to show the drift of opinion based on more or less varied experience.

First as to cooperation with other institutions or individuals. The chief of the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress writes:

Complete cooperation between manuscript depositories can only be accomplished by complete confidence; and in order that they may serve the full measure of their usefulness and purpose, they should do unto other depositories as they would have other depositories do unto them. Unless manuscripts have been deposited in this library under restrictions by the donor, the library allows other institutions to take copies for their own use freely. As a concrete instance, however, it may be mentioned that when an institution desired that several copies might be made of a valuable manuscript, in order that it might exchange some of them with other institutions, the library felt constrained to decline to permit its possessions to be converted into merchantable material by another institution. When copies are made for another institution, no restriction is placed upon their use by that other institution.

The Dominion Archivist at Ottawa states that it has been his policy from the beginning to cooperate with the Provincial Archives, and other similar institutions in Canada and elsewhere, by exchanging copies of manuscripts. His only objection is that hitherto the balance of trade has been very much against his own institution. A great deal has gone out, but very little has come in. Individuals are given every possible facility for research in the thoroughly equipped building at Ottawa. The State librarian of Massachusetts says:

We are always glad to have individuals or institutions make copies either by photostat or typewriter or in longhand of rare laws, and the same is true of the manuscripts in the archives department. I feel that all the material we

possess at least is of a public nature, and that we have no right to restrict its use any more than may be positively necessary. *The fact that it is photographed or copied simply gives it larger publicity.*

Let me draw your attention particularly to this last point, which we will come back to later. The superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin writes:

May I suggest that historical materials properly belong to society, rather than to the institution or the individual who may have a legal title to them. To the extent that the public may properly claim a greater interest in the affairs of institutions than of individuals, it seems to me that the policy of sealing historical materials against the scholarly world is more reprehensible in the case of the former than the latter.

Many of you are no doubt familiar with the very generous policy of cooperation carried out by this society under the direction of the late Dr. Thwaites. It is gratifying to know that his successor possesses the same broad ideals. The Historical Department of Iowa has adopted substantially the same policy as that of the Wisconsin Historical Society. The curator, referring to the accumulation of private papers, makes the following interesting suggestion:

As this sort of material comes out of the repositories of business men, literary men, soldiers, politicians and others, some connected with other Governments and other States, and not connected with Iowa itself, I propose the eventual exchange of such materials so that they will finally find a resting place in the region to which they properly belong.

Prof. C. W. Alvord of the University of Illinois, writes:

The disasters that historical manuscripts have suffered by fire in recent years is a sufficient excuse for reproducing all important manuscripts as many times as possible and scattering them all over the country.

The librarian of Princeton University says:

I believe that in the fullest manner consistent with the means of the library, photostat copies of all important manuscripts in any collection should be made by the library owning the manuscript, when requested by other libraries, and loaned to these libraries, the idea being to form a lending collection of facsimiles of one's own manuscripts. At all events, I believe that the having photostat copies of one's manuscripts made at the expense of other libraries which will keep these copies for use should be encouraged as much as possible as a precaution against the destruction of the originals in any way. The Vatican Library makes, I believe, this the only condition, i. e., that we shall keep the photographic copy that we have made open for free access of scholars.

The associate director of the University of Chicago, in commending the same principle of cooperation, says:

I should like to see American libraries and institutions show the same generosity in this respect as some of the foreign institutions, notably the German.

The librarian of McGill University says:

Material should be lent as a rule not to individuals but to other institutions for use by individuals. The lender may reasonably stipulate that the material lent shall only be used within the walls of the borrowing institution. In the case of very rare materials a photostat or cameragraph reproduction might reasonably be substituted for the original.

The only stipulation suggested in allowing other institutions the privilege of obtaining facsimile or other copies of material for their own archives or for the use of students, is that copies from the copy should not be made without permission from the institution possessing the original, and that authors using or citing a copied document should mention the original institution. The librarian of the University of Toronto writes:

We send our material freely for the use of bona fide students and scholars, but always to some responsible institution, such as a library, under whose superintendence the reader consults the book or manuscript. The risk of loss in transit can not be overcome, and in common with other libraries in the United States and Canada we take that risk.

The chief of the division of American history in the New York Public Library writes:

Closer cooperation between historical societies and other similar institutions in photostat or transcript interchanges of material would remove some of the difficulties that now stand in the way of historical research. I think it desirable that this question should be treated in as liberal a spirit as possible for the mutual benefit of all.

The director of the library adds:

We have recently agreed to lend some manuscripts pertaining to Massachusetts to the Massachusetts Historical Society for photostat reproduction. We shall probably borrow from them New York manuscripts for photostat reproduction here. I hope this is merely a beginning of an exchange of courtesies of this sort between libraries. Personally I believe, as Mr. Worthington C. Ford does, that the photostat process has made the facsimile reproduction of manuscripts so cheap and easy that there is no reason why such interchanges as I have mentioned should not be made.

That there is perhaps another side to the question has already been suggested by Mr. Gaillard Hunt, of the Library of Congress, or perhaps it would be more exact to say that there is a possibility of an institution's generosity being imposed upon. The librarian of the John Crerar Library of Chicago enlarges upon the same point:

Loans for use outside the library are in a very different position from access within it. Here I see many objections to a too generous policy. This might result in a library being called upon unnecessarily and even unfairly. One eastern university has complained that another gives a course in a special field or on a special era and then meets the needs of its students for material by wholesale borrowing from its neighbors.

A few words will suffice as to the experience in Europe. Prof. William I. Hull, writing on the "Lessons of the Dutch Archives,"<sup>1</sup> says:

National and local, public and private cooperation is illustrated in many ways. For example, the national archivist has recently secured 318 marine maps in manuscript for the splendid collection of maps in the library of the University of Leiden. He has also supplied to Dutch colonists in Surinam and elsewhere copies of archives in which they were specially interested; he has mediated between various towns and brought about mutually advantageous exchanges of documentary materials; his specialists have deciphered the most difficult manuscripts, restored and mounted those most abused, and catalogued the most important new discoveries in the possession of province or town.

Dr. Amandus Johnson has this to say of the Swedish archives:<sup>2</sup>

Records are loaned to libraries and other archives all over the Kingdom. If an investigator finds it more convenient to work in the Royal Library, or any other library, he can get the particular documents he needs for his investigation brought to his desk without charge from the Royal Archives or from any library or archives in the country by applying to the officer at the head of the manuscript department in the institution in which he works. In this manner documents are even sent to foreign countries. The convenience of this system is evident.

Dr. Johnson is at the same time evidently conscious that such liberality is not entirely without its disadvantages, for he adds somewhat ruefully in a footnote:

In the spring of 1909, when the writer was completing his investigations in Sweden on the History of New Sweden, he desired to reexamine certain Usselin letters, but the letters were at Utrecht to be copied.

The next point is as to restrictions on account of publication. Dr. John W. Jordan writes:

Since I have become librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania there is but one set of papers withheld from the public—that is, the Wayne papers—and this is because the society intends to print them.

The librarian of Harvard University says:

Perhaps the only restriction on the use of historical documents should be when the society intends to print documents in extenso itself. Even then I see no objection to having copies or photographs made for other societies, with the provision that the papers should not be printed as a whole.

Mr. M. M. Quaife, of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, writes:

The one restriction which I am disposed to make upon the use, by students and other institutions, of our manuscripts is this: Our own society has a research and publication bureau, and in connection therewith has plans, of course, for future work. I am disposed to reserve, therefore, for publication by ourselves such manuscripts as we have formulated plans for bringing out in the near future. I think there is a clear and just distinction between this

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<sup>1</sup> American Historical Association, Ann. Rept., 1909, 358.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 367.

reservation and the policy pursued by some institutions of monopolizing historical material which may have come into their possession, but which they are either unable or undesirous to publish.

The State librarian of Pennsylvania, Mr. T. L. Montgomery, writes:

I should think it perfectly right to withhold material that was in the process of publication.

Mr. Montgomery raises another point worth considering:

I have had to deal [he says] with a great many historians, in the limited sense of the term, who delighted in holding material until some publication had come out, in order to prove how radically wrong the other was. This kind of parasite sometimes obtains a position in a public office. Death and infection are accomplishing a great deal of good in this direction, but some of them seem to have lived on preservatives.

Another point is suggested by Mr. F. K. W. Drury, of the library of the University of Illinois, as to restriction on material owned by a society or university upon which its own researches are being carried on. Is temporary restriction justifiable in such a case? The story is told of a certain professor of American history who was refused access to a famous collection in another university relating to his subject that, as the only way out of the difficulty, he finally joined the faculty of the offending institution. That does seem rather a desperate remedy.

It is also related of an institution not so very far from Chicago that it would only consent to the use of certain indispensable material in its possession on condition that the historian should submit to having his book brought out under their control. In another case an investigator asked permission to make photostat copies of certain copies of documents the originals of which had apparently been lost. No answer was ever made to his request.

While we are talking scandal one or two other instances may as well be given. A certain eastern authority was asked to go to a western institution to report upon a very valuable collection of manuscripts. He did so, and it is understood that his report was a factor of some importance in the acquisition of the material. Later he sent one of his assistants to look up certain points in the collection. The assistant was allowed to see but a small portion of the material and was refused permission to copy anything whatever. The institution had adopted the policy of refusing to all students the use of this material because there was a possibility that at some future time it might wish to publish some portion of it.

Another anecdote; this time at the expense of an eastern institution. The victim relates that he visited a certain city on the Atlantic seaboard to consult a newly discovered historical journal in which he was deeply interested. He found it in a well-known

library. The custodian of the manuscript courteously consented to let him see it, had it brought to his own desk, pulled out the sliding shelf, placed the manuscript thereon, and permitted the expert to turn over the pages while he kept a watchful eye on man and manuscript.

One more story, lest it be supposed that this sort of thing is peculiar to America. The Dominion archivist was very anxious a few years ago to obtain copies of certain documents relating to the early history of Canada in the French department of foreign affairs. He went to Paris and after being politely referred to one official after another and wasting several days, finally gave up the attempt and returned home. Some weeks later a permit arrived in Ottawa conveying the necessary permission to the archivist to make the copies. He joyfully sent it over to a trusted copyist in Paris. The latter took it to the department of foreign affairs and presented it to the official in charge of the documents. "But, monsieur," said the latter, "this permit is in the name of the archivist. It is impossible that the documents should be copied by another."

The question of restricting the use of documents dated before a certain year is a difficult one, and one as to which there is a considerable difference of opinion. It involves, among other things, in the case of public documents the policy of governmental departments, and in the case of private documents restrictions imposed by the donor.

Prof. Charles M. Andrews, writing of the British archives,<sup>1</sup> draws a lesson for American archivists from the restrictions placed for half a century by departmental authorities upon the Public Record Office. Records were turned over to the Record Office, but official red tape placed arbitrary limits upon their use by the public. "Such dates as 1759, 1779, 1780, etc., have in the past marked the limit beyond which the searcher could not go, except by personal application to the individual department." In 1909, as the result of the recommendations of an interdepartmental committee, the restrictions were removed and the documents submitted to regulations framed by the custodians of the Public Record Office. Mr. Fitzpatrick, of the Library of Congress, emphasizes the importance of Government documents being transferred to the archive bureau only when they are officially dead.

Control over such papers [he adds] is undesirable, for there can be no right nor claim of historical investigator, not legitimately overridden by administrative need; and, where this need continues to exist, its interference would result in practically transforming the archive bureau into an adjunct of the department from which the files came.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> American Historical Association, Ann. Rep., 1909, 350.

<sup>2</sup> Notes on the Care, etc., of Manuscripts, 8.

Is it possible or desirable to fix a uniform date for the transfer of Government documents? European practice in this regard is becoming more generous. It is said that the French ministry of foreign affairs permits the use of its archives to February, 1848, and the Archives Nationales communicate documents that are 50 years old. The Public Record Office in London has fixed the year 1840 as its limit. In the Dominion archives at Ottawa documents are available down to the year of confederation, 1867. Various other dates obtain in different countries, depending upon historical and other considerations. Of course, in nearly all cases serious students with suitable credentials can obtain access to documents of a later date if they possess the necessary patience and perseverance to press the matter through the proper channels.

As to a fixed date, one finds a considerable difference of opinion even among competent authorities. Mr. Leland, for instance, says<sup>1</sup> that—

while a chronological dead line is convenient, especially for the archivist, it may be questioned if it is not better to decide each case upon its own merits. It is clear that certain kinds of material can safely be communicated to within very recent times. Why, then, should they be withheld because other material can not be communicated?

Prof. W. L. Grant, of Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, suggests the adoption of a definite date of, say, 75 years from the present, documents of later date to be available under suitable restrictions. Prof. C. R. Fish, speaking of the Italian archives,<sup>2</sup> brings up another point. He urges the desirability of a uniform date being agreed upon for the transfer of documents from the various departments to the archive authorities.

The question of subjecting investigators to oversight, requiring them to submit their notes to an attendant, etc., is one that is viewed from widely different angles by archivists. Mr. Fitzpatrick, who voices no doubt the policy of the Library of Congress, says:<sup>3</sup>

Consultation of manuscripts should be allowed only in the presence and under the constant observation of the archivist or his assistants.

He takes the view also that in the case of confidential documents subject to restrictions the archivist must see the notes or copies made therefrom by the investigator; that application for use of a document should be made in writing; and that the application should state the purpose of the investigation.

On the other hand, Prof. W. R. Shepard, writing of the Spanish archives,<sup>4</sup> says:

But the greatest boon of all to the worker in the Spanish archives is the total absence of censorship. Either a manuscript is supplied along with an absolute

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<sup>1</sup> American Historical Association, Ann. Rep., 1909, 347.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 355.

<sup>3</sup> Notes on the Care, etc., of Manuscripts, 5.

<sup>4</sup> American Historical Association, Ann. Rep., 1909, 363.



right of copying or of photographing its contents, or it is simply withheld from the outset. Never is the vexatious experience undergone of having some choice passage blue-penciled and the labor of the copyist expended in vain because of some petty regulation devoid of sense or reason.

The views and practice of a number of representative archivists and librarians on this continent may be briefly summarized:

Mr. E. R. Harlan, of the Historical Department of Iowa:

Taking reasonable care that each applicant is one worthy of confidence, no restrictions are placed upon his use of the materials so long as they are not removed from the room in which they are examined.

Mr. Hanson, of the library of the University of Chicago:

I have seen so much carelessness and ignorance of the simplest safeguards, even on the part of prominent professors, that I am convinced of the necessity of strict supervision; at any rate, in the use of original manuscripts.

Mr. Langton, library of the University of Toronto:

If the reader or consulter lives in Toronto, we require him to use our material in the library building, and, in the case of particularly valuable material, in one of the rooms occupied by the staff, so that he may be under observation.

The New York State Library:

Places no restrictions upon the liberty of students consulting manuscripts except that necessary for the proper preservation and guarding of such manuscripts.

Connecticut State Library:

We have insisted that the manuscripts be used in the immediate presence of assistants.

Mr. Belden, of the Massachusetts State Library:

The only restriction is that the volumes or manuscripts should be used under proper supervision by one of the members of the library staff, and that in case the volume or manuscript is brittle or torn because of age that the library assistant should handle the same.

Mr. Carlton, of the Newberry Library:

Manuscripts and other rare material should be consulted and used only under the direct supervision of the regular custodian of the room or department, who is, or should be, an expert.

Dr. Owen, of the Department of Archives and History of Alabama:

The State archives are open to the public without restriction other than their use in conformity to the usual office regulations as to examination in the presence of an attendant, etc.

Mr. Robinson, of the Department of History of South Dakota:

No restriction whatever has been placed upon the use of our material by students, except that ordinary prudence which protects rare matter from injury or loss.

Mr. Brigham, of the Iowa State Library:

My reluctant judgment, drawn from experience with students, is that one cannot safely turn them loose among books or papers of value, for I have known not a few who seem to be lacking in conscientiousness in the matter of autograph-collecting or print-collecting who apparently are otherwise honest. It would seem to me best to supervise a student's examination of papers and make a note of papers turned over to him.

Dr. G. H. Locke, of the Toronto Public Library :

I should certainly put restrictions upon the liberty of students consulting manuscripts. My experience has led me to believe that about one in seven of such investigators really knows a little about tackling such a job as a collection of manuscripts. The rest wear out the material and gain nothing.

A few words as to credentials, age limit, hours for work, implements, and other facilities. The rule as to credentials of the New York Public Library, manuscript division, is as follows:

Persons desiring a card of admission to the manuscript division should make a written application to the Director of the library, specifying name, address, profession, or occupation, and the purpose for which admission is desired. Such application should be made, if possible, at least two days in advance, and must be accompanied by a written recommendation from some person of known position.

In the British Museum an applicant must be vouched for by a property holder. The Library of Congress requires a written application, and favors, though it does not apparently demand, a letter of introduction. Yale University and several other institutions require identification. The Dominion Archives and many other similar bodies demand nothing in the way of credentials. In the European archives an introduction is generally necessary; if a foreigner, from the diplomatic representative of his country.

As to an age limit, the rules of the manuscript division of the New York Public Library provide that "no person under 18 years of age will be admitted to the manuscript research room." In most institutions the matter is left to the judgment of the custodian.

The general rule as to hours for research work seems to be that students have access to material whenever the institution is open to the public. In the Dominion Archives a research worker may obtain access to his material after the regular hours. On the other hand, the Newberry Library closes its manuscript and rare book department at 5 p. m., the librarian taking the view that such valuable material should not be consulted except under the supervision of experts.

The use of pen and ink in copying manuscripts has generally been thought objectionable. Mr. Fitzpatrick, speaking of the proper use of such material,<sup>1</sup> says:

It must not be touched with either pen or pencil point, and copying should be with pencil if possible, as the open, dripping inkwell is a constant menace to the document. The fountain pen is only less objectionable. With some well-meaning but awkward individuals, however, the pencil for copying or making notes is all that can safely be permitted.

The rule of the New York Public Library is that, except in very special cases, pencils must be used in copying or taking notes.

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<sup>1</sup> Notes on the Care, etc., of Manuscripts, 5.

In the Swedish archives there is no restriction in the use of ink, the only rule being that the student must not rest his notes on the documents while making excerpts.

This brings us down to the question of the photostat. A good deal has already been said as to the manifest advantages of cooperation in the exchange of copies of manuscripts by archive bureaus and libraries. A word or two may be added as to the value of the photostat in this connection, and for other purposes. The photostat supplies an unquestionable duplicate of the original manuscript, infinitely preferable to the work of even the most painstaking copyist. Think for a moment what the world has lost in the destruction of great collections of manuscripts, even in modern times,<sup>1</sup> and how incalculably richer we would have been had photographic copies of these documents been supplied to other institutions.

Mr. Paltsits, speaking of the "Tragedies in New York's Public Records,"<sup>2</sup> says:

The lost records give rise to serious reflections in us. There are cases in which we must depend wholly upon some printed or contemporary or later transcript, the accuracy of which can no longer be ascertained with certainty, because the original is either lost, mutilated, or decayed from neglect. Too often the key of truth has perished, leaving us only the uncertain premises that are afforded by incompleteness.

Cases will occur to each one of us, within our own experience, of incomplete stories, missing links in a chain of historical facts, due to the loss of one or more indispensable documents. How we would have blessed the man, or his memory, who could have been far-sighted enough to deposit authentic copies of these manuscripts in some other institution before his own went up in smoke.

Nor, finally, is the value of the photostat confined to its use in providing an absolutely correct and trustworthy copy of original manuscripts. As Mr. Leland points out in his article on the "Application of Photography to Archive and Historical Work"<sup>3</sup>

It is also of service in the restoration of partially destroyed documents or when it is desired to ascertain the original wording of documents that have been modified by erasures. The artificial lens is so much more powerful than that of the eye, and the photographic plate is to such a degree more sensitive than the retina, that much that is invisible, or at best quite illegible to the vision even when aided by a glass, is easily made out in the photographic copy.

The photostat furnishes also the means of preserving facsimiles of documents that have begun to disintegrate.

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<sup>1</sup> See Chronological Sketch of the Destruction of Libraries by Fire in Ancient and Modern Times, in Report of Library Association of the United Kingdom, 1879, 149-154; and article by R. B. Poole on the same subject in Report of U. S. Commissioner of Education, 1892-93, pt. 2, 724-726.

<sup>2</sup> American Historical Association, Ann. Rep., 1909, 373.

<sup>3</sup> American Historical Association, Ann. Rep., 1908, I, 154.

One word more, as the preacher saith, and I have done. Mr. Hanson, of the library of the University of Chicago, contributes the interesting suggestion that, as all students do not fully realize the importance of preserving original documents or appreciate their duty to coming generations, it might be a safe rule to place before them photostat copies instead of the originals, at any rate in the case of peculiarly valuable manuscripts. "I rather think," he adds, "that we may have to come to this more and more, not only in the use of manuscripts by students but in their exhibition or display."

The discussion of Mr. Burpee's paper was opened by Dr. George N. Fuller, of Ann Arbor, Mich., as follows:

Beside a keen analysis, Mr. Burpee has given us a working selection of what is most vital in the experience of seasoned men. Two or three things of a general nature occur to me for special emphasis.

Respecting the relation of custodian and investigator, I would regard both as cooperative servants of collective society. I believe the custodian can best serve this larger public by putting upon the trained investigator the least possible restriction consonant with the rights of posterity. A closer sympathy and understanding between the keepers and users of historical manuscripts would favor a more hopeful advance in both practice and theory. Certainly, all manuscripts need not be treated alike. I do not see that original and rare manuscripts have a legitimate function for any but the trained investigator, at least any function that a photostat reproduction would not serve as well. As to college students untrained in the use of manuscripts, I am impressed with the experience of Dr. Locke, of the Toronto Public Library, that only about one in seven does much more than wear out the material. The photostat apparently would solve the problem of student use of originals of unusual value, and it would help in cases where restrictions are felt necessary that would seriously hamper even the trained investigator.

As the basis of loan and exchange, I very much favor the theory that all historical manuscripts of a public nature belong to collective society, of which the individual or institution having legal title is but an agent. This theory is, of course, opposed to all forms of commercialism in the use of such manuscripts and to all varieties of selfishness in custodianship, with due regard for that subtle form we know as "enlightened self-interest," which among those who have been constrained to realism by abuses of privilege seems to be a substantial excuse for some practices that at times seriously hamper the scholar. In general, it seems to me, it is involved in the essential meaning of all institutional life that stands for the ideals

of scholarship. According to this theory, chance possession and legal title ought not to stand in the way of the freest exchange of manuscripts of a public nature, especially to the end that originals may find their way into the safest depositories easily accessible to the places where they were made. Where, for imperative reasons, it is not possible to answer requests for loans by sending originals, the petitioner might well be met with generous privileges for copying. This is not expecting the custodian of manuscripts to be a sort of institutional angel. We observe that the platitudinous old law of the Golden Rule is coming to be regarded as a plain, common-sense proposition even in avowedly competitive business. It seems to me its thorough application should come more rapidly to pass in the relationships of avowed idealists engaged in preserving and using sources of knowledge for scholarly purposes.

Continuing the discussion, Dr. M. M. Quaife, of the Wisconsin Historical Society, said:

Two regrets have been foremost in my mind while listening to the reading of Mr. Burpee's paper and to the discussion that has taken place upon it: First, that we could not have had the pleasure of hearing Mr. Burpee himself deliver this paper; second, that it could not have been heard by some of the people scattered up and down the country, who, it seems to me, would be likely to profit most by it.

In a certain department of the Government at Washington you can find, if you are fortunate enough in your introduction to have succeeded in making a favorable impression upon the official in charge, a number of old volumes of inspection reports of a group of forts in the old Northwest, covering, I believe, the period from 1814 to 1836. Some time ago I visited the department in question with the hope of gaining permission to examine and copy some of the inspection reports that I was particularly interested in. I was told, after considerable preliminary negotiation, that I might see and take notes upon them, but that I must not copy anything which reflected unfavorably upon anyone. I tried to observe this instruction, partly, possibly, because I understood that my notes must be submitted to censorship before I would be permitted to carry them away. One of the inspection reports which interested me began with a list of all the officers of the garrison, each name accompanied by a brief characterization of the individual in question. In general the inspector was much pleased with the results of his inspection and most of his comments were highly favorable; but in the case of two or three officials there were less favorable reports. Not perceiving the utility of copying all the favorable comment, while leaving out the

unfavorable, in my notes, I proceeded to summarize this whole portion of the inspector's report by the generalization that the inspector's opinion of the condition of the garrison and the efficiency of the officers was in most cases highly favorable; "in a few cases not so favorable." The official who censored my notes carefully blotted out this concluding generalization—"in a few cases not so favorable."

With respect to the discussion of the paper itself and of the points which it raises, it would be vain for me to attempt to bring forward anything entirely new on the subject. There are one or two items, however, which seem to me worthy of comment, and such comment as I have to make will be based largely on my own experience in connection with the work in which I have been engaged. One question of much importance to the society which I have the honor to represent has to do with the acquisition, and with the administration after acquisition, of manuscript material which, from the nature of its contents, can not with propriety be thrown open to the public. Perhaps I may be permitted to give you a concrete illustration of what I have in mind. We have published at Wisconsin within the last year, as many of you know, an "Artilleryman's Diary," kept by a man who is now a prominent preacher and civic leader of this city. Our artillery private of 50 years ago had quite as high ethical and moral standards as he has to-day; he was not then as discreet, however, as he would be to-day in expressing his opinions. Accordingly the "diary" abounds in frank and forceful characterizations of the officers and other individuals with whom he came in contact during his army career. Now, it would not be discreet at this time in publishing a Civil War diary to say that Gen. John Doe was drunk on a given occasion or that he was addicted to gambling or other questionable practices. Such things would stir up trouble, and another 50 years will have to elapse before information of this sort may properly be given freely to the public. We published the diary precisely as it was written, with the exception that we felt constrained to omit certain entries and comments of the character indicated. To apply the illustration to the acquisition and administration of manuscripts: Supposing you have deposited in the society's archives material that comes down close to the present time or that reflects unfavorably upon the character, career, or motives of men now living. In the nature of things you can not now make such material public. Going further back, you will not be able to acquire such material unless you are willing to assure the owners that when private or family papers are turned over to you no improper use or publication of them will be made.

The Wisconsin Historical Society under the régime of my predecessor let it be known up and down the State that anyone might entrust his private papers, containing his family and business secrets, to the

society for preservation with perfect confidence that the trust so confided would not be abused. Thus it has come about that we now have papers, and are at all times anxious to acquire papers, to which, in the nature of things, we can not allow students and others free access. In this connection it is pertinent to observe that but for this policy and the confidence engendered by it, just the class of papers, which from the nature of their contents possess the greatest interest and importance, would never come into the possession of the society.

To illustrate: We have a certain considerable collection of the business and private papers of a man who was prominent in Wisconsin in the territorial period. I am told by one of our research workers, who is familiar with the contents of the collection, that these are of comparatively little interest. Evidently the man himself, in his own lifetime, or some one else acting in his behalf, went through the collection before it came into our possession, and removed everything of a confidential or unfavorable character. So, unless the historical society is willing to adopt such a policy as our society pursues, and is glad to acquire collections of private papers subject to such restrictions as to freedom of use as the particular circumstances in each case render proper, you may be sure that comparatively seldom will papers really interesting and confidential in character come into its possession.

[At this point in the address reference was made, by way of illustration, to a number of manuscript collections in the Wisconsin Historical Library whose contents are of such a character that it is deemed necessary to put certain restrictions, the details of which vary with each collection, upon their use by the general public.]

I would suggest then, in concluding this point, that, while I believe as thoroughly as anyone can in affording the greatest possible freedom of access to and use of a manuscript collection, there are some materials which, in the nature of things, the institution must hold in trust. Our society welcomes the deposit of private papers subject to any reasonable conditions as to their administration and use that the donor may see fit to prescribe, and discharges with the utmost fidelity the trust thus entered upon. Naturally, the restrictions referred to are of a temporary character, and when the requisite period of time shall have elapsed the papers thus acquired are likely to prove to belong to the really interesting and valuable portion of our manuscript collection.

The other point suggested by Mr. Burpee in his paper, to which I wish to call attention, pertains to the practice of loaning manuscripts. I judge from what Mr. Burpee has said that some institutions indulge in this practice with a degree of freedom quite foreign to our society. When I took charge of its work and began to familiarize myself with its practices, I found in existence only one

rule, or law, which was supposed never to be broken; that is, a manuscript is not to leave the building under any circumstances short of absolute necessity. Since my comparatively recent connection with the society began I have had no particular occasion or temptation to test this rule. In fact, I believe no request has come to me as yet for the loan of a manuscript. Without undertaking to say what my attitude in the future may be, my present disposition is to see that the rule shall continue to be strictly enforced.

For the sake of my own enlightenment I would like to ask this question: How can you feel safe if you are going to embark upon the practice of loaning manuscripts that you will ever get them back? I am willing to minimize the possibility of destruction through railroad wrecks or similar infrequent accidents; but a more serious question presents itself: How can you know in advance of trial that the person or institution to whom the manuscript is to be loaned is trustworthy? I do not wish to be misunderstood in this connection, for in general I am far from pessimistic. There are plenty of persons and institutions in this country that can be trusted implicitly as far as the loan of manuscripts is concerned. But the important point as I see it is this: There are plenty of others who can not be trusted. Even in my own comparatively brief experience in connection with an historical society I have seen enough to lead me to be very skeptical of the practicability of placing reliance in a person because of his official position or his general reputation. If the question is one of loaning books, which, by the way, our library practices freely, it is usually possible to replace any loss that may occur. Should this not be the case, still the loss is seldom irreparable, since some other institution will commonly have a copy of the book in question; but in the case of manuscripts once lost they are gone forever. Recognizing as I do the encouragement to scholarship that would result from the free loan of manuscripts, I am inclined to believe that in the long run the broader interests of the scholarly world are better conserved by the policy the Wisconsin State Historical Society pursues of requiring the would-be user of the manuscript to come to the fireproof library building where it is housed. Especially is this the case, it seems to me, if a library stands ready to provide freely photostat copies of its manuscripts to any scholar for the bare cost of making them.

Mr. Victor H. Paltsits, of the New York Public Library, spoke as follows:

I may say that I recognize a number of the points in Mr. Burpee's summary as derived from the special rules which I drew up for the administration of the manuscript division of the New York Public



Library, which have been adopted by the library's trustees since an advance proof was sent to him; likewise, points from an opinion that I wrote in answer to a questionnaire which Mr. Burpee submitted to the director of the library. In some respects, therefore, you have already my views as presented through his paper.

My exception to this paper is that it presents a combination of two things that are distinct, namely, archives and historical manuscripts. These two terms are too generally misunderstood and misapplied in America. If we had come here to discuss the restriction of public archives, we could have reached, I believe, a logical conclusion that would find general acceptance; or, if we had considered alone the restriction and treatment of historical manuscripts in libraries, historical societies, or similar depositories, as well as in private hands, we might have been able to determine upon principles that should govern with respect to them. But this combination of two distinct things confuses the entire matter with regard to administration, use, privileges, methods of exchange, and so on.

Public archives are in large measure the property of the people, and theoretically they are accessible to all the people. That can not be said of historical manuscripts in libraries, historical societies, and so on, or of the manuscripts of a private corporation or in a man's private house. True, historical, literary, illuminated, or scientific manuscripts may repose here in great abundance and may be of considerable textual value. Accessibility and use must depend upon circumstances. The subject must be viewed from various angles, for there is a public as well as a private interest involved. When you are charged with the custody of historical or literary materials in a large cosmopolitan city like Chicago or New York, and in a semi-public institution of the kind already mentioned, the rules that you will make for their safety as a custodian or as a responsible board of trustees, will be very different from the regulations you would need for a small body of manuscripts in a small library of a small town in the Middle West or farther west; because the conditions are very different. In a cosmopolitan center it may be necessary to have in the library a staff of detectives, under an organized policing system, to apprehend thieves and vagabonds of all kinds, as is done in New York. Rules are made to safeguard property against theft, mutilation, or misuse, in accordance with the needs of the institution and locality in which it operates.

The rules for the administration of the manuscript division of the New York Public Library have considerable flexibility, particularly when the keeper of manuscripts applies them to responsible persons. They are on paper, and he has some discretion in interpreting them; but, for obvious reasons, the rules exist so they may be executed to the letter when that is necessary. Saneness and

personality in the administrator can not be separated from rules. He who does not possess these qualities had better not be trusted with the responsibility.

Several points have been made and some questions have been asked with regard to the loan of manuscripts. Doubtless you know that at the present time there are manuscripts belonging to Germany on deposit in England, and, likewise, manuscripts loaned by England in Germany. Whether they will ever be returned to their respective ownerships is problematical. Such exchanges have been advocated by scholars in the professional interest; but I believe that when the European war is over there will be a narrowing of such privileges.

Mr. Quaife has told us of his experience in Wisconsin, of the aberrations that grow out of liberality. The trouble with some of our professors, who have not been librarians or custodians of books of great value or of manuscripts of great price, is this—they advocate liberality without having the experience of its abuses. I have never exacted more than reasonable concessions when prosecuting a research in manuscript divisions or public archives, and I have never failed to meet with a generosity equal to kindness itself. Saneness and personality are as important in the investigator as they are in the administrator.

May a manuscript in the State Department at Washington be sent to the Illinois Historical department? Conditions might arise when such a concession would be possible. These public documents might be loaned to Illinois, if for the public interest. Mr. Quaife has shown how, with the best of intentions, the State Historical Society of Wisconsin has sent manuscripts out for public use and how difficult it was to secure their return in a reasonable time. But his society receives public support and is, therefore, more of a public institution than the New York Public Library, whose possessions in the central building are owned by the corporation and not by the city, nor does the city contribute toward the salaries of the central reference buildings. A while ago the Massachusetts Historical Society applied to the New York Public Library for the loan of a collection of papers and minutes of the Boston committee of correspondence for the purpose of reproducing them by the photostat, with a view to publication. Nothing of the kind had ever been granted by the library. When my opinion was asked, I favored the concession. The grant was made subsequently by a vote of the trustees. Provisions have been made as to the manner in which the loan is to be carried out. The Massachusetts Historical Society has reciprocated by offering to loan in like manner materials in its possession to the New York

Public Library. The concession does not establish a precedent. These two institutions have made an exchange as a special transaction. Now, the New York Public Library has a large and valuable collection of manuscripts. Conservatively stated, it may be worth a million dollars. The library has a photostat, and it is possible to procure photostat copies in conformity with the rules and upon proper application.

I know that my friend, Prof. Alvord, is waiting to defend his position with respect to the transfer and interloan of manuscripts. I told him that I would illustrate my views by an hypothetical case in the State of Illinois. I do not know that anything about it represents an historical fact; I use it merely to illustrate the point I am about to make. Let us suppose, then, that the family of Abraham Lincoln, about 20 or more years ago, received an offer from the Illinois State Historical Society for the manuscripts and books of Lincoln at a reasonable price, with the understanding that the society would seek an appropriation for the purchase from the legislature; that my friend, Alvord, thoroughly interested and conscious of the importance of the material, had agreed to take up the matter with the legislature and to do his best to have the appropriation made in a reasonable time. The representative of the Lincoln family agrees to wait until the legislature has met. Prof. Alvord takes up the matter immediately and prepares for the convening of the legislature. The time has come; the legislators listen; and the legislature adjourns without making the appropriation. Another appeal is made to the Lincoln family to wait another year so the matter may be presented again. This request is granted. The results with the next legislature are nil. The representative of the Lincoln family comes now to Prof. Alvord and says:

We do not want this collection to go to Washington. We prefer to have it stay in Illinois; if not at the Capitol then in the city of Chicago.

He goes to the Chicago Historical Society and says:

We have tried for two years to get the State to buy these Lincoln manuscripts for the Illinois State Historical Society and have failed to secure a reasonable appropriation. We wish to keep them in Illinois. Can you do anything in Chicago for us?

Let us suppose that a number of men of means in Chicago put their hands into their pockets and buy the collection for the Chicago Historical Society—a society which is also a publishing society. The gift may stipulate that the Lincoln papers be published in a reasonable time, say within ten years. Suppose that the legislature, in the course of years, has changed its policy and has made some grants for historical purposes at the Capitol, and that the professors at the

State university have now an opportunity to do some editorial work for the Historical Commission of Illinois, and they go to the Chicago Historical Society and say:

We want to copy all of the Lincoln papers, so we may publish them.

I think it would be quite reasonable for the directors of the Chicago Historical Society to reply:

Well, that is peculiar. You know of the history of these papers, and you know that we have been gathering a fund for their publication. We have a right and duty to publish them, and we would be glad to have you cooperate with us, but we can not let you have copies for publication.

These things occur constantly. People who have property have a moral right to that property. The house in which Washington or Lincoln was born may have been neglected because nobody has been public-spirited enough to buy and preserve it. Some day a man comes along and makes of the house his home. He puts it in good order. It begins to attract attention. It is his. He is bound only by his deed and the laws of the land. He may admit visitors or he may exclude them. So private corporations or semipublic institutions are governed by their acts of incorporation and by-laws, and by the conditions of their bequests or gifts. Public archives are different. They belong to the people who support the government. I am not favoring the restriction of liberality for real historical uses. I am merely pointing out that there is a fitness in all things that must be considered.

Prof. Alvord replied to Mr. Paltsits's remarks as follows:

Historical societies, whether private or State, are the custodians of manuscripts that belong to the public. Their property is, therefore, held in trust for the service of scientific men. This statement, which probably everybody here will regard as a self-evident truth, must be occasionally insisted upon, because historical societies and their administrative officers so frequently allow their duty as custodians to become involved in their interest as publishers, which is based on entirely different principles. In most of our societies these two functions are performed by the same man; and it is not right that the man as an historical student should allow his personal interest to affect his duty as custodian. The custodian guards a manuscript simply that it may be of service to historians; its very value depends upon such use. His selfish interest as an historical student will induce him to guard a valuable manuscript from all eyes in order that he may be the first to publish it. No society should permit such a policy to be practiced. In the realm of science there is no such thing as a newspaper scoop.

The discussion was closed by Dr. Solon J. Buck, of the Minnesota Historical Society:

With reference to restrictions because of plans for future publication, I wish to say that so far as the policy of the Minnesota Historical Society is concerned, and so far as I am able to represent that policy, the materials belonging to the Minnesota Historical Society will never be reserved from the use of anyone because of any plans for future use or publication. I firmly believe that if any other person or institution can get these materials before the public and into the hands of scholars and students before I can or before my institution can, that person or institution should be allowed that privilege.



## APPENDIX

### REPORTS OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES, 1914<sup>1</sup>

#### CALIFORNIA.

*Historical Society of Southern California* (Los Angeles).—President, George F. Bovard; secretary, J. M. Guinn. Membership, 87; increase, 5. Income derived from dues and sale of publications. Bequest of \$5,000. Housed in Museum of History, Science, and Art. Publications: Parts 1 and 2 of Volume IX, Annual for 1912-1913; part 3 of Volume IX will be issued in 1915; Annual for 1914. Collections: 2,400 books; increase, 200; MSS., 189; 30 cases museum objects.

*California Genealogical Society* (San Francisco).—President, Henry B. Phillips; secretary, Sarah L. Kimball. Membership, 166; increase, 54. Income derived from dues. Collections: 400 books. Society has called an International Congress of Genealogy to assemble in San Francisco during 1915. Expects to have accommodations in the new San Francisco branch of the California State Library.

#### COLORADO.

*State Historical and Natural History Society* (Denver).—President, Edward B. Morgan; secretary, Charles E. Dudley. Membership, 75. Society is moving its collections to a new building erected by the State.

#### CONNECTICUT.

*Acorn Club of Connecticut* (New Haven).—President, John Murphy; secretary, Lucius B. Barbour. Income derived from assessments and sale of publications. Publications: B. F. Palmer Diary.

#### ILLINOIS.

*Chicago Historical Society* (Chicago).—President, Clarence A. Burley; secretary, Seymour Morris. Membership, 361; decrease, 21. Funds: \$118,464.34 invested. Publications: Annual Report; Masters of the Wilderness, by Charles Bert Reed; Catalogue of Exhibit Relating to Liberia; the Lincoln and Douglas Debates, by Horace White. Collections: 50,000 books and pamphlets; increase, 1,279; MSS., 20,000; increase, 122; museum objects, 1,021.

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<sup>1</sup> In accordance with the usual custom, requests were sent out to historical societies, commissions, departments, etc., in the United States and Canada for information designed to show the present status, activities, and progress during the year. The number of blanks sent out was reduced from nearly 500 the previous year to about 300 by eliminating those societies and institutions which have never taken sufficient interest in the conference to fill out and return one of the blanks. The returns made by the 93 societies reporting are here summarized.

- Woodford County Historical Society* (Eureka).—President, L. J. Freese; secretary, Miss Amanda L. Jennings. Membership, 69. Income derived from dues and special county appropriations. Housed in courthouse. Publications: List of land grants given soldiers of the county. Collections: 104 books; increase, 4; museum objects, 30.
- Polo Historical Society* (Polo).—President, J. W. Clinton; no secretary. Membership, 30. Income derived from voluntary contributions. Housed in Township Library. Collections: 50 books; MSS., sketches of early pioneers.
- Illinois State Historical Library* (Springfield).—President of the board of trustees, E. B. Greene; secretary, O. L. Schmidt. Funds derived from State biennially. Publications: Travel and Description, 1765-1865, by Solon J. Buck; Catalogue of Genealogies in Library, by Georgia Osborne; Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society.
- Illinois Survey* (Urbana).—Director, C. W. Alvord. Income derived from appropriations by University of Illinois from funds of Graduate School. MSS. acquisitions: Photostatic reproductions of old Illinois newspapers and Indian Office letter books; Messinger papers.
- Whiteside County Historical Society* (Sterling).—President, L. C. Thorne; secretary, W. W. Davis. Income derived from city and contributions. Housed in city hall. Collections: 1,000 books; MSS., 100; museum objects, 500.

## INDIANA.

- Department of History and Archives of the Indiana State Library* (Indianapolis).—Director, Harlow Lindley. Department is cataloguing manuscripts and indexing newspapers. Notable acquisitions: "Hoosiers Nest," by John Finley, and an autograph letter of John Hampden, of England, 1642.

## IOWA.

- Jefferson County Historical Society* (Glendale).—President, Dr. T. L. James; secretary, Hiram Heaton. Membership, 31. Funds on hand, \$26.85. Housed in Carnegie Public Library. Publications: Reminiscences of Army Life; An Old Well, and The Only Tanner of Pioneer Days of the County, by H. Heaton. Collections: 26 books; museum objects, 500.
- State Historical Society of Iowa* (Iowa City).—President, Euclid Sanders; superintendent, B. F. Shambaugh; secretary, F. E. Horack. Membership, 600. Income derived from State. Publications: Iowa Journal of History and Politics; The Quakers of Iowa; History of Township Government in Iowa; History of Education in Iowa; One Hundred Topics in Iowa History; Applied History, VII. Collections: 41,170 books.

## KANSAS.

- Kansas State Historical Society* (Topeka).—President, J. N. Harrison; secretary, William E. Connelley. Membership, 511. Income derived from State and the Booth bequest of \$500. Housed in the Memorial Building. Publications: List of Kansas Newspapers and Biennial Report, 1913-1914. Collections: 41,518 books; MSS., 44,628; museum objects, 9,621.

## LOUISIANA.

- Louisiana Historical Society* (New Orleans).—President, Gaspar Cusachs; secretary, Robert Glenk. Membership, 456; increase, 58. Income derived from dues. Collections: 2,000 books; increase, 500; MSS., 65,000. Publications: Vol. 7 of Proceedings in preparation.



## MAINE.

*Piscataquis Historical Society* (Dover).—President, John F. Sprague; secretary, Francis C. Peaks. Membership, 150. Funds: \$1,000 appropriated by the legislature in 1910 for the publication of a volume of Collections.

## MASSACHUSETTS.

*Amherst Historical Society* (Amherst).—President, Mrs. Mabel L. Todd; secretary, Prof. David Todd. Membership, about 40. Income derived from dues. Housed in old Strong House. Collections: 150 books.

*The Colonial Society of Massachusetts* (Boston).—President, Frederick J. Turner; corresponding secretary, Rev. Charles E. Park. Membership, 123. Funds: \$10,000 received from the estate of Edward Wheelwright; \$5,000 subscribed by a few members. Publications in preparation: Two volumes of the Records of the Corporation of Harvard College to 1750; two volumes containing the Instructions to the Royal Governors of Massachusetts prior to 1776.

*Military Historical Society of Massachusetts* (Boston).—President, Col. Thomas L. Livermore; secretary, W. Ropes Trask. Membership, 210. Income derived from small trust fund and annual assessments. Collections: 4,000 books.

*The Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities* (Boston).—President, Charles K. Bolton; corresponding secretary, William S. Appleton. Membership, 1,412. Income derived from dues and invested funds. Publications: Bulletin No. 10, April, 1914; Bulletin No. 11 in press. Collections: 1,008 books and pamphlets; photographs, views, etc., 11,563; museum objects, 831. Society is acquiring old historic buildings in New England.

*The Billerica Historical Society* (Billerica).—President, A. Warren Stearns, M. D.; secretary, Mrs. Clara E. Sexton. Membership, 49; increase, 4. Funds, \$173.77.

*Cambridge Historical Society* (Cambridge).—President, Richard H. Dana; secretary, Albert H. Hall. Membership, 145. Publications: Annual volume of Proceedings, No. VIII. Collections: 1,500 books, pamphlets, etc.

*Harvard Commission on Western History* (Cambridge).—Chairman, A. C. M. Davis; secretary, Roger Pierce. Funds: \$1,000 a year from Mrs. Wm. Hooper; gifts for special needs from various donors. Soon to be housed in the new Harvard Library. Collections: All turned over to Harvard Library. Notable acquisition: Mormon collection of 2,600 volumes.

*Fitchburg Historical Society* (Fitchburg).—President, Hon. Ezra S. Stearns; secretary, Ebenezer Bailey. Membership, 167; decrease, 22. Funds: Life membership fund, \$150; Crocker fund, \$1,000. Publications: Proceedings in press. Collections: 3,370 books; increase, 208; MSS., 794; museum objects, 277.

*Haverhill Historical Society* (Haverhill).—President, E. G. Frothingham; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Mabel D. Mason. Membership, 325. Income derived from dues and invested fund of \$6,000. Housed in colonial mansion, with fireproof room for collections, and in a very old frame house. Collections: 100 books; MSS., 150; museum objects, 3,000.

*Malden Historical Society* (Malden).—President, Hon. Charles E. Mann; secretary, George W. Chamberlain. Membership, 175; decrease, 25. Invested funds, \$600. Housed in public library. Publications: Register, No. 3, 1913-14. Collections in storage.

*Medway Historical Society* (Medway).—President, Herbert N. Hixon; secretary, Orion T. Mason. Membership, 125; increase, 20. Income derived from dues and entertainments. Collections: Mostly old household articles, paintings of old-time folk, and manuscripts of local interest.

*Roxbury Historical Society* (Roxbury).—President, Winthrop Alexander; secretary, Walter R. Meins. Membership, 262; decrease, 27. Housed in Municipal Court Building. Income derived from invested funds. Collections: 185 books.

*The Essex Institute* (Salem).—President, Gen. Francis H. Appleton; secretary, George F. Dow. Membership, 588. Income derived from dues and a fund of \$204,514.96. Rare manuscripts and books in fireproof building. Publications: Historical Collections, Vol. 49: Vital Records of Chelmsford; Records and Tales of the Quarterly Courts of Essex Co., Vol. III. Collections: 500,000 books; pamphlets, 9,875; MSS. acquisition, two sixteenth century antiphonaries.

*Sherborn Historical Society* (Sherborn).—President, Walter E. Blanchard; secretary, Elizabeth Dowse Coolidge. Membership, 60. Funds, \$17.60. Housed in the Dowse Library Building. Collections not catalogued but to be exhibited next fall.

*American Antiquarian Society* (Worcester).—President, Waldo Lincoln; secretary, Charles S. Nichols. Membership, 173. Funds: \$305,000 invested. Housed in new building. Publications: Proceedings, October, 1913, and April, 1914; beginning of Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820. Collections: Increase, 3,094 bound volumes, 2,076 pamphlets, 451 maps, 17,793 unbound newspapers from New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Pennsylvania.

#### MICHIGAN.

*Keweenaw Historical Society* (Houghton).—President, J. T. Reeder; secretary, J. A. Doelle. Membership, 175. Income derived from fees. Collections: 225 volumes relating to history of the Copper Country of Michigan or the Old Northwest, numerous pamphlets, documents, photographs, relics, etc.

*Michigan Historical Commission* (Lansing).—President, William L. Jenks; secretary, Charles Moore. Funds supplied by State. Publications: Bulletins, numbers 3 and 4; several pamphlets; First Annual Report; Vol. 37 of *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections* is in press. Collections: Books in State Library; MSS. acquisitions: Margry papers from French archives; Schoolcraft papers; museum objects, 7,396.

#### MINNESOTA.

*Minnesota Historical Society* (St. Paul).—President, William H. Lightner; superintendent and secretary, Solon J. Buck. Membership, 453; increase, 31. Funds, \$140,000 invested; annual appropriation from State, \$20,000. Housed in State Capitol. Publications: Vol. XV of *Collections in press*. Collections: 118,000 books; increase, 3,500; museum objects, about 28,000. The society is about to begin the publication of a quarterly.

#### MISSOURI.

*Missouri Valley Historical Association* (Kansas City).—President, John B. White; secretary, Mrs. Nettie T. Grove. Membership, 300. Income derived from dues and invested funds. A fund of \$100,000 is being raised for a building and endowment. Publications: "Father De Smet," by Rev. Father W. J. Dalton.

*Pike County Historical Society* (Louisiana).—President, R. B. Simonson; secretary, Clayton Keith. Membership, 150. Income derived from dues. Publications: History of the Watson Family, compiled by the secretary; History of the Lampton Family, by Clayton Keith; Pike County Sketches. Collections: MSS., 50; increase, 10.

## MONTANA.

*Historical and Miscellaneous Department of Montana State Library* (Helena).—Librarian, W. Y. Pemberton. Housed in State Capitol. Publications: Biennial Report. Supported by State appropriations.

## NEBRASKA.

*The Mississippi Valley Historical Association* (Lincoln).—President, Isaac J. Cox; secretary, Clarence S. Paine. Membership, 1,213; increase, 150. Income derived from dues and contributions. Publications: Vol. 6 of Proceedings; Mississippi Valley Historical Review, begun as a quarterly in June.

## NEVADA.

*Nevada Historical Society* (Reno).—President, G. F. Talbot; secretary, Jeanne E. Wier. Membership, 158. Income derived from dues and legislative appropriation. Housed in new building. Publications: Third Biennial Report, 1911-12; Some Suggestions for the Celebration of Nevada's Semi-centennial, October 31, 1914; several pamphlets of programs for historical pageants. Collections: 2,500 books; increase, 100; MSS., 20; museum objects, 1,000.

## NEW HAMPSHIRE.

*New Hampshire Historical Society* (Concord).—President, Frank S. Streeter; secretary, Otis G. Hammond. Membership, 628; increase, 97. Publications: Manual, 1914; Dedication of a Monument to Rev. John Tucke (1702-1773). Funds: \$500 per year from State.

*Manchester Historic Association* (Manchester).—President, William G. Farmer; secretary, Fred W. Lamb. Membership, 250; increase, 50. Housed in new Carpenter Memorial Library. Will soon receive the relics of Gen. John Stark, now owned by his descendants.

## NEW JERSEY.

*Bergen County Historical Society* (Hackensack).—President, Mrs. Frances A. Westervelt; secretary, C. V. R. Bogert. Membership, 111. Income derived from dues and gifts. Publications: Year Book, 1913-14. Collections: 143 books, 655 pamphlets; MSS., 8; notable acquisition, Gen. Green's manuscript order book, June-August, 1776; museum objects, 1,000.

*New Brunswick Historical Club* (New Brunswick).—President, Austin Scott; secretary, Richard Morris. Membership, 75; increase 25. Publications: List of Readers; History of the Charity Organizations of the City of New Brunswick. MSS., 100. The society is cataloguing collections.

*New Jersey Historical Society* (Newark).—President, Francis J. Swayze; corresponding secretary, A. V. D. Honeyman. Membership, 916. Funds: Bequest of \$10,000 from Miss Alice W. Hayes.

*Salem County Historical Society* (Salem).—President, Edward S. Sharpe; secretary, George W. Price. Membership, 76; decrease, 2. Income derived from dues. Collections: 675 books; increase, 10; MSS., 340; increase, 30.

*Vineland Historical and Antiquarian Society* (Vineland).—President, Rev. William M. Gilbert; secretary, Frank D. Andrews. Membership, 44. Publications: Annual report. Collections: 9,108 books; increase, 241; notable museum objects, inlaid cabinet from Austria 300 years old; four paintings of Bassano, 1510–1590; old painting of Cortez.

#### NEW YORK.

*Montgomery County Historical Society* (Amsterdam).—President, Robert M. Hartley; secretary, Charles E. French. Membership, 175; increase, 3. Income derived from dues and endowment fund. Housed in old colonial house built by Sir William Johnson in 1742. Collections: 300 books; increase, 8; museum objects, 7,000; increase, 43.

*Buffalo Historical Society* (Buffalo).—President, Henry W. Hill; secretary, Frank H. Severance. Membership, 678; increase, 14. Income derived from invested funds. Publications: Volume 17, containing Gen. Sheaffe's official correspondence, War of 1812; Volume 18, in press. Collections: 33,125 books; increase, 652.

*New York Historical Association* (Glens Falls).—President, Sherman Williams; secretary, Frederick B. Richards. Membership, 850; increase, 50. Publications: Proceedings, Vol. XII. Income derived from dues. Housed in private house. Collections: about 1,000 books.

*American Jewish Historical Society* (New York).—President, Cyrus Adler; secretary, Albert M. Friedenberg. Membership, 374; increase, 4. Income derived from dues, gifts, bequests, and subscriptions; savings bank account of \$2,867.46. Housed in Jewish Theological Seminary. Publications: No. 22; index to the publications, Nos. 1–20. Collections: 1,601 books; 901 pamphlets; MSS., about 50; museum objects, about 50.

*New York Historical Society* (New York).—President, John A. Weekes; secretary, Fancher Nicoll. Membership, 920. Income derived from investments. Publications: Collections for 1910–1913. Collections: 124,263 books; increase, 3,514; a card catalogue of manuscripts is in progress.

*Onondaga Historical Association* (Syracuse).—President, George G. Fryer; secretary, Franklin H. Chase. Membership, 239; decrease, 10. Income derived from invested funds and dues. Housed in own building. Publications: Volume of Onondaga History in press. Collections: 2,500 books; increase, 400.

#### OHIO.

*Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* (Cincinnati).—President, Joseph Wilby; corresponding secretary, Charles T. Greve. Membership, 95; increase, 5. Income derived from private funds and dues. Publications: Quarterly, Volume IX. Collections: 26,212 books; increase, 205.

*Sandusky County Pioneer and Historical Association* (Fremont).—President, Isadore H. Burgoon; secretary, Basil Meek. Membership, 200. Income derived from voluntary contributions and an annual allowance of \$100 by the county commissioners. Publications: Yearbook.

*Western Reserve Historical Society* (Cleveland).—President, William P. Palmer; secretary, W. H. Cathcart. Membership, 300. Publications: The Chas. G. King Collection of Books on Costume; Annual Report. Notable acquisitions, Ephraim Brown papers; Gen. Simon Perkins's papers covering settlement of the Reserve and War of 1812.

*Old Northwest Genealogical Society* (Columbus).—Librarian and acting secretary, H. Warren Phelps. Collections, 3,100 books. Housed in Memorial Building. Income derived from dues. Publication, a quarterly.

*Muskingum County Pioneer and Historical Society* (Janesville).—President, A. R. Josselyn; secretary, Miss Annie Stokes. Funds, a few dollars.

#### PENNSYLVANIA.

*Delaware County Historical Society* (Chester).—President, Hon. William P. Broomall; secretary, Charles Palmer. Membership, 91. Income derived from dues. Collections, 260 books.

*Bucks County Historical Society* (Doylestown).—President, Henry C. Mercer; secretary, Clarence D. Hotchkiss. Income: Library endowment fund, \$2,000; publication fund, \$1,000; another special fund, \$1,000. New building soon to be completed. Collections: 4,500 books; increase, 250. Museum objects, 4,000, exclusive of Indian Department of at least 1,000.

*Site and Relic Society of Germantown* (Germantown).—President, Charles F. Jenkins; secretary, Horace M. Lippincott. Membership, 754. Income, \$1,500. Publication: *The Gardens and Gardeners of Germantown*, by Edwin C. Jellett. Collections: Books, 1,050; increase, 116; MSS., 246; increase, 7.

*Lancaster County Historical Society* (Lancaster).—President, George Steinman; secretary, Charles B. Hollinger. Membership, 310; increase, 25. Publications: 13 pamphlets. Collections: 2,647 books; increase, 155; acquired valuable early newspapers.

*Lebanon County Historical Society* (Lebanon).—President, Capt. H. M. M. Richards; secretary, S. P. Heilman. Membership, 225; increase, 7. Income derived from dues, sales of publications, and appropriation of \$200 from county funds. Housed in courthouse. Publication: Volume VI. Collections: 5,000 books, manuscripts, and museum objects.

*Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies* (Lebanon).—President, Benjamin M. Nead; secretary, S. P. Heilman. Membership, 39 societies; increase, 6 societies. Income derived from dues and State appropriation. Publications: *Acts and Proceedings of Ninth Annual Meeting*.

*Historical Society of Montgomery County* (Norristown).—President, Joseph Fornance; secretary, Mrs. A. Conrad Jones. Membership, 420; increase, 13. Income derived from dues, appropriation from county, and rentals. Publication: Volume III, in press. Collections: 2,261 books; increase, 161; newspaper files, 914; museum objects, 1,238.

*American Baptist Historical Society* (Philadelphia).—President, B. MacMackin; secretary, John W. Lyell. Income derived from invested funds. Collections: Books and pamphlets, about 28,000; acquired autograph letters of eminent Americans and Europeans connected with the American Bible Union, 1869–1871.

*American Catholic Historical Society* (Philadelphia).—President, Rev. William J. Lallou; corresponding secretary, Miss Jane Campbell. Membership, 600 to 700. Housed in its own building. Publications: Quarterly.

*Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia).—President, J. Granville Leach; recording secretary, Edward S. Sayres. Membership, 292; decrease, 11. Funds, \$4,300, invested. Publications: Volume V, no. 3. Collections: MSS., 301.

- Historical Society of Frankford* (Philadelphia).—President, Franklin Smedley; secretary, Caroline W. Smedley. Membership, 277; increase, 57. Income derived from dues and private donations. Publications: Bulletin, Volume 2, no. 4. Collections: 300 books, 700 pamphlets, and old newspapers; museum objects, 100.
- Historical Society of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia).—President, Hon. S. W. Pennypacker; librarian, John W. Jordan. Membership, 2,200. Publications: Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography. Collections: 225,000 books; MSS., 280,500 unbound, 2,539 bound. Income derived from dues.
- Pennsylvania History Club* (Philadelphia).—President, Herman V. Ames; secretary, Albert E. McKinley. Membership, 57; decrease, 1. Composed of members of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania who are interested in research.
- Presbyterian Historical Society* (Philadelphia).—President, Rev. Henry Van Dyke; secretary, Rev. Joseph B. Turner. Membership, 325. Funds, endowment of \$12,000. Publications, quarterly journal. Collections: 20,000 books, 70,000 pamphlets; acquisitions, Minutes of Presbytery of Huntingdon.
- Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania* (Pittsburgh).—President, William F. Stevenson; secretary, Burd S. Patterson. Membership, 700; increase, 200. Income derived from annual dues, \$200 contributed by Allegheny County. Moved into own building February 17, 1913. Collections: 1,000 books, increase 1,000; MSS., 20; museum objects, 50.
- Historical Society of Berks County* (Reading).—President, Louis Richards; secretary, William Fegley. Membership, 253; increase, 11. Housed in own building. Income derived from dues and invested funds. Collections: 3,100 books, increase, 300; MSS., 474, increase, 39; museum objects, 330, increase, 40.
- Snyder County Historical Society* (Selingsgrove).—President, Rev. Frank P. Manhart; secretary, W. M. Schnure. Membership, 59; increase, 40. Income derived from dues. Publications: Bulletin. Collections, 300 books. Society is marking historical points.
- Bradford County Historical Society* (Towanda).—President, John H. Chaffee; secretary, J. Andrew Wilt. Membership, 100. Income derived from county. Housed in building furnished by county. Publications: The Annual. Collections, 1,000 books.
- Wyoming Historical and Geological Society* (Wilkes-Barre).—President, Irving Ariel Stearns; secretary, Rev. Horace E. Hayden. Membership, 396. Income derived from \$55,000 endowment fund. Housed in three-story brick building. Publications: Vol. XIII of Proceedings. Collections: 22,000 books; increase, 1,000.

## RHODE ISLAND.

- Newport Historical Society* (Newport).—President, Hon. Daniel B. Fearing; secretary, Hon. John B. Sanborn. Income derived from dues, State, and small invested fund. Housed in brick building. Publications: Bulletins and other pamphlets. Collections: Books and pamphlets, 14,586; museum objects, 2,000. The society is raising a fund for a fireproof building.
- Rhode Island Historical Society* (Providence).—President, Wilfred H. Munro; secretary, Howard W. Preston. Membership, 400. Housed in partially fireproof building. Income derived from dues and invested funds. Publications: Annual Proceedings for 1913-14 and other pamphlets.

## SOUTH DAKOTA.

*Department of History* (Pierre).—President, Burton A. Cummins; secretary, Doane Robinson. Membership, 98. Income derived from State. Housed in new capitol. Publications: Volume VII and several pamphlets. Collections: 51,782 books; increase, 3,261; museum objects, 2,753; increase, 1,800.

## TENNESSEE.

*Tennessee Historical Society* (Nashville).—President, John H. De Witt; secretary, Robert Ewing. Membership, 195. Housed in Watkins Building. Income derived from dues and a bequest of \$10,000. The society is planning to issue a quarterly soon.

## UTAH.

*Utah State Historical Society* (Salt Lake City).—President, Spencer Clawson; secretary, J. R. Letcher. Membership, 300. Income derived from State according to needs. Office in new Capitol Building; exhibits at State University. Collections: 100 books, increase, 10; MSS., 100; museum objects, 400.

## VIRGINIA.

*Confederate Memorial Literary Society* (Richmond).—President, Miss Sally A. Anderson; secretary, Mrs. J. E. Robinson. Membership, 532. Income derived from dues and door fees. Publications: Annual report. Collections: 771 books; increase, 300; MSS., 20,000. The society is marking historical places.

*Virginia Historical Society* (Richmond).—President, W. Gordon McCabe; secretary, W. G. Stanard. Membership, 755; decrease, 85. Income derived from endowment fund. Publications: *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*.

## WASHINGTON.

*Washington State Historical Society* (Tacoma).—President, Henry Hewitt, jr.; secretary, W. P. Bonney. Membership, 250. Income derived from State.

## WISCONSIN.

*Sauk County Historical Society* (Baraboo).—President, H. E. Cole; secretary, H. K. Page. Membership, 80. Collections: 100 books; increase, 10.

*Wisconsin Archaeological Society* (Madison).—President, Ellis B. Usher; secretary, Charles E. Brown. Publications: *The Mounds of the Lake Waubesa Region*; *The Fond du Lac Cache*, etc.

*Wisconsin Historical Society* (Madison).—President, Emil Baensch; superintendent, M. M. Quaife. Membership, 757. Income derived from State and invested funds. New wing of building occupied. Publications: Vol. XX, *Wisconsin Historical Collections*; *Proceedings*, 1913; *Diary of Jenkin Lloyd Jones in Civil War*. Collections: 375,321 books and pamphlets.

*Waukesha County Historical Society* (Oconomowoc).—President, James A. McKenzie; secretary, Miss Julia A. Lapham. Membership, 145; increase, 17. Income derived from dues. Housed in courthouse. Has caused a monument to be placed in honor of the Cushing brothers, to be dedicated Memorial Day, 1915.

## WYOMING.

*Wyoming Historical Society* (Cheyenne).—Custodian, Miss Frances A. Davis. Membership, 6 appointed by governor and 3 ex officio. Income derived from State. Report on Wyoming Archives to be published by the American Historical Association. Has placed many markers on old trails and historic places.

## CANADA.

*Huron Institute* (Collingwood).—President, C. E. Gaviller; secretary, David Williams. Membership, 65. Grant of \$100 from provincial government. Housed in public library. Publications: Vol. II, Papers and Records. Museum objects, about 4,000.

*Société Historique de Montréal* (Montreal).—President, Rev. Naz. Dubois; secretary, Nap. Brisebois. Membership, 42. Income derived from subscriptions and publications. Collections: About 3,000 books; MSS., 25.

*Niagara Historical Society* (Niagara-on-the-Lake).—President, Miss Janet Carnochan; secretary, John Gikersley. Membership, 150; increase, 15. Funds are derived from dues, sale of pamphlets, donations, \$200 per annum from Ontario Government and \$25 from the county of Lincoln. Publications: No. 26, "Notes on the History of the District of Niagara, 1791-3;" No. 5 reprinted, and 19th annual report. Collections: 298 books, increase, 31; notable acquisitions: York Gazette, 1812; London Times, 1805. MSS., 295; notable acquisitions, letter of Joseph Brant, 1799. Museum objects, 5,809.

*Women's Canadian Historical Society of Ottawa* (Ottawa).—Acting president, Lady Foster; secretary, Mrs. Braddish Billings. Membership, 196. Income derived from Government grant of \$200, sale of Transactions, and dues. Publications: Transactions, Vol. I, reprint; annual report.

*Champlain Society* (Toronto).—President, Sir Edmund Walker; secretaries, Prof. G. M. Wrong and Eric N. Armour. Membership, 500. Income derived from subscriptions from members when called for. Publications: Volumes relating to the history of Canada; the ninth is in course of preparation.



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XVIII. FIFTEENTH REPORT OF THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES  
COMMISSION.  
WITH APPENDIXES.

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DECEMBER 31, 1914.

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VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS,  
*Chairman,*  
*476 Fifth Avenue, New York City.*

CHARLES M. ANDREWS,  
*Yale University.*

EUGENE C. BARKER,  
*University of Texas.*

GAILLARD HUNT,  
*Library of Congress.*

ALEXANDER S. SALLEY, JR.,  
*South Carolina Historical Commission.*

JONAS VILES,  
*University of Missouri.*

HENRY E. WOODS,  
*State Record Commissioner, Boston, Mass.*



## CONTENTS.

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	Page.
Fifteenth report.....	353
Appendix A.—Proceedings of the sixth annual conference of archivists..	359
Appendix B.—Preliminary survey of the more important archives of the Territory and State of Minnesota, by Herbert A. Kellar.....	385



## REPORT OF THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES COMMISSION.

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DECEMBER 31, 1914.

*To the Executive Council of the American Historical Association:*

The public archives commission of the American Historical Association has the honor to submit its report for the year 1914.

The preparation of the commission's report for 1913, the largest that has been compiled, was undertaken by the chairman during the winter and spring months and the manuscript was sent to the acting secretary of the association on June 8, 1914.

In former reports of the commission statements have been made with respect to the status of a report on the archives of California, the completion of which was interrupted by the death of Prof. Edwards. Efforts made during many months of 1914, with the object of securing a competent person to continue and finish that report, were unavailing; none the less, the matter was kept in mind.<sup>1</sup> Prof. Paul C. Phillips, of the University of Montana, has offered to prepare a supplement to his report on the archives of Montana.<sup>2</sup> Mention was made in last year's report that Dr. Augustus H. Shearer, of Chicago, had agreed to prepare a report on the public archives of Vermont, whereupon the commission named him an adjunct member for this purpose. He was unavoidably prevented from prosecuting the necessary investigations in Vermont during the summer vacation of 1914.<sup>3</sup> Dr. Solon J. Buck, formerly of the University of Illinois, soon after his removal from Illinois to Minnesota, was named an adjunct member of the commission in order to prepare a report on the public archives of Minnesota; meanwhile, increasing duties as superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society obliged him to relinquish the survey, but he secured Mr. Herbert A. Kellar, instructor in history in the University of Minnesota, to undertake the work. Dr. Buck has acted toward it in an advisory capacity;<sup>4</sup> he

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<sup>1</sup> The commission has since been able to arrange with Mr. Edwin L. Head, Keeper of the State Archives in the Department of State at Sacramento, to prepare the California report in time to be included in the commission's report for 1915.

<sup>2</sup> The report which forms Appendix C to the commission's report for 1912.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Shearer collected the data during the summer of 1915 for a report to appear in the commission's report for that year.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Buck was chosen as a member of the commission for 1915, and Mr. Kellar was named an adjunct member for the preparation of the very full report which appears as Appendix B to the present report of the commission.

has also been instrumental in securing as a subsidy the larger part of the cost of its preparation, by generous vote of the trustees of the Minnesota Historical Society. The commission appreciates this united service, because a report on Minnesota has long been a desideratum. This cooperation has resulted in a speedy realization of hopes long deferred.

During the year an extensive correspondence has been carried on in part with persons engaged with archival problems and in part with others for the purpose of promoting the ideals of archival economy. Perhaps the most interesting contribution lay in a suggestion made by the chairman to the president of the American Library Association early in the year, that the American Library Association consider at a session of its annual conference, to be held in Washington, D. C., in May, 1914, the subject of a national archive building. A ready response was given to this suggestion and Dr. J. Franklin Jameson was invited to present the subject to the librarians of the Nation. At a general session held in Continental Memorial Hall on the night of May 26, before an audience of some 600 librarians and library assistants, Dr. Jameson read a notable paper on "The Need of a National Archive Building," which evoked considerable interest. Dr. Gaillard Hunt, a member of the commission, and the chairman of the commission, followed Dr. Jameson's paper with brief discussions, and at the conclusion the chairman of the public archives commission presented a resolution in which the American Library Association took its stand in favor of the proposition. This resolution was by an unanimous vote recommended for adoption to the executive board of the American Library Association, and was later adopted by that board, all of which appears in the printed proceedings of the conference.<sup>1</sup>

The year 1914 has been a dull year in legislation, because most of the legislatures did not sit. An examination of the session laws of sitting legislatures has revealed virtually no legislation pertaining to archives and history, apart from appropriations.

#### CONNECTICUT.

From the biennial report<sup>2</sup> of George S. Godard, State librarian of Connecticut, we quote the following references to recent work undertaken by the State.

The examiner of public records, who is an appointee of the State librarian and for an indefinite term, has visited every public official throughout the State who has charge and custody of town and probate records. At his suggestion new vaults have been constructed and new safes purchased where

<sup>1</sup> Bulletin of the American Library Association, vol. 8, no. 4 (July, 1914), pp. 130-140, 185-186.

<sup>2</sup> State of Connecticut. Public Document No. 13. Report of the State librarian to the governor for the two years ended Sept. 30, 1914. Hartford, 1914. This report contains a conspectus of the probate records in the library and shows the plan of arrangement.

needed. Many volumes of land, probate, court records, and vital statistics in tatters or with broken bindings have under his direction been repaired—with the silk process where necessary, substantially bound, and properly lettered on the backs. Through his efforts the original files from 42 of the 148 probate districts in the State have been permanently deposited in the State library. These files extend from the earliest days of the several districts practically down to the present time.

As directed by the general assembly of 1913, which placed under his direction inks and typewriter ribbons for record purposes, the 40 different inks which have been used in Connecticut for record purposes have been analyzed by a State chemist and the four standing highest approved for record use. The use of any other ink upon the public records of Connecticut than those specified by the examiner of public records is by law prohibited. \* \* \*

Eleven hundred and thirty-five packages of early court papers, extending from the early days to about 1800, have recently been transferred from the secretary's office. Apparently this is but the beginning of these transfers, not only from the departments in the capitol, but from several clerks of the superior courts throughout the State.

Assistants who are competent and interested in their work are devoting their time to the arranging, repairing, indexing, and making accessible these early records and papers. Of the files of the 42 probate districts thus far deposited en masse, those from 35 are now accessible. About 300,000 original documents relating to practically 50,000 different estates are now conveniently accessible for the first time.

#### ILLINOIS.

The Illinois State Historical Library undertook an examination of the local archives of the State of Illinois. This survey was completed by Dr. Theodore C. Pease and the results are to be published by that library in an elaborate report.

#### MASSACHUSETTS.

Legislation of 1913 enlarged the powers and duties of the commissioner of public records, giving to him supervision over the public records of the Commonwealth, especially for their protection against loss by fire. Commissioner Henry E. Woods, in his report for 1914, says:

The commissioner in the course of his duties was instrumental in getting bills introduced into the last session of the legislature for the construction of fireproof vaults in some of the State institutions, and the bills were favorably acted upon by the legislative committee on public institutions, but in every instance the committee on ways and means, the financial committee of the legislature, reported adversely, and the measures were rejected, so that the work of the commissioner to get the law obeyed was nullified.

There were several fires in the local offices of Massachusetts during 1914, yet in not a single instance were any records lost, owing to the fireproof construction that had been installed according to law.

## NORTH CAROLINA.

The most valuable contribution during the year 1914 in respect of the archives of North Carolina, is without doubt the "Historical Review of the Colonial and State Records of North Carolina," by Dr. Stephen B. Weeks, prepared for the fourth volume of the index to the printed "North Carolina Records," and also issued separately in an edition of about 100 copies. In this monograph of 169 pages, Dr. Weeks designs to show the wealth of unprinted materials that await exploitation, description, or publication. In a letter to the chairman of the public archives commission of March 22, 1915, Dr. Weeks writes:

I have undertaken to show \* \* \* that the work already accomplished should be regarded only as an introduction to the still larger field of materials as yet practically undiscovered within the State itself. Nothing has been done in the State toward making the great mass of county records available. No inventory has been made in detail and no one knows accurately what we really have nor what has been lost. It is hoped and believed that in the near future the State may be induced to undertake other series of volumes which will put into usable shape the vast mass of material that is unorganized, undiscovered, and unknown.

Early in 1914 a National Association of State Supervisors of Public Records was organized, with the Hon. Henry E. Woods, of Massachusetts, as president.

At a session of the National Association of State Libraries, held in Washington, D. C., on May 27, 1914, Dr. H. R. McIlwaine presented a report of the public archives committee of that association, which is printed in the Bulletin of the American Library Association, vol. 8, no. 4 (July, 1914), pp. 284-300. It is arranged alphabetically by names of States and Territories and shows the current work in respect of archives, derived from correspondence and questionnaires.

It was deemed best to organize the Chicago conference of archivists in the nature of a round table and to evoke discussion, following the presentation of technical papers, prepared as materials for chapters of the proposed "Primer of Archival Economy." Accordingly, such a program was arranged and carried out successfully on the afternoon of December 31, with a total attendance of 42 persons, representing regionally a wide area. The proceedings of this conference, including the papers read and a selection from the stenographic report of the discussions, form Appendix A of this report of the commission.

The tentative plans of the commission for the year 1915 are concentration of attention upon the writing of chapters for the proposed "primer," arranging for a large meeting and campaign for a national archive building at Washington, in connection with the annual meet-



ings of the American Historical Association and affiliated societies, to be held at the National Capital in December, 1915, and securing of reports on the State archives of several States.<sup>1</sup>

The successful completion of the "primer" depends largely upon the amount of cooperation that can be invoked. It has been found that the annual conferences are fruitful in this respect, and in time the aggregation of papers and discussions can be made the sure foundations of a practical treatise on the science of archives in America. For such a work there is not only great need but insistent demand.

Respectfully submitted,

VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS, *Chairman.*

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

GAILLARD HUNT.

JONAS VILES.

EUGENE C. BARKER.

HENRY E. WOODS.

A. S. SALLEY, Jr.

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<sup>1</sup> As already shown, three of these reports have since been arranged for, namely, California, Vermont, and Minnesota, the last named being completed and added to this report of the commission.



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**APPENDIX A.**

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE SIXTH CONFERENCE OF ARCHIVISTS.

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## PROCEEDINGS OF THE SIXTH CONFERENCE OF ARCHIVISTS.

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The Sixth Annual Conference of Archivists was held in the Auditorium Hotel at Chicago on Thursday afternoon, December 31, 1914, with a total attendance of 42 persons, representing regionally a wide area in the United States and Canada. The program as announced was carried out and the conference sat nearly three hours without break and with unflagging interest.

### PROGRAM.

Chairman, Victor Hugo Paltsits, New York City.  
Annual Report of the Public Archives Commission.  
Legislation for archives.

Charles H. Rammelkamp, President of Illinois College.  
Discussion.

Principles of classification for archives.

Ethel B. Virtue, Historical Department of Iowa.  
Discussion.

Cataloguing of archives.

Waldo G. Leland, Secretary of the American Historical Association.

The chairman read an abstract of the annual report of the commission for 1914. The papers and selections from the stenographic report of the discussions are presented herewith.

### LEGISLATION FOR ARCHIVES.

By President CHARLES H. RAMMELKAMP, of Illinois College.

The chairman of the public archives commission in his report at the Boston conference in 1912 suggested that since so much had already been accomplished in collecting information regarding the archives of the various States, the work of the commission in that direction might be regarded as being "chiefly accomplished at least for the present."<sup>1</sup> In his opinion, attention should now be directed principally "to the practical problems of archive administration." Certainly no more practical problem confronts us than that upon which I have been asked to prepare a paper—the problem of "Legislation for archives." We are dealing with a question that is more than a merely scholastic or professional problem. It is not simply a question of training professional archivists, of making a proper

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<sup>1</sup> Ann. Rep. of Am. Hist. Assn., 1912, p. 250.

classification of archives, of planning an ideal hall of records, of making indexes, inventories, calendars, of binding, repairing, editing, publishing, etc., but it is also a question of securing the necessary fundamental legislation. Without that essential legislation, the archivist will be without an opportunity to practice his profession, and, more important still, valuable public records will continue to be exposed to the danger of loss and destruction.

Any consideration of the principles and policies which are to guide us in the effort to secure wise and adequate legislation for the archives of our country must be based, it need hardly be said, upon a knowledge and appreciation of the body of laws already enacted by the various States of the Union. I shall not attempt in this paper to deal with the problem of Federal legislation for archives since that subject is so adequately treated in the paper on "The National Archives," by Mr. Waldo G. Leland in the "American Historical Review" of October, 1912. No one can attempt to summarize the State legislation for archives without expressing his indebtedness to the late Robert T. Swan for his "Summary of the present state of legislation of the States and Territories relative to the custody and supervision of the public records," published in the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1906 and to the "Public Archives Report" of the National Association of State Libraries made to that body by a committee in 1911. In both of these summaries, as will be recalled, there is an alphabetical enumeration of the States and Territories with a statement of the existing legislation and conditions in each State.

I, of course, have no intention to give such a detailed enumeration as is found in these two admirable reports, but rather, on the basis of these reports and others that have from time to time been made by the public archives commission, to give a more general review of the progress in State legislation for archives and to point out the probable lines of future development. I may also add, by way of introduction, that I do not approach the problem as a trained archivist, but rather as a layman who has been very much interested in the problem of archives as it presents itself in his own State (Illinois) and who, in order to discover what ought to be done in that State, has endeavored to inform himself regarding the legislation in other States.

With the exception of the commendable legislation for the investigation and control of local records in the New England States of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, the movement for the more adequate care and administration of the archives of our States may be said to have begun with the establishment of the Department of Archives and History in Alabama in 1901. Alabama is therefore

one of the pioneers in the movement. As in most problems that depend for their solution upon the creation of a public opinion and the enactment of that opinion into law, the progress has been exceedingly slow and halting. After Mr. Swan had gathered the statistics relating to the various States and Territories in 1906, his conclusion was:

The replies might be condensed into a general statement that with very few exceptions the States have no laws relating to the public records, and that only in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut (named in the order of the date of passage of the acts authorizing it) is there any State supervision of the records.<sup>1</sup>

Since 1906, however, further progress has been made, and although it is still slow, uphill work, I believe, considering the nature of the problem, the lack of knowledge not only on the part of the general public but more particularly on the part of public officials themselves, that the development has been not altogether discouraging.

Among the States that seem to deserve special mention for their legislation on the subject of archives are the following, named somewhat in the chronological order in which the important legislation was enacted: Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Alabama, Mississippi, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, South Carolina, Delaware, Arkansas, Iowa, Texas, Kansas, Washington, New York, North Carolina, Indiana, and Michigan. Too much importance, however, must not be attached to the order of this enumeration, for States that may have been among the first to enact one kind of legislation, may have been very late or even entirely negligent in enacting other important laws. For example, while Rhode Island was among the first States to provide for a survey of local records, it has done little or nothing for the concentration, preservation, and administration of the State archives. Other States, like Alabama and Mississippi, that are models in their care and administration of the State archives, seem to have done little or nothing along the line of a survey or the supervision of local records. It seems unfortunate that New Jersey can not occupy a place in the enumeration of States that have done something worth while for their archives, but it will be recalled that while the New Jersey legislature of 1913 created a very excellent department of public records and archives, the legislature of the present year repealed the law. Perhaps the most interesting and advanced legislation of recent years is that enacted in the State of Michigan. The legislature of this State created in 1913 the Michigan Historical Commission with comprehensive powers and responsible duties that seem to give the commission and its chief executive officer an opportunity to place the State in the front rank of the commonwealths that are making provision for a

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<sup>1</sup> Ann. Rep. of Am. Hist. Assn., 1906, p. 13.

better care and administration of their archives. The eyes of all who are interested in archives will be fixed upon the State of Michigan during the next few years to see how that State will carry into actual practice this excellent law. It is evident, of course, that the appropriation will have to be considerably increased to enable the commission to meet the opportunity in a large way.<sup>1</sup> One of the chief defects in the present law is the absence of any provision for the general supervision of current local records. On the other hand, New York may be mentioned as a State that has in recent years (1911 and 1913) made comprehensive regulations for the supervision of local records without organizing in the same thorough manner its plans for the care and administration of State records.

The legislation for archives in the various States divides itself into two general classes of regulations: (*a*) Those relating to the records of the State departments and (*b*) those relating to local records. It may be further said that in most States where an awakened sense of responsibility for public records has shown itself, much more attention has been given to the State records than to the local records. This is a tendency which is to be expected. The control of the State over its own records is more direct, and their existence at the State capital presents a simpler or, at any rate, a more definite problem. Furthermore, in establishing regulations regarding the records of the State, the legislator is not in so much danger of annoying prominent and influential constituents with new duties and responsibilities. However, in the framing of legislation in the various States of which we are citizens and in which we are particularly interested, the lawmakers should always be reminded of the existence of a large body of important local records and of the necessity of making some provision for their safety and administration.

#### A. STATE RECORDS.

In the natural course of events, and in the absence of any general law, each State department has been the custodian, or, perhaps in many cases it would be more correct to say, the dumping ground of its own records. States that have enacted general laws relating to their archives have shown a tendency to provide for their care and administration by three different methods, which have already been described by those who have given attention to the subject:

(1) The records have been left, in the main, in the departments in which they have originated, with the exception that the office of the secretary of state has been made a sort of general repository, and the secretary of state has been made a sort of general custodian. A very

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<sup>1</sup> The present appropriation is only \$5,000.



few States, like Massachusetts, have accomplished much by this method. Under a broad minded secretary, who has been provided with safe and adequate accommodations, and who has available appropriations for employing the necessary clerical and expert assistance, a State may, perhaps, accomplish something by this method. However, unless there is created in the department of the secretary of state a distinct archives division, the arrangement can be regarded as little more than a makeshift. Not much real progress is to be expected under such an arrangement, for it leaves things too much in statu quo.

(2) Definite provision has been made for the concentration of all State records in some department or institution already in existence, the department usually selected being either the State library or the State historical society. For example, in Pennsylvania, Virginia, Indiana, Connecticut, and Texas the State libraries are made the general repositories and are given more or less direct control of the public records.<sup>1</sup> In New York also, although there is no law making the State library a general repository, many records have, as a matter of fact, been deposited in the library in fulfillment of special acts of 1881 and later. The reason for such a tendency probably is found in the existence of a State library building as an available storehouse for the records, and the existence of a library staff which has, or is supposed to have, expert knowledge of the care of books, manuscripts, and records. Among the States that have utilized their State historical societies for the care and administration of their public records may be mentioned Maryland, Nebraska, Kansas, and Oklahoma. In Wisconsin, State officers are given the privilege of transferring their records to the State historical society, but apparently this has not been done to any great extent.<sup>2</sup> It is, perhaps, somewhat difficult to classify in this enumeration the legislation in Iowa, for there it was at first the State library and historical department that was given charge of the public records, while somewhat later the control of the records was placed in the hands of the executive council.<sup>3</sup> In West Virginia a bureau of archives and history is placed under the general control of the board of public works. However, it seems to be practically a distinct department. Indeed, the law declares that the bureau shall be "a department of the State government."<sup>4</sup> In New York, by the legislation of 1911 and the amendments of 1913, the local archives are placed under the general supervision of the State educational department. This means that

<sup>1</sup> B. F. Shambaugh, *A Report on the Public Archives (of Iowa)*, 24; W. G. Leland, in *Report of the State Education Building Commission (of Illinois)*, 34.

<sup>2</sup> Report of Pub. Arch. Comm. of Nat. Assn. of State Libraries (1911), 36.

<sup>3</sup> B. F. Shambaugh, *A Report on the Public Archives (of Iowa)*, 33; W. G. Leland in *Report of the State Education Building Commission (of Illinois)*, 36.

<sup>4</sup> Acts of West Virginia, 1905, 466-468.

the board of regents and the commissioner of education in particular have general supervision of promoting the safeguarding and care of local records throughout the State, except in the city of New York. The law created a division of public records, under a supervisor of public records and a division of history under a State historian. Although the only definite provision in the law relating to the transfer of State records is one providing for the transfer of the papers of extinct offices, the law seems to contemplate broader powers and a wider supervision with respect to State records.

Much may be said in favor of this type of legislation conferring upon existing departments the duty of preserving and administering the State archives. In some States this method seems to be producing good results. It marks, no doubt, a great step in advance of the age of neglect and loss. However, the ideal system would seem to be the third method, especially when it is properly harmonized with existing State institutions and activities.

(3) This is an entirely separate and distinct department of archives, or of archives and history. The States that have created such separate departments are Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina, North Carolina, Arkansas, Delaware, Washington, Michigan, and as already implied, West Virginia really also belongs to this class. Of course, the results achieved by this method have not been so noteworthy in all of the States as they have been in the well-known examples of Alabama and Mississippi. It will be noted that Michigan, already mentioned as one of the most recent States to adopt a comprehensive plan for the administration of its State archives, has adopted this plan. The Michigan Historical Commission is given power by the law of 1913 "to collect from the public offices in the State," both State and local, "such records, files, documents, books, and papers as are not less than 30 years old, and are not in current use, and are, in the opinion of the commission, valuable only for historical purposes."<sup>1</sup> The commission is made the legal custodian of all such records and documents, and is charged with the duty of preserving, classifying, arranging and indexing them "so that they may be made available for the use of the public." It may be of interest to the conference to know that Mr. Leland in his report and advice to the Education Building Commission of Illinois urges the creation of a department of archives which shall be "a distinct department of the State Government."<sup>2</sup> Unless there are local circumstances which make a different course advisable, this is the ideal for which we must strive in legislation for archives.

Intimately connected with the question of the proper method of control and administration of the archives of our States is the problem

<sup>1</sup> Pub. Acts of Mich., No. 271, p. 525. Quoted at length in the Report of the Pub. Arch. Comm. for 1913.

<sup>2</sup> W. G. Leland in Report of the State Education Building Comm. (of Illinois), 37.

of housing these records. It need not be emphasized in this conference that only a separate fireproof archives building, or at least a commodious, well planned wing of some absolutely fireproof State building can answer the purpose. However, it is evident that if adequate legislation is to be secured along this line, there is need of strong emphasis of this point in the outside world of practical politics. It is not easy to secure large appropriations for new State buildings, and the experience of several States that have accomplished much in legislation for archives shows that in this particular much still remains to be accomplished. Since our conference is being held in the State of Illinois, it may be of interest to explain our hopes in this direction. I use the word *hopes* advisedly. The Illinois legislature appointed in 1911 a State education building commission with instructions to secure plans "for a suitable State building—where all the property pertaining to the history, science, literature, education, and patriotism—may be placed."<sup>1</sup> Five thousand dollars was appropriated to enable the commission to carry out its instructions. Under the authority of this act, the commission employed Mr. Waldo G. Leland to prepare plans and make recommendations regarding the inclusion of the State archives in this building. I commend Mr. Leland's "Report on the public archives and historical interests of the State of Illinois"<sup>2</sup> to all who are at work on the problem of State archives. The commission recommended to the subsequent legislature the construction of a building to cost \$1,000,000, but that legislature for various reasons, among which was the desire of a new administration to economize, did not make the appropriation. Nevertheless, it provided for the continuance of the commission. In the meantime the State is preparing for an elaborate celebration in 1918 of the centenary of its admission to the Union, and the State Centennial Commission in general charge of that event has united with the State Education Building Commission in urging upon the next legislature, which will convene in a few days, the construction of a \$1,000,000 building, as a fitting memorial of the centenary of the State. We expect, therefore, during the next few months vigorously to urge our plans upon the attention of the public and of the legislature. The plans of both Illinois and Indiana may suggest to other States the opportunity which an important historical celebration may afford for inaugurating a movement to construct a building devoted to the archives and historical interests of the State.

The legislation of the States regarding the conditions under which public records shall be transferred from the departments to the

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<sup>1</sup> Act of May 26, 1911.

<sup>2</sup> Published in the Report of the State Education Building Commission to the Forty-eighth General Assembly, 1913.

custody of some other body deserves a word. Most of the States which have legislated on the subject leave the transfer of the records discretionary with the departments concerned. Although several States have established the regulation that all records "not in current use" shall be so transferred, in practically all cases it is left to the departments to determine what records are not "in current use." In one State, Texas, the attorney general is given power to decide the question in case there is a disagreement between a department and the library and historical commission regarding records "not in current use." A few States have attempted to establish chronological dead lines; for example, in Michigan it is 30 years, in Iowa 10 years, in Kansas 3 years *after current use*. It would seem that there is little advantage in establishing such a chronological dead line. To leave the transfer of records discretionary with the respective departments is, on the whole, the best policy. The example of New York in providing that the records of all extinct offices and departments shall, as a matter of course, be transferred to the general repository is unquestionably a wise regulation.

A full discussion of legislation for State archives should naturally include some consideration of provisions for publishing the most important and historically interesting records, of regulations for making and filing the current records, and for recovering public records that have "wandered" from the possession of the State. However, the limits of this paper will not permit a consideration of these problems.

#### B. LOCAL RECORDS.

Nor will it be possible to do justice to the subject of legislation for local archives. However, the legislation and practice of the New England States already mentioned—Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut—are so well known that they hardly need reiteration in this conference. Of the more recent legislation relating to local records, especially noteworthy is that enacted in New York in 1911 and 1913.

It goes without saying that no comprehensive legislation relating to public records is complete without adequate provision for the safety, care, and administration of the local records. General State regulations compelling counties, towns, and villages to provide fireproof receptacles for their records and requiring the use of a permanent ink and durable paper, not to mention methods of filing, etc., are imperatively necessary. It seems to me that it is in this direction that certain States, already well known for their excellent legislation for State archives, must next proceed. Perhaps the best preliminary step for awakening public opinion on the subject is to secure a modest appropriation for a survey of local records. This survey can easily

be made under the direction of an existing department of archives or history. Such a survey of county records has just been completed in the State of Illinois, and the report of the investigators (Clarence D. Johns, J. P. Senning, and T. C. Pease) is now in the hands of the printer.

The problem of the concentration of local archives in a general archive repository was the subject of a special paper at the conference of last year, and therefore needs only to be mentioned at this time.

In conclusion I wish to say that we who are especially interested in the practical problem of securing legislation in our respective States for the preservation and administration of the public records feel grateful to the public archives commission for the efficient service which it is rendering to the cause of archives. Through its numerous published reports and surveys, through its conferences, and especially through the personal work and influence of its members, and also, I may add, of its adjunct members, the commission is performing a great public service. The publication of the proposed "Primer of Archival Economy" will extend still further the good influence of the commission.

#### DISCUSSION OF DR. RAMMELKAMP'S PAPER.

MR. GEORGE S. GODARD, State librarian of Connecticut. Just to start the ball rolling, I will state that the 1913 general assembly provided for placing the supervision of inks and typewriter ribbons under the examiner of public records, and it also provided that the comptroller should buy at the rate of one cent a page any common records which might be printed, which should be recommended by the State librarian.

Our first report on court records was made in 1889. It was made by the secretary of state and the State librarian together, and with that as a beginning, together with a public interest later, about 1899, a commission on public records was appointed to make this preliminary survey, and as a result of that report by that commission, which was extant about four or five years, we secured the appointment of a temporary examiner of public records, simply for two years; and the next session provided for a continuation of two years and then two years more, and he brought out in 1904 a complete survey of the probate records of the State, and then two years later the chapter records, because you know in Connecticut it was the parish that was the beginning of the town, and then because of some political intrigue he was not continued to that office, they making no appropriation, so, of course, he dropped down and out. But at that time the State librarian was approached and asked if he would take the position of examiner of public records. He said: "No; we are planning our

new building, we have got to move in. Just let that stand for the present." But we had a beautiful, simple little act, which is permissive (by the way, I believe in those permissive acts very much), which permitted any State, county, town, or other public official to deposit in the State Library, with the consent of the State librarian, any books, files, or other papers in his official custody, not in current use, which has been most successful. And then in the following session, in 1911, the examiner of public records was made permanent. He was made an appointee of the State librarian and for an indefinite term. Now, one word about this here; as a person, a fitting person for this examiner of public records, we were most fortunate in getting a young man—a graduate of Yale—whose father before him, as well as himself, had been very much interested in the vital records of Connecticut, and up to the present time he has, at his expense, had copied the records of probably nearly two-thirds of the towns in Connecticut, from the beginning down to 1850.

[Mr. Godard then explained the plan that is being carried out for the publication of these vital records by cooperation with various patriotic societies. This, he said, was one of the advantages derived from permissive legislation, which he commended.]

Mr. HARLOW LINDLEY, director of the Indiana Department of History and Archives. I would like to ask how the permissive principle has worked. Of course, our department in Indiana is only a year old and we have that feature in the law, but we have not been able to make any headway with it for the reason that we have no place to put the archives when we get them. I quite indorse Mr. Rammekamp's idea as a step in the right direction. I think it is better to have that, and gradually develop a sentiment in favor of it, than a stronger measure that would create a resentful attitude. But I would like to know how it has worked out with those who have had experience.

Mr. ERNEST W. WINKLER, of Texas. Our law is very largely permissive. It does not command the heads of the departments to turn the records over to us, and we are not bound to accept them after they turn them over; but the law is on the books, and whenever we have time and we see a group of material we go out and ask them for it. We have not had any trouble. Some heads of departments sometimes do not feel like turning them over to us and we wait until there is a successor. This law, I think, is a very good thing.

Mr. LINDLEY. Do you get a great deal that way?

Mr. WINKLER. Yes, we have had no trouble. We have never had to ask the attorney general for his opinion. The very fact that the law permits them to do it satisfies them.

Mr. WYER, director of the New York State Library. This legislation operates largely in connection with one or two other matters;

first, whether you have got a good and safe place in which to put them. The New York State Library never had such a place until a year or two ago and, of course, there was a loss [in the capitol fire in March, 1911] in the archives that had been deposited with it for three-quarters of a century. In addition to a safe place to put them in, it requires some acceleration of the dispositions of the departments on the part of the State librarian and department of State history; that is to say, the attention of the State departments must be called to the law; sometimes when they are moving from one suite of rooms to another is a good time to call their attention to it, or when a new head of a department comes into an office where you know there are records, or as constant diligence will discover favorable opportunities to bring it to the attention of now one department and then another. The fact that there is such a law, that there is such a feature in the law, and yet that the library is not trying to compel anything, is in our favor. We would prefer to have that law permissive rather than mandatory, trusting to our own activity to get the records. Greater than all that is a safe place to put them in and a reasonably considerate and competent administration in charge of looking after them. Our own experience is very eloquent in that particular direction. In the two years since we have had our new building, which, we think, now may be called safe, we have had a great many more records deposited than in any similar period, and with no more effort on our part than before. Perhaps we got out of the habit of making an effort, because we did not have much confidence in making an effort to get old manuscripts deposited in the old library; but to illustrate, the secretary of state said, after we moved into the new building, that he would turn over to us records of a semi-official sort which the acting legislature had purchased and deposited with him and for which \$15,000 had been paid. The city of Albany, of course not a State department at all, within the past six months has turned over to us all of its records prior to 1830 and running back to the Dutch beginning of the city, and all the original minutes of its common council up to 10 years ago, and has asked us to keep an accumulation of records of all sorts, some of them not even official, but which were a revelation to us to discover. Other State departments turned over documents since the fire, so that the permissive legislation seems to be no bar at all to success in getting the records, if we have a good place in which to keep them and the officials are favorably inclined when their attention is called to the law.

Mr. HARLAN, of Iowa. In our State this work has been going on now for some 10 years; there is a permissive feature and the success of it depends largely upon the diplomacy of those in charge of the archives as they are transferred from the State departments. At the

beginning, there was opposition to letting go of anything, but at the present time we have some difficulty in keeping them from sending over to us things we are not ready to take care of. In other words, they may allow things to come over after they are 10 years old. The executive council, which is composed of the governor, secretary of state, treasurer, and the auditor of the state may decide whether they may or may not come. Now, they have decided in a great many instances, that not only may they come up to 10 years, but more recent than 10 years and we take those also, so you will find the thing has practically very little difficulty if the system is once understood by the heads of the departments. It so happens that the heads of these various departments frequently come from organizations of different points of view, from different political parties, and there is not that element of personal intimacy and confidence that makes it an easy matter to get a mutual conference with them; but your head of your archives department can very easily establish a relation of confidence and an exchange of interests with them, so that he draws gradually out of their hands the things that should be taken care of. I think I can say without any doubt at all that the permissive feature will offer you, as far as it goes, every chance of success in your administration.

Mr. WALDO G. LELAND, of the Carnegie Institution. There is one point I think it might be well to draw attention to; that is, the character of the commission or the body which should be vested with the control of the archives. Shall it be largely an *ex officio* commission or shall it be a commission of historical experts? When I was in Illinois I was led by what I thought were local conditions. I desired to make it largely an *ex officio* commission. Since then some have said to me they thought I was mistaken about that. That is quite possible. But I think that that is a point that ought to be considered in legislation for archives—whether the commission which is to be vested with the ultimate control of the archives is to be an *ex officio* commission composed of some one representing the secretary of state and some one representing the supreme court, and some one representing the local officials, the legislature, and the governor, and then, perhaps, some representatives from the State historical society, or should it be a small commission made up of historical or archival experts with one or two officials on it, such as the secretary of state, or some other representative of the government? I think that is a point which should be borne in mind in the sort of legislation to be recommended.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that the point that Mr. Leland brings out, that local conditions should be considered, is one that should not be lost sight of. I think those local conditions might require that there



be a commission consisting of the governor and certain State officials and perhaps representatives of State universities and State historical departments, where such institutions exist. The application of such a principle would not operate in the State of New York. In the State of New York, for instance, if I were to make a recommendation, it would be, that there be a department of archives and history; that the legislative body of that department of archives and history be the regents of the University of the State of New York; that the administrator of the functions of the department of archives and history, the director, be a trained specialist, and that he be the secretary of the department of archives and history. In that way the regents of the University of the State of New York would actually have the control of the thing; at the same time, the department would have that amount of separation from the purely educational work of the regents, which I feel is quite a distinct branch of business. The regents would coordinate with the State department of archives and history, as they coordinate their purely educational functions with the State commissioner of education, or their relations to science and museums, for instance, with the scientist who is the director of the State museum. That would be my idea of carrying out the department of archives and history in the State of New York; but that principle would not obtain in the State of Illinois, because of different local conditions. I am fully convinced that the best plan of operation that has been suggested in the archival situation in the United States, is that of a department of archives and history for each State. The correlation of that department in each State must be solved *in situ*.

MR. RAMMELKAMP. I would like to say a word before we leave this subject. I was wondering in view of the discussion that has taken place on the subject of the permissive features in the law, whether I gave the impression in my paper that I was not personally in favor of that feature. Quite the contrary. I am very strongly in favor of it and was presenting simply facts regarding the actual conditions in the State of Illinois.

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#### PRINCIPLES OF CLASSIFICATION FOR ARCHIVES.<sup>1</sup>

By ETHEL B. VIRTUE.

The science of archives is indeed a mere infant in the family of modern sciences and her underlying principles are far from being fully developed. In many respects she resembles her sister science of library theory and practice, but in others she is very different. No where is this difference more plainly seen than in principles of classification.

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<sup>1</sup> With the consent of the Public Archives Commission this paper, together with a number of illustrations, was published in "Annals of Iowa" for April, 1915, pp. 1-10.

The modern library has developed a system of subject classification which has made the contents of its shelves easily accessible to the average reader. But the close application of a similar system to collections of archives has not met with success. A strictly logical arrangement was tried in the Swedish Royal Archives some 25 years ago but was later given up and the papers, which had been removed from their original collections, were restored to the same.<sup>1</sup> A similar attempt was once made in the National Archives of France and this also ended in confusion and failure.<sup>2</sup> In our own country we find in the early arrangement of archives that papers have been grouped in special collections such as Revolutionary papers, military papers, and papers concerning lands. Such an arrangement destroys the original files of the offices, which carried on the processes of government in the early days, hides the gaps in the files, and makes it almost impossible to know what kinds of papers are missing. In short, the records with which the political anatomy of those days could be reconstructed have been taken out of their original places and scattered so widely that it is almost a hopeless task to replace them.<sup>3</sup>

It is generally agreed by archivists in both Europe and America that the "summum bonum" to be desired in the classification of archives is that they shall reflect the political organism of their time. Whatever information they may contain upon special subjects or whatever light they may throw upon certain individuals or events, is a side issue and should not be the determining factor in their arrangement. They are the recorded image of the State and should be preserved as such. Special information concerning men and events can be brought out by special indices without interfering with the arrangement.

This opinion regarding the classification of archives has given rise to the principle known as the "respect des fonds," which has been briefly and clearly defined by Dr. Muller, of Utrecht, as "the method of classifying archives according to which each document is placed in the collection and in the series of that collection to which it belonged when that collection was a living organism."<sup>4</sup>

A. J. F. van Laer, archivist of New York, has defined it in more detailed terms as "a system of arrangement of public archives whereby every document is traced to the governmental body, administrative office, or institution by which it was issued or received and to the files of which it last belonged when these files were still in the process of natural accretion."<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Amandus Johnson, *The Lessons of the Swedish Archives*, in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1909, p. 360.

<sup>2</sup> Waldo G. Leland, *The National Archives*, *American Historical Review*, XVIII, 24.

<sup>3</sup> A. J. F. van Laer, *The Work of the International Congress of Archivists and Librarians at Brussels*, Aug. 28-31, 1910, *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1910, 285.

<sup>4</sup> *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1912, p. 260.

<sup>5</sup> *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1910, p. 285.

European archivists are almost unanimous in their support of this principle. The uniform rules and regulations for classification in Belgium read as follows:

The archivists take as a rule in the work of classification—

(1) To assemble the documents with respect to their sources; that is to say, to form a particular collection of all the titles which belong to the same body, the same institution, the same administration, or the same locality, without mixing the acts of one body with those of another.

(2) To classify the documents in each source according to their nature or contents, arranging the material, as the case may be, chronologically, topographically, or alphabetically.

It is necessary to respect the source or, as the Germans say, the principle of the origin, and give in the inventory an exact image of the organization or the institution, the archives of which one wishes to make known.<sup>1</sup>

In France the departmental archives are kept in the various departments and carefully arranged and classified in each.<sup>2</sup> The records in the National Archives "are grouped according to the nature of the public institutions with which they are concerned."<sup>3</sup>

The creed of the archivists of the Netherlands is so heartily in accord with this principle that it maintains that no archivist who has not studied carefully the organization to which the archives he is working with originally belonged is fitted to classify them.<sup>4</sup>

From Italy also comes the word of Signore Pagliai, of Florence, saying that the "respect des fonds" is "the only scientific and natural principle which should be followed to render intelligent the researches of the historian."<sup>4</sup>

Sir Henry Lyte, deputy keeper of the public record office of England, describes the records of that office as being "kept pretty much according to the courts or offices from which they came, more than according to the subject. They are classified according to the place of origin."<sup>5</sup>

In our own country, Mr. Leland writes: "The principle of the 'respect des fonds' should be adhered to. In accordance with this principle, records should be so grouped that they at once make clear the processes by which they have come into existence. Archives are the product and record of the performance of its functions by an organic body, and they should faithfully reflect the workings of that organism. No decimal system of classification, no refined methods of library science, no purely chronological or purely alpha-

<sup>1</sup> First Report of the Royal Commission on Public Records, London, 1912, I, Pt. II, 129b-130a.

<sup>2</sup> First Report of the Royal Commission on Public Records, London, 1912, I, Pt. II, 134.

<sup>3</sup> First Report of the Royal Commission on Public Records, London, 1912, I, Pt. II, 132a.

The Royal Prussian State Archives in Berlin are arranged by departments and, for the most part, chronologically within each department. M. D. Learned, *The German State Archives* (Carnegie Institution Pub. 150), p. 17.

<sup>4</sup> Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1912, p. 260.

<sup>5</sup> First Report of the Royal Commission on Public Records, London, 1912, I, Pt. III, 17, Q. 440.

betical arrangement can be successfully applied to the classification of archives."<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Dunbar Rowland, director of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, maintains that "the object to be attained in the arrangement of all governmental archives is to classify them in such a manner that the documents will tell the story, in an historical way, of the progress and development of the State and its people from the beginning."<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Thomas M. Owen, of Alabama, has adopted the source principle in the arrangement of the archives of that State, and says that thus far he has never had any question as to the wisdom of this course.<sup>3</sup>

Prof. Eugene C. Barker, of the University of Texas, cites the following incident, which shows a decided legal disadvantage which would result from a departure from this method of classification:

We found that in a lawsuit that came up recently, a man wanted to prove a claim by a certain document that had been transferred from the State department to the library, and before that document could be produced in evidence the defendant had to prove the history of the document. The judge, in other words, wanted to know how that document came to be in the library; wanted to be perfectly sure that it was the identical document.<sup>4</sup>

At the International Congress of Archivists and Librarians held in Brussels in 1910, the following resolution was adopted:

*Resolved*, That the "principe de la provenance" (respect des fonds) be adopted for the arrangement and inventorying of archives, with a view to the logical classification of separate documents, as well as in the interest of comprehensive historical study.<sup>5</sup>

The principle "respect des fonds," we may say, then, is the established principle of archival classification to-day. In "A Report on the Public Archives," submitted to the trustees of the State Library and Historical Department of Iowa in 1906,<sup>6</sup> Prof. Benjamin F. Shambaugh presented the following outlines as leading up to a proper classification of the archives of that State.<sup>7</sup> These outlines are a very simple and concrete illustration of the principle "respect des fonds" adapted to the archives of Iowa.

*Outline of Classification for the archives of Iowa.*

I. Primary classification for Iowa.

Public archives { State.  
Local.

II. Formal classification for Iowa.

Public archives { Printed.  
Manuscript.

<sup>1</sup> American Historical Review, XVIII, 24.

<sup>2</sup> Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1912, p. 270.

<sup>3</sup> T. M. Owen to E. R. Harlan, Oct. 23, 1913.

<sup>4</sup> Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1910, p. 307.

<sup>5</sup> Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1910, p. 285.

<sup>6</sup> Reprinted from the Annals of Iowa, January, 1907.

<sup>7</sup> Benjamin F. Shambaugh, A Report on the Public Archives, pp. 35, 36.

III. Historical classification for Iowa.

Public archives	{	Period of the Territory.
		Period of the first constitution.
		Period of the second constitution.

IV. Administrative classification for Iowa.

Public archives	{	Commissions	1838.	
			1839.	
			1840.	
			1841.	
			1842.	
		Journals.	Etc.	
			Governor	Letters.
				Pardons.
				Proclamations.
				Requisitions.
		Etc.		
		State	Secretary of State.	
			Auditor.	
			Treasurer.	
			Superintendent of public instruction.	
Etc.				
Local	Etc.			
	Etc.			
	{	County.		
		Township.		
		City.		

They present four classifications of the records. The first or primary classification provides for the separation of State and local archives. Thus far Iowa has no local records in the files of her archives department. A few private papers have been overlooked by State officers and left with the official files, but no account of these has been taken in the classification.

The second or formal classification makes the distinction between printed and manuscript records. Practically no printed archives are retained in this department. There are a few exceptions in the case of military orders in the governor's office and some printed insurance schedules in the auditor's office. These are filed side by side with the manuscript records.

The printed reports and documents of Iowa are in the law library which purposes to have a complete collection of the same. Many of these are to be found also on the shelves of the library of the State historical department but none are kept in the archives.

The historical classification defines the three distinct periods of the history of Iowa. This classification has been made in some of the series of the various offices but not in all.

The fourth or administrative outline practically combines the three classifications just described. You will note here again the separa-

tion of State and local archives. The distinction between printed and manuscript records is not made, but these may be filed together in the proper series. The chronological arrangement of the series defines the limits of the different historical periods.

Turning now to the heading, State, we find the division into the offices of governor, secretary of state, and so on down through all the offices and departments of the commonwealth, the concrete illustration of the classification of records according to their origin.

The records of the governor's office are further divided into the series of commissions, journals, letters, proclamations, etc., divisions which the functions of that office have created. In general the outlines of Dr. Shambaugh have been followed. In some of the subdivisions the chronological arrangement has been departed from and a subject or alphabetical arrangement substituted as the series seemed to demand.<sup>1</sup>

The working out of the classification has been largely in the hands of Mr. C. C. Stiles, superintendent of the classification department. A study of his outlines for the office of governor will illustrate the principles which he has found useful in the classification of the records of that office.

TABLE I.—*Governor's office.*

MAIN SERIES.<sup>2</sup>

I. Commissions.....	Subject.
II. Correspondence.....	Do.
III. Elections.....	Do.
IV. Extraditions.....	Do.
V. Legislative.....	Do.
VI. Petitions.....	Do.
VII. Proclamations.....	Do.
VIII. Reports.....	Do.
IX. Vouchers.....	Do.
X. Bonds.....	Do.
XI. Executive journals.....	Years.
XII. Criminal records.....	Do.
XIII. Miscellaneous.....	Subject.

In Table I we have 13 main series of the office, the majority of which represent particular functions of the administrative officer. You will notice that out of the 13 series, 11 are subdivided according to class or subject and 2 are arranged strictly by years.

A more detailed outline, such as we have in Table II, will better illustrate this subdivision.

<sup>1</sup> As an aid to visualizing this classification the reader is referred to the cuts of the floor plan and of the filing room which are given in *Annals of Iowa*, April, 1915, between pp. 8 and 9.

<sup>2</sup> C. C. Stiles, *Public Archives of Iowa*, *Annals of Iowa*, October, 1911, p. 171. Some changes will be noted in the table above. These have been made since the publication cited.

TABLE II.—*Governor's office.*

SUBDIVISIONS.<sup>1</sup>

I. Commissions.	Notarial.....	1866.....	Adams, James.
	Officers of State Institutions	College for the Blind	Adams, James.

This table represents two typical arrangements of the series of commissions. One of the most important divisions of this series is that of notarial commissions. These are arranged first by years and then alphabetized by the names of the commissioners. Here we see, then, first a subject or class arrangement (notarial), then a chronological (1866), and, lastly, an alphabetical (Adams).

In the second subdivision of commissions we have those of the officers of State institutions. These commissions are arranged first by the name of the institution (College for the Blind) and then by the name of the commissioner (Adams). No account is taken of the year of appointment.

The largest series in the governor's office is that of correspondence. This series in Iowa has been arranged first by subject and the further subdivisions run by subject, year, or name, as the material seems to require. Table III illustrates four typical classifications of this series.

TABLE III.—*Governor's office.*

SUBDIVISIONS.<sup>2</sup>

II. Correspondence..	Appointments	Commissioner of Deeds...	1846	Alabama	Adams, James.
	Criminal Cases				Adams, James.
	Transportation	Railroads....	1856.		
		Waterways...	1851.		
	Temperance.....		1858.		

Under the subdivision of appointments, we find the most detailed type. This correspondence is arranged first by the office, in this case that of commissioner of deeds, second by the year of appointment, then by the State for which the commissioner is appointed, and lastly, by the name of the commissioner.

In the subdivision of the correspondence concerning criminal cases, we have a purely alphabetical arrangement by the name of the criminal, all papers pertaining to each case being kept together.

Correspondence concerning transportation is divided into two subject headings of railroads and waterways, each of which is then arranged by years.

<sup>1</sup> C. C. Stiles, *Public Archives of Iowa*, *Annals of Iowa*, October, 1911, p. 172.

<sup>2</sup> C. C. Stiles, *Public Archives of Iowa*, *Annals of Iowa*, October, 1911, pp. 173, 179, 187.

All letters concerning temperance are arranged by years and alphabeted under each year by the name of the writer.

Turning to Table VII and Series XI, that of executive journals, we find the simplest classification possible, that of a straight chronological arrangement.

TABLE VII.

XI. Executive journals----- {1857,  
etc.

This series consists of bound records only, and any other arrangement is practically impossible. A separate series has been made of criminal records as soon as they have become bulky enough to be bound in separate volumes, and the earlier criminal records in the executive journals are listed on the index cards of the journals.

These tables have presented to you all of the types of the classification of subdivisions used in the archives of Iowa. The reasons for the adoption of these different forms of classification will be best brought out, I think, in the discussion of the same.

## DISCUSSION OF MISS VIRTUE'S PAPER.

MR. HARLOW LINDLEY. Our chairman in introducing Miss Virtue said she would speak as one who had had experience and for a State that has had experience in this ideal. I certainly represent the opposite, in that our State has had no experience and I have had no experience in this line; in fact, I have been trying to get some light on this subject in the last few minutes, in the hope that the time may come when we could turn our attention to this work in Indiana, although, as I said a moment ago, our situation there is such that we have no place in which to handle the archives of the State; but I know that the records could be obtained in some cases without any difficulty if we did have a place. I realize one difficulty in the way in a situation of this kind. We have had the general library scheme pretty well standardized and I have had some experience along that line, but this certainly brings up a situation which might be considered as a special library, I should say, and evidently the system has not been worked out in such a way as to be tangible and uniform for all concerned. As I was thinking over this subject, there were two or three phases which particularly appealed to me. Of course, at first I questioned just what was meant by the preservation of an archive. I think there is a good deal of confusion and misunderstanding in regard to that. Some are inclined to give a very liberal interpretation to the meaning of an archive, and others give a very narrow interpretation. I have taken the point of view of the narrow interpretation, that here we are dealing with public records that belong to the public and ought to be made available to the public.



The first feature that appeals to me in this connection is that all of these public records have a certain sequence that preserves for us the official history of certain acts, and one principle that certainly ought to be taken into consideration is the system of classification which will preserve this feature. I do not know just how that could be worked out in classification. As a matter of fact, in thinking of an ideal classification, I had worked out in my mind something very similar to the classification that has been presented to us. In fact, that is about the only classification I can conceive of at the present time. However, by a system of cataloguing and cross references I think that the system of classification could be very materially strengthened, particularly for the purposes of the student of history. Of course, I realize that there are two classes of people with which we are dealing. These archives are primarily for the benefit, should be at least for the benefit, of the State government; but as historical documents, of course, our research students are going to take advantage of them and should take advantage of them; so in our work we really have two constituencies to take into consideration—those that are using the records from the point of view of State officials, and the research students.

It seems to me there should be some method of preserving the connection between respective papers; and the second point that has particularly appealed to me is, the desirability of some sort of uniformity in practice. Evidently, there is no uniformity of practice at the present time. There are two features of control that are possible; one where the element of control is centralized and the records are centralized, as evidently, they are in Iowa, and the other proposition would be some system of centralized control of records, yet leaving the records in the various governmental departments concerned in them. It seems to me that the first principle is preferable—a system not only of concentration of control, but concentration of the records themselves. However, I realize that there are many difficulties in the way even there; that, in the first place, it is a pretty big task and, in the second place, if there could be some efficient control exerted over the records that they might be cared for to better advantage in their respective departments. It seems to me, that possibly there might be found a compromise between the concentration or the consolidation of the State records, and that the possibility of the assembling of local archives in their various centers might be a practical solution of the case. Of course, the important thing in a system of classification is to have some sort of system; but we found as a practical problem in the library world and in the business world in general that a uniform system has many advantages, because, if we are acquainted with one place we are acquainted with other places, and for that reason there may be a system, there should be a general system worked out. I am confident that there could not be a system

of uniformity in detail; in fact, we could not have uniformity in detail, because we have different departments in various States. But the fundamentals are the same, and if we could establish some sort of common system so far as fundamentals are concerned, it would be of advantage to all concerned. I made some inquiry during last summer of various departments in regard to some of these matters and it seemed to me that everything was more or less at sea.

Then there is the problem of the use of the archives; that is, the question as to how much the archives are going to be open to the public. We had the questions discussed this morning pretty fully in the section devoted to State and local historical societies, as to what uses should be made, and to what extent the archives and historical documents should be made available. Of course, the greater the extent that they are made available, the more desirable it is that there be some sort of a uniform system, so that the student might be able to make himself at home and accomplish the greatest results in a given time wherever he may be.

In conclusion, all that I have to say is, that we ought to in some way take some definite steps by which a concerted movement might be put forth in working out some sort of a general scheme that would at least cover the fundamentals of the subject; that might fit the conditions of any State and, at the same time, might articulate along with the system adopted by the Government in the preservation and care of the Federal archives.

MR. GODARD. Members of the association and friends: In the first place I want to thank Miss Virtue for the very clear manner in which she has shown us the classification that is in use in Iowa, and as we look at it we find the whole framework just as you would expect to find the bones of a skeleton in a natural arrangement, and that is just what we have tried to have in Connecticut; but instead of beginning with the offices of the State, as Iowa has done, we have begun to emphasize this transfer from the towns. Now, mention has already been made of the different conditions in the States. It is very hard, I think, for one who has been brought up in the West not to think of everything as under western conditions, as, for example, their county organization, etc. He can not begin to appreciate what the people of New England have. They are wrapped up in their town system, and by town I mean what in the West is called the township, because you know the towns in New England grew up around the church parish or the church society. [Explains.]

We find in Connecticut that when a town clerk went out of office he simply turned over the town books and as many papers as his successor was willing to take. The same condition applies with respect to the probate documents. Usually the probate in Connecticut was coextensive with the town, but there are 148 probate districts out of 168 towns, so the Hartford probate district takes in quite a

number of neighboring towns. My point is, try to save those papers which are now being forgotten or have not been cared for. That is why we have an examiner of public records, so that he can go up and say: "Where are these early files?" The answer he receives is, "Why, there are some boxes that have been left at the other place." Many of these files we have found in attics and barns, and the result to-day is we have been paying special attention to those districts which need attention most, which either have no vault, or else an inadequate vault, and whose safes are too small. We do not say to them: "Here, why you have got to have a new vault;" but say instead, "Why do you not send them up to the new library?" The resulting conversation is usually: "Oh, can you?" "Surely, you can." Then we call attention to the law. But the papers they have now are treated like junk, and some of you will appreciate how some of them go into the paper mills and are lost; so the first thing we do, when we have a chance, is to take this mass of papers and put all the "A's" together and separate the "A's" into families and the families into estates. [Explains, showing samples.] We list wills, codicils, applications, bonds, orders of court, etc. Then these go into the vault alphabetically, where they can be located very easily. But there is one thing more which makes this a complete system. Where is the judge who gives up these papers? What does he have? You know when these things are turned over and marked there is no knowing how many papers there are or what papers or anything about them; but the law which provided for their depositing, the permissive law, says that the State librarian shall publish in his report what records are received, and shall issue a certificate or receipt to the official who deposits the papers. I have formulated a receipt; [explains] this is the front page, saying, "Probate papers from," we will say, "The Farmington District, deposited," at such a time. Now, this is just the size of the probate certificate which shall be recorded, the law says. This is a receipt showing such a judge deposited such a paper on a certain day, deposited according to the act of 1899, chapter 75, and then follows the act. Here [indicating]. In other words, my receipt not only tells what I actually received from him, not what he thought he had delivered, but it also indexes all his own records in his probate office which heretofore never had been indexed at all. So that is one reason, probably, why our good friends are very willing that these early papers, the original wills (the earliest we have is from 1675, and the latest 1911), should be turned over to us. We have arranged up to the present time something over 50,000 estates and approximately 300,000 documents.

One thing more about protection. It has been asked what provision shall be made for caring for these papers when in use. We have a card with a place for the estate, the date, the district, the

town, the number of documents in the envelope of this estate, when it is delivered and checked, when it comes back, with the name of the applicant and his address and with his reference if we do not know him, and any other remarks that we may see fit to make. Of course, all this is done under the direct supervision of one of the assistants; that is, working at a table in the presence of the assistant. When the envelope is returned, we see that the same number of documents are there, and when this comes back, this card is filed under the section to which it belongs. In other words we have a check, so that we know absolutely who uses each file. This is the contribution I would make so far as the classification and arrangement of the local records are concerned, because our State records are exactly like Iowa, so far as they are now deposited. I will say, however, that in 1845 an attempt was made to classify the legislative papers in the secretary's office. They are in about 122 volumes and it is remarkably well done. We have indexed them. I have a photostat copy of one page of the index in which it speaks of the Church of England. And the plan is, Church of England first, relating to the funds; here comes the earliest bill October, 1744, telling the vault where the document is found. This is made alphabetically by towns and chronologically under the towns. As far as possible, we tried to reconstruct the skeleton, put some meat on it and then, as far as it can be done in an index, inject some red blood into it; because, when the people come from the various sections of the State, they expect to get some definite help, and unless your index or arrangement can show them how to locate something that is of real importance to that section, they will not stand with you; but when they come to you and you are able to refer to the original document and help them save dollars and avoid unnecessary losses, they are with you every time, and that has been our experience; that is what we try to do.

#### CATALOGUING OF ARCHIVES.

Mr. Leland spoke informally of the different kinds of catalogues of archives. He distinguished sharply between historical manuscripts and archives, and pointed out that rules for cataloguing the former do not apply to the latter. He also distinguished between catalogues for official purposes and those for historical purposes. For official purposes the catalogues must vary greatly according to the material. For historical purposes he advocated a succession of catalogues beginning with the check-list or *état sommaire*, continuing in the more detailed descriptive catalogue or *inventaire analytique*, and culminating in the calendar. As Mr. Leland is to treat this subject in detail in a chapter of the proposed "Primer of Archival Economy," this summary is all that is necessary to be presented here.

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XVII. PROCEEDINGS OF THE ELEVENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE  
OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

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CHICAGO, DECEMBER 31, 1914.

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## CONTENTS.

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	Page.
Introduction.....	389
I. Governor.....	391
II. Secretary of state.....	402
III. Attorney general.....	412
IV. Auditor.....	413
V. State treasurer.....	437
VI. Adjutant general.....	442
VII. Clerk of the supreme court.....	445
VIII. Superintendent of education.....	446
IX. Insurance department.....	451
X. Railroad and warehouse commission.....	458
XI. Department of grain inspection.....	465
XII. Department of weights and measures.....	468
XIII. Dairy and food department.....	470
XIV. State drainage engineer.....	474





# A PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF THE MORE IMPORTANT ARCHIVES OF THE TERRITORY AND STATE OF MINNESOTA.

By HERBERT A. KELLAR.

## INTRODUCTION.

The archives of Minnesota were moved frequently in the early days of the Territory. The executive office for a time, beginning with June 26, 1849, was located in the home of Governor Ramsey, on Third Street, between Robert and Jackson Streets, St. Paul. The first legislature had its quarters in a hotel on Bench Street, called the "Central House," where it assembled in September, 1849. The succeeding legislatures, until 1854, met in different places. In 1851 the legislature occupied a brick building on St. Anthony Street, between Washington and Jackson Streets; in 1852 it was in the Goodrich Building, on Third Street, just below Robert Street, and in 1853 it met in the Chatteau Building, a two-story brick affair located at the corner of Third and Minnesota Streets.<sup>1</sup> A permanent capitol building was begun in the summer of 1851 on the land known later as the Capitol Square, but it was not ready for occupancy until July, 1853.<sup>2</sup> On January 1, 1854, the fifth legislature met in this capitol, where the change of Minnesota from a Territory to a State took place in 1858.<sup>3</sup> The building was altered and enlarged several times during the first quarter-century of its existence. It was barely large enough for the departments when it was built, and it never afforded really adequate quarters.

On March 1, 1881, during a session of the legislature, the capitol took fire at about 9 o'clock in the evening. The conflagration virtually destroyed the building, but the majority of the archives were carried out to safety. Some civil war records of the adjutant general, a few legislative bills lying on the table in the governor's office, some papers in cases of the office of the clerk of the supreme court,

<sup>1</sup> The St. Paul Pioneer Press, July 27, 1898, p. 3. Williams, *History of St. Paul*, pp. 227-228, 235, 284, 321, 333.

<sup>2</sup> The St. Paul Pioneer Press, July 27, 1898, p. 3. Williams, *History of St. Paul*, pp. 144, 291, 308.

<sup>3</sup> The St. Paul Pioneer Press, July 27, 1898, p. 3.

and some special laws, executive documents, and journals were lost.<sup>1</sup> Since the location of the capitol at St. Paul, attempts had been made from time to time to change the seat of government to some other locality. The citizens of St. Paul were alarmed lest the burning of the capitol should again give rise to this issue and spent the night of March 1 in equipping the barely completed Market Hall Building, where, on the following morning, the legislature convened, every member finding a desk supplied with paper and ink ready for his use.<sup>2</sup>

The capitol was rebuilt between the years 1881 and 1883. In July of the latter year the last office was moved back into it.<sup>3</sup> However, it was soon found to be too small for the increasing needs of the State, and agitation for a new and larger capitol resulted, in 1893, in the appointment of a capitol commission. On July 27, 1898, the corner stone of a new building was laid. The structure was ready for occupancy by 1905, and the archives were removed to it at that time.<sup>4</sup> This new capitol, although a large building, has not been able to meet the needs of the expansion of the State. For this reason several new departments, as well as branches of old departments, have been moved with their archives back into the old capitol, while the State highway commission is located across the street in the Shubert Building.

The need of more room for housing the records is recognized. It is to be hoped that with the erection of the Minnesota Historical Society Building within the next two years a considerable portion of the older archives will be turned over to the society, so that the society will be able to classify them and provide for their permanent preservation.

The bulk of the archives of the Territory and of the State still in existence is considerable. Such losses as have occurred are mainly due to the fire of 1881, to carelessness on the part of officials, and to the use of poor materials in the construction of the records. In a few instances officials seem to have carried off documents which, perhaps, should more properly have remained in the possession of the State. On the whole, the current archives are well arranged and classified. The situation among the older records, however, is not so satisfactory. This criticism extends also to the protection of the records. In most cases the officials have made the best use of what opportunities there were for safe-guarding archives; but, with the exception of those in the regular office vaults in the new capitol, there is no guarantee of safety from fire and water.

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<sup>1</sup> The Daily Pioneer Press, Mar. 2 and 3, 1881. The document clerk of the office of the secretary of State contradicts the statement of the Daily Pioneer Press. He says hardly anything was lost from his office.

<sup>2</sup> The St. Paul Pioneer Press, July 27, 1898, p. 3. Folwell, Minnesota, p. 25.

<sup>3</sup> The St. Paul Pioneer Press, July 27, 1898, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> The St. Paul Pioneer Press, July 27, 1898, p. 5. Folwell, Minnesota, p. 343.

The numbers and letters which have been used throughout this survey to designate offices and vaults were adopted for the sake of convenience, since no practical official way of locating the records existed.<sup>1</sup> As far as possible, the side of the room or vault where a document is located has been indicated. Abbreviations have been avoided for the most part, but in the case of the phrase, "steel filing box," sfb. has been substituted, and for "center, west, north, east, and south," C., W., N., E., and S. have been used respectively.

The present article comprises a preliminary survey of the manuscript records of the more important offices. Acknowledgment is due the courtesy of State officials who have made the survey possible.<sup>2</sup>

### I. THE GOVERNOR.

The office of governor was created by the organic act of Minnesota, on March 3, 1849. According to this document, it is evident that papers relating to military matters, Indian affairs, the granting of pardons, appointment of officials, the execution of the laws, and the vetoing of bills might be looked for among the records of the governor's office.<sup>3</sup> As a matter of fact, all of these are to be found in more or less complete files. The constitution of 1857 added the reports of State institutions and officers to the archives of the governor.<sup>4</sup> The general statutes also provide that the governor's private secretary should have the duty of keeping a record of all important official letters to and from the governor, and of such other letters as the governor should desire, archives which were to be preserved in the executive office, and to be produced before the legislature upon request. All proclamations of the governor required or authorized by law are filed with the secretary of state. Copies of these, however, are retained in the governor's office. The governor is the custodian of all property of the State not especially entrusted by law to other officers, and may take possession of it without legal process and adopt such measures for its preservation as he deems proper, a statute which has increased the documents of the office.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Only the main rooms of the new capitol are numbered, and inasmuch as the bulk of the archives is in office vaults and sub-basement vaults, it was thought best to disregard the partial numbering altogether.

<sup>2</sup> The Public Archives Commission also acknowledges its debt to Dr. Solon J. Buck, super intendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, whose initiative in the first place led to the preparation of this survey, which he has served in an advisory capacity. Particular thanks are due to the Minnesota Historical Society for its generosity in voting three-fourths of the expenses (\$150) toward the preparation of the survey and for its magnanimity in permitting the American Historical Association to print the results.

In the Minnesota History Bulletin, Vol. I (May, 1915), pp. 37-53, will be found an article by Mr. Kellar on The Minnesota State Archives: Their character, condition, and historical value.

<sup>3</sup> Legislative Manual, 1915, sec. 2, p. 7. Legislative Manual, 1915, sec. 20, p. 18.

<sup>4</sup> Legislative Manual, 1915, art. 5, sec. 4, p. 34.

<sup>5</sup> General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913, ch. 4, sec., 54-58, p. 19-20.

The amount of the records in the office of the chief executive is considerable, many records being deposited there which in other States are found with the secretary of state.

The archives of the governor are located in a sub-basement vault, a reception room and two vaults adjoining, designated from west to east as office vault 1 and office vault 2.

The documents in the sub-basement vault are older records contained in pasteboard boxes. They need further classification, for, although the boxes are for the most part numbered, dated, and labeled, the character of the material is only roughly indicated. Moreover, some of the boxes have decayed from age and spilled out their contents on the shelves. The numbers of the pasteboard boxes have been given where they existed. The vault has a wooden door covered with tin, which does not afford as much protection for the records as is desirable.

There are a few current records in the reception room in ledgers and pasteboard boxes. The material in office vaults 1 and 2 is both old and current. It is in pasteboard boxes, ledgers, and steel filing boxes. The classification here is much better than that found in the sub-basement vault. The vaults furnish adequate security.

It will be noted in the report that there are considerable gaps in some of the files, an explanation of which is not always apparent. In the case of correspondence, the practice of arbitrarily throwing material from special to general files and back again accounts for breaks in various files. However, the serious loss of numerous letter copies of the governors can not be attributed to this cause. Search for these has been made, but it is feared that they are destroyed.

Among the most interesting documents of this office are the executive registers and the relief papers. The latter papers contain a great deal of valuable material for the social and economic history of the State.

#### Constitutional records.

Original constitution of the State of Minnesota, with signatures. 1 sfb.  
(Office vault 1, W.)

Election records, range from 1849 to 1914. (Sub-basement vault N., unless otherwise indicated.)

Election returns, 1849-1857. 1 pasteboard box, No. 356.

Petitions for establishing election precincts, 1851. 1 pasteboard box, No. 264.

Certificates of election, 1857. 1 pasteboard box, No. 591.

Delegates of the constitutional convention.

Poll books of election on the five-million-dollar loan amendment to the constitution, 1858. 1 pasteboard box, No. 340.

Papers concerning election precincts, 1882. 1 pasteboard box, No. 653.

Cass and Itasca counties.

Schedule of votes on constitutional amendment, 1872. 1 pasteboard box, No. 569.

**Election records, etc.—Continued.**

Affidavits of election expenses, 1896–1900, 1904. 1 sfb., No. 731. (Office vault 1, W.)

Papers concerning election districts in counties, range from 1859–1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault 1, W.)

Miscellaneous papers, 1902–1908. 1 sfb., No. 69. (Office vault 1, W.)

Presidential electors, United States Senators, certificates to Congressmen, constitutional amendment.

**Executive records.**

Executive registers, 1849–1915, 13 ledgers.

1849–1898. 12 ledgers, lettered A–J. (Office vault 1, E.) Ledgers from 1849 to 1862 are not lettered.

1899–1915. 1 ledger, lettered K. (Office vault 2, E.)

Indexes to ledgers A, H, I. 3 ledgers. (Office vault 1, E.)

Index to ledger K. 1 ledger. (Office vault 2, E.)

Index. 1 ledger. (Office vault 1, E.)

Probably belongs to executive registers.

These contain copies of important official documents such as requisitions, appointments, proclamations, census returns, letters, pardons, etc. Miscellaneous appointments, 1898–1915. 2 ledgers, lettered A–B. (Office vault 2, E. C.)

Index to miscellaneous appointments. 2 ledgers. (Office vault 2, C.)

These are form certificates of appointment to office filled in and signed by the governor.

Special appointments, 1899–1914. 1 ledger, lettered A. (Office vault 2, C.)

Appointment of delegates to conventions, 1913–1914. 1 ledger. (Reception room, E.)

Messages to the legislature, 1849–1857. 1 ledger, No. 1. (Office vault 1, E.)

Proclamations of Governor Davis, 1874–1875. 1 pasteboard box, No. 232. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

Proclamations concerning rewards, range from 1889 to 1913. 1sfb. (Office vault 1, W.)

Proclamations concerning legislative matters, 1881. 1 pasteboard box, No. 189. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

Communications to the legislature, 1901–1907. 1sfb. (Office vault 1, W.) Printed from 1903.

Proclamations by the governor, 1901–1914. 1 ledger, lettered A. (Office vault 2, E.)

Typewritten copies.

**Legislative records.**

Titles of bills passed, 1849–1905. 4 ledgers. (Office vault 1, E.)

The bills in the first half of one of the ledgers are not dated. Since the last half of this ledger begins with the date 1899 and the one before it ends with the date 1887, it is probable that the undated bills are for the period 1887–1889.

Bills vetoed by the governor, range from 1876 to 1905.

1876–1888. 7 pasteboard boxes, No. 136, 237, 334, 441, 447, 477, 572. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

1889–1905. 2 sfb., No. 58, 63. (Office vault 1, W.)

Correspondence, Territorial. 1 pasteboard box, No. 170. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

Concerning laws received from and sent to other States. Correspondence, received, ranges from 1862–1889. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

## Legislative records—Continued.

## Correspondence, Territorial, etc.—Continued.

1860-1869. 2 pasteboard boxes, No. 327, 552.

1874-1889. 9 pasteboard boxes, No. 21, 91, 199, 229, 325, 451, 462, 504, 596.

## Legislative matters.

## Extradition papers, range from 1849-1908.

## Requisition papers.

1884. 1 sfb., No. 3. (Office vault 1, W.)

1849-1889, 1894. 59 pasteboard boxes. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

The boxes are numbered 2, 3, 8, 12, 16, 17, 20, 28, 64, 67, 84,  
121-124, 139, 156, 159, 177, 188, 193, 208, 235, 249, 260, 333, 313, 328,  
343, 367-369, 379, 391, 417, 432, 468, 470, 476, 478, 404, 480, 496, 499,  
506, 559, 584, 585, 589, 590, 607, 612, 622, 625, 627, 654, 493.

1889-1900. 9 pasteboard boxes. (Office vault 1, N.)

1901-1904, 1906, 1908. 10 sfb. (Office vault 1, W.)

The boxes are numbered 61, 80-88.

1901-1905. 1 letter box. (Office vault 2, N.)

Record of requisitions, 1849-1857. 1 ledger, No. 1. (Office vault 1, E.)

1901-1914. 1 ledger, lettered A. (Office vault 2, C.)

Requests of governors of other States for the arrest and return of fugitive  
criminals in Minnesota and similar requests of the governors of Minne-  
sota to the governors of other States.

## Pardon records.

## Applications for pardons, range from 1853 to 1915.

1853-1857, 1862, 1865-1868, 1870-1891. 67 pasteboard boxes. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

The boxes are numbered 14, 27, 30, 39, 46, 79, 97, 108, 110, 127,  
132, 134, 141, 142, 148, 151, 161, 173, 181, 183, 193, 205, 221, 230, 251,  
265, 267, 274, 275, 286, 290, 295, 311, 321, 329, 346, 353, 376, 382, 398,  
405, 436, 444, 446, 466, 474, 483, 505, 513, 515, 529, 546, 550, 554, 555,  
561, 563, 571, 576, 581, 583, 617, 621, 632, 639, 641, 652.

1889-1902. 32 pasteboard boxes. (Office vault 1, N.)

1902-1915. 40 sfb. (Office vault 1, W. E.)

Pardons since 1897 to date are numbered 1-2400.

## Commutation records, range from 1868 to 1895.

1868-1886. 2 pasteboard boxes, No. 175, 637. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

1889-1891, 1895. 4 pasteboard boxes. (Office vault 1, N.)

No date. 1 bundle. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

Papers pertaining to commutations of sentence.

Record of pardon and commutation commission, 1910-1914. 1 ledger, No. 1.  
(Office vault 2, E.)

Proceedings of board.

## Testimony in cases, range from 1859 to 1911.

1859-1860, 1868, 1874, 1875, 1886, 1898. 9 pasteboard boxes, No. 90,  
94, 95, 104, 153, 164, 196, 412. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

1910-1911. 2 sfb. (Office vault 1, W.)

Record of the board of pardons, 1897-1914. 4 ledgers, No. 1-4. (Office  
vault 2, E. and reception room, E.)

Proceedings of board.

## Correspondence, board of pardons, ranges from 1897 to 1915.

1897-1898, 1905-1915, sent. 5 letter copies. (Office vault 1, N. E.)

1903-1911, received. 2 letter boxes. (Office vault 2, N.)

Certificates of release, 1901-1904. 1 letter box. (Office vault 1, N.)

Statements of release of prisoners by warden.

**Pardon records—Continued.**

Restoration to citizenship records.

Papers relating to cases, range from 1875-1914.

1875, 1882-1885, 1887. 3 pasteboard boxes, No. 171, 315, 396.  
(Sub-basement vault, N.)

1889-1914. 2 sfb. No. 43, 45. (Office vault 1, W.)

Citizenship record, 1901-1914. 1 ledger, lettered A. (Office 2, E.)  
Statement of men restored to citizenship.

Correspondence, received, 1901-1904. 2 letter boxes. (Office vault 2, N.)

Executions, 1885, 1888. 2 pasteboard boxes, No. 341, 495. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

1889-1905. 5 sfb., No. 44, 46. (Office vault 1, W.)

Papers relating to the execution of criminals.

State prison correspondence, received. 1865 and earlier, 1866-1868, 1870, 1872-1874, 1876. 10 pasteboard boxes, No. 29, 70, 163, 194, 212, 372, 388, 565. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

**Records of notaries public.**

Applications for office, 1870-1877. 25 pasteboard boxes. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

The boxes are numbered, 52, 77, 81, 82, 138, 146, 149, 172, 214, 223, 231, 257, 263, 293, 351, 375, 389, 443, 457, 485, 522, 523, 548, 630, 634.

Correspondence, received, 1901-1913. 45 letter boxes. (Office vault 2, N.)

Letter boxes from 1901-1910 are No. 1-32.

1915. 1 letter box. (Reception room, E.)

Concerning fees, appointments, etc.

Revocations of notarial commissions, 1901-1913. 1 sfb., No. 75. (Office vault 1, W.)

Record of notaries public, 1872-1876. 1 ledger. (Office vault 1, E.)

Official reports and communications to the governor, 1858-date. (Office vault 1, unless otherwise indicated.)

State board of accounting, 1909-1913. 2 sfb. (West.)

Agricultural society, range from 1872 to 1914.

1872, 1874-1882. 9 pasteboard boxes, No. 37, 195, 203, 326, 349, 373, 418, 619, 626. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

1881-1914. 2 sfb. (West.)

Return of certificates of appointment of aide to the grand marshal at the inauguration at Washington, 1905. 1 sfb. (West.)

Board of optometry, 1901-1913. 1 sfb., No. 77. (West.)

Board of arbitration and conciliation, 1901-1913. 1 sfb., No. 77. (West.)

State art board, 1903-1914. 1 sfb., No. 25. (West.)

Attorney general, 1889-1904. 1 sfb., No. 1. (West.)

1892 is missing.

Bank examiners, 1889-1914. 10 sfb., No. 27-29, 30-34. (West.)

Banking department reports, 1910. 1 sfb. (West.)

Bank commission, 1911. 1 sfb. (West.)

Barber's board, 1909-1910, 1913. 1 sfb. (West.)

Inspection of bees, 1908-1910. 1 sfb. (West.)

Boiler inspection, 1905. 1 sfb., No. 90. (West.)

Commissions to adjust claims of State on bonds, 1900-1904. 1 sfb., No. 70. (West.)

Bridges over the St. Croix, September, 1909. 1 sfb., No. 3. (West.)

Canvassing board, 1908. 1 sfb. (West.)

Capitol commission, 1894-1899, 1903, 1905, 1907. 1 sfb. (West.)

## Official reports and Communications, etc.—Continued.

Capitol maintenance, 1909-1911. 1 sfb. (West.)

Charges against public officials, range from 1867 to 1897. 18 pasteboard boxes and 2 bundles. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

The pasteboard boxes are numbered 11, 34, 43, 65, 109, 168, 218, 252, 269, 301, 306, 352, 416, 458, 482, 527, 602, 649.

Range from 1889 to 1914. 18 sfb. and 1 bundle. (West and north.)

Mainly county officials.

Prevention of cruelty, 1914. 1 sfb. (West.)

Dairy and food department, 1890, 1893, 1900, 1911. 1 sfb., No. 6. (West.)

Board of dental examiners, 1893, 1903-1908, 1910-1914. 1 sfb., No. 8. (West.)

Drainage commission, 1894-1914. 2 sfb., No. 67. (West.)

Board of electricity, 1899-1902, 1904-1908, 1910-1913. 1 sfb., No. 9. (West.)

Entomologist, 1901-1913. 1 sfb., No. 77. (West.)

Reports of public examiner, 1878-1914.

1878-1888, 1891. 19 pasteboard boxes. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

The boxes are numbered 26, 45, 47, 85, 88, 111, 167, 216, 224, 241, 254, 273, 322, 332, 403, 420, 500, 511, 609.

1889-1914. 13 sfb., No. 35, 42, 60. (West.)

## Expositions.

Alaska-Yukon Pacific Exposition, 1908. 1 sfb. (West.)

Panama Exposition, 1912. 1 sfb. (West.)

State fair, 1912-1913. 1 sfb. (West.)

Fire marshal, 1906, 1909, 1911, 1914. 2 sfb. (West.)

Forestry board, etc., 1881-date. 2 sfb., No. 76. (West.)

Game and fish commission, 1891-1913. 2 sfb. (West.)

Some years missing.

Grain board of appeals, 1902, 1908, 1914. 1 sfb. (West.)

Board of health, 1872-1881. 2 pasteboard boxes, No. 119, 179. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

1892-1914. 1 sfb., No. 11. (West.)

Some years missing.

Highway commission, 1907-1910. 1 sfb. (West.)

Historical society, 1910. 1 sfb. (West.)

Horseshoers' board, 1899-1903, 1913. 1 sfb., No. 12. (West.)

Hospital for insane, 1888-1900. 2 sfb., No. 13. (West.)

Hotel inspection department, 1912. 1 sfb. (West.)

Insurance commissioner, 1904-1905. 1 sfb., No. 62. (West.)

Meetings of investment board, 1903. 1 sfb., No. 57. (West.)

Labor commissioner, 1898-1904, 1907, 1911. 1 sfb., No. 5. (West.)

Iron range labor trouble, 1907. 1 sfb. (West.)

Librarian, 1900, 1904, 1906, 1908, 1911-1914. 1 sfb., No. 16. (West.)

Parks, 1891-1905. 1 sfb., No. 18. (West.)

1895. 1 pasteboard box, No. 112. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

Some years missing.

Pharmacy, 1895-1911. 1 sfb., No. 22. (West.)

Some reports missing.

Plumbers' board, 1899. 1 sfb., No. 20. (West.)

State prison, 1861-1865. 1 pasteboard box, No. 11. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

1887-1900, 1908. 2 sfb., No. 21, and 1 bundle. (West.)

Proclamations from other States, 1902-1914. 5 sfb., No. 64. (West.)

Many of these are printed. Some are missing.

Public instruction, 1910, 1914. 2 sfb. (West.)



**Official reports and communications, etc.—Continued.**

Medical board, 1891, 1905. 1 sfb., No. 19. (West.)

Military districts, 1893–1900. 1 sfb., No. 72. (West.)

Miscellaneous reports, 1887. 1 pasteboard box, No. 300. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

Resolution establishing municipal court, 1908. 1 sfb. (West.)

Normal schools, 1899–1914. 1 sfb., No. 23. (West.)

Some reports are missing.

Oil inspection, 1890, 1907–1910, 1914. 2 sfb., No. 17. (West.)

Special report, railroad rates, 1906. 1 sfb. (West.)

Reform school, 1872. 1 pasteboard box, No. 347. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

1890–1899. 1 sfb., No. 74. (West.)

Some reports are missing.

Resignations of public officials, 1889–1914. 2 sfb., No. 54. (West.)

Soldiers' home, etc., 1889. 1 pasteboard box, No. 233. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

1898–1910. 1 sfb., No. 24. (West.)

Some reports are missing.

Stallion board, 1909–1910, 1913–1914. 1 sfb. (West.)

State institutions, 1880–1882. 3 pasteboard boxes, No. 238, 484, 510. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

State officers, 1871, 1876–1878. 3 pasteboard boxes, No. 460, 498, 631. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

Supreme court, 1858. 1 pasteboard box, No. 345. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

Tax matters, 1893. 1 bundle. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

1907, 1910, 1914. 1 sfb. (West.)

**Timber.**

Surveyor general of logs, 1867. 1 pasteboard box, No. 11. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

1892, 1896, 1901–1902, 1909, 1914. 1 sfb. (West.)

Camp's report of logs, 1872. 1 pasteboard box, No. 323. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

Timber board, 1910. 1 sfb. (West.)

Timber matters, 1904. 1 sfb., No. 57. (West.)

Training school at Redwing, etc., 1895–1898, 1906–1908. 2 sfb., No. 55. (West.)

Treaty of Traverse Sioux, 1907. 1 sfb. (West.)

Relative to the buying of the site.

Treasurer's receipts, range from 1893 to 1915. 1 sfb., No. 66. (West.)

University, 1898–1914. 1 sfb., No. 91. (West.)

Vicksburg monument commission, 1901. 1 sfb., No. 56. (West.)

Board of visitors, 1908–1914. 1 sfb. (West.)

**Correspondence.****General.****Received.**

1850–1888. 85 pasteboard boxes and 3 bundles. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

The pasteboard boxes are numbered 6, 7, 23, 30, 35, 59, 92, 93, 117, 130, 140, 143, 150, 154, 160, 162, 169, 174, 192, 194, 207, 213, 215, 225, 227, 245, 258, 259, 264, 266, 268, 270, 282, 285, 292, 298, 305, 310, 314, 318, 342, 354, 355, 358, 362, 365, 374, 383, 385, 387, 392, 394, 401, 409, 410, 429, 430, 433, 448, 452, 453, 461, 465, 487, 516, 525, 536, 538, 541, 543, 550, 564, 575, 578, 579, 582, 587, 589, 593, 595, 615, 635, 640, 646, 650.

## Correspondence—Continued.

## General—Continued.

## Received—Continued.

1900-1914. 76 letter boxes. (Office vault 2, N. E.)

Correspondence from 1900 to 1911 is in letter boxes numbered from 21 to 63.

1915. 22 drawers in 1 wooden filing case. (Office vault 2, S.)

## Sent.

1894-1895, 1897-1902, 1905-1914. 38 letter copies. (Office vault 1, N.E.)

The letter copies 1905-1914 are numbered 19-50.

## Special.

## Applications for office.

1850, 1853-1894. 92 pasteboard boxes. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

83 of the pasteboard boxes are numbered 24, 31, 41, 42, 50, 51, 56, 57, 69, 72, 78, 80, 96, 100, 103, 106, 113, 116, 131, 133, 144, 147, 152, 173, 186, 200, 220, 236, 240, 242, 250, 271, 272, 276, 278, 281, 284, 287, 291, 299, 330, 338, 339, 361, 366, 384, 386, 400, 402, 406, 419, 424, 434, 445, 459, 463, 467, 472, 488, 490, 492, 494, 497, 518, 531, 533, 537, 544, 551, 553, 570, 573, 574, 577, 586, 599, 601, 606, 638, 645.

1897-1904. 2 sfb., No. 59, 80. (Office vault 1, W.)

Resignations from office, 1872, 1875, 1878-1879, 1881, 1887-1888. 7 pasteboard boxes, No. 19, 83, 411, 422, 426, 508. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

Military papers. (Sub-basement vault, N., unless otherwise indicated.)

1859, county war matters. 1 pasteboard box, No. 317.

Civil war, 1860-1865. 19 pasteboard boxes.

The boxes are numbered 25, 89, 105, 118, 158, 184, 185, 190, 198, 206, 222, 256, 280, 304, 312, 421, 475, 519, 620, 629.

Indian matters, 1861-1863, 1872-1874, 1880-1881, 1884. 10 pasteboard boxes, No. 13, 126, 191, 255, 425, 471, 489, 501, 614, 633.

The earlier of these Indian war records are concerned with the Sioux war.

Spanish war, 1898. 1 pasteboard box, No. 73.

Payment for military expenses, 1906. 1 sfb. (Office vault 1, W.)

Correspondence with the War Department, 1858-1863. 1 ledger. (Office vault 1, E.)

Copies of important letters.

Lands and railroads. (Sub-basement vault, N., unless otherwise indicated.)

Territorial. 1 pasteboard box, No. 503.

1857-1858. 1 pasteboard box, No. 253.

1858-1875, 1877-1889, 1892-1893. 47 pasteboard boxes.

The boxes are numbered 4, 5, 36, 49, 60, 71, 74, 75, 114, 120, 166, 176, 182, 197, 209, 226, 294, 302, 331, 350, 371, 380, 390, 413, 435, 442, 454, 464, 469, 491, 502, 520, 549, 589, 594, 603, 605, 624, 641-643.

These records are not sufficiently classified to enable land records not pertaining to railroads to be treated separately.

1876-1877, 1886-1914. 5 sfb. (Office vault 1, W.)

Appraisals of State land, 1911. 1 letter box. (Office vault 1, E.)

## Correspondence—Continued.

## Special—Continued.

## Relief papers.

1871-1878, 1880-1881, 1886-1888. 54 pasteboard boxes. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

The boxes are numbered 1, 3, 9, 22, 33, 40, 53-55, 62, 63, 65, 86, 87, 98, 99, 107, 115, 135, 171, 217, 243, 246, 248, 261, 262, 277, 283, 308, 316, 357, 360, 363, 364, 370, 378, 381, 395, 397, 414, 415, 479, 509, 514, 517, 524, 560, 568, 613, 623, 628.

1875, 1881, 1887, 1889-date. 2 pasteboard boxes and 5 sfb. (Office vault 1, W.N.)

San Francisco relief, 1906. 1 letter box. (Office vault 2, N.)

The correspondence is particularly full on the grasshopper devastations of the seventies. The remainder is concerned with various storms, fires, and other disasters on account of which it was necessary for the State to render aid to the sufferers.

Counties, 1853-1859, 1870-1872, 1876-1879, 1881, 1886-1888. 14 pasteboard boxes. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

The boxes are numbered 15, 101, 128, 180, 297, 337, 348, 440 521, 539, 545, 604, 611.

Division of counties, 1906. 1 sfb. (Office vault 1, W.)

The papers are concerned with organization and divisions of counties, county officers, judicial matters, county-seat contests, etc.

## Capitol building.

1873, 1881-1882, 1893. 8 pasteboard boxes, No. 44, 187, 204, 228, 296, 307, 507, 547. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

1906-1909. 1 sfb. (Office vault 1, W.)

The majority of the papers relate to the construction of the new capitol.

## Internal improvements.

1872-1873, 1881, 1885, 1893. 6 pasteboard boxes, No. 65, 288, 399, 423, 616. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

1905-1906. 1 letter box. (Office vault 2, N.)

These are largely concerned with Mississippi River improvement and drainage matters.

United States Government, 1851-1857, 1859-1867, 1870, 1873-1878, 1881, 1888. 8 pasteboard boxes, No. 32, 58, 165, 431, 535, 590, 610, 618.

Letters from various departments at Washington.

Proposals for loans, 1858. 1 pasteboard box, No. 45. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

Letters, received, concerning bonds to be issued for a loan to the State of Minnesota, proposals to buy bonds from various people, etc. Exchange of documents, laws, etc., with other States, 1854-1855, 1858-1859, 1865. 3 pasteboard boxes, No. 10, 202, 600. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

Papers show the receipt of the documents by the State of Minnesota.

Claims against the State, 1859-1860. 1 pasteboard box, No. 324. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

Commissioner of Immigration, letters received, territorial. 1 pasteboard box, No. 562. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

## Correspondence—Continued.

## Special—Continued.

- State board of immigration, 1867, 1869. 2 pasteboard boxes, No. 11, 76. (Sub-basement vault, N.)
- Immigration matters, 1872. 1 pasteboard box, No. 608. (Sub-basement vault N.)
- Concerning Civil War, etc., 1860-1864. 1 pasteboard box, No. 61. (Sub-basement vault, N.)
- Petitions, 1863. 1 pasteboard box, No. 211. (Sub-basement vault, N.)
1911. 1 sfb. (Office vault 1, W.)
- Sanitary commission, 1865. 1 pasteboard box, No. 321. (Sub-basement vault, N.)
- Commissioner of deeds, 1874. 1 pasteboard box, No. 408. (Sub-basement vault N.)
- Dan Roherr, report and vouchers, 1874. 1 pasteboard box, No. 648. (Sub-basement vault, N.)
- Propositions for the location of a new State prison, 1875. 1 pasteboard box, No. 129. (Sub-basement vault, N.)
- Suit vs. Duluth, 1875-1878. 1 pasteboard box, No. 644. (Sub-basement vault, N.)
- Letters from the governors of other States, taxation, 1879. 1 pasteboard box, No. 558. (Sub-basement vault, N.)
- Absolute property tax sales, 1907, 1910, 1912. 2 letter boxes. (Office vault 2, N.)
- Census bulletin, census, 1880. 1 pasteboard box, No. 155. (Sub-basement vault, N.)
- Invitations, declinations, etc., 1880, 1881. 2 pasteboard boxes, No. 320, 566. (Sub-basement vault, N.)
- Thanksgiving proclamations, etc., 1882. 1 pasteboard box, No. 66. (Sub-basement vault, N.)
- Resignations and acceptances, etc., 1883. 1 pasteboard box, No. 210. (Sub-basement vault, N.)
- Proclamations by other governors, 1887. 1 pasteboard box, No. 655. (Sub-basement vault, N.)
- Congratulatory messages, 1887. 1 pasteboard box, No. 651. (Sub-basement vault, N.)
- Congratulations for Governor Johnson, 1905. 1 letter box. (Office vault 2, E.)
- Congratulations for Governor Eberhart, 1909-1910. 2 letter boxes. (Office vault 2, N.)
- Boiler inspection, 1889. 1 pasteboard box, No. 125. (Sub-basement vault, N.)
- Insurance commission, etc., 1889. 1 pasteboard box, No. 102. (Sub-basement vault, N.)
- Surveyor general of logs and lumber, 1889. 1 pasteboard box, No. 526. (Sub-basement vault, N.)
- Dairy commission, 1889, 1893. 2 letter boxes, No. 303, 456. (Sub-basement vault, N.)
- Redemption of bonds, 1891. 1 pasteboard box, No. 289. (Sub-basement vault, N.)
- State board of equalization, etc., 1897. 1 pasteboard box, No. 359. (Sub-basement vault, N.)
- Reformatory board, 1892. 1 pasteboard box. (Sub-basement vault, N.)
- Receipts of final letters from S. G. Iverson, State auditor, 1905-1913. 1 sfb. (Office vault 1, W.)

## Correspondence—Continued.

## Special—Continued.

Letters from various governors on the national conference of charities and corrections, 1907. 1 sfb. (Office vault 1, W.)

Correspondence, sent and received, 1908. 1 sfb. (Office vault 1, W.)

National conservation, G. Pinchot and others, etc.

In reference to the silver service for the battleship "Minnesota," 1909. 1 sfb. (Office vault 1, W.)

Relating to delegations and conventions, 1902-1904. 1 letter box. (Office vault 2, N.)

Official letters, telegraphers' strike, 1905. 1 sfb. (Office vault 1, W.)

States, Territories, foreign countries, 1901-1905. 2 letter boxes, No. 32. (Office vault 2, N.)

Efficiency file, 1913-1914. 1 letter box. (Office vault 2, N.)

Public utilities, 1913. 1 letter box. (Office vault 2, N.)

Miscellaneous records. (In office vault 1, unless otherwise indicated.)

## Taxes.

Certificates of forfeited tax sales, 1906-1914. 60 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Forfeited deed record, 1906-1914. 7 ledgers, lettered A-G. (Office vault 2, E.)

1914-1915. 2 ledgers. (Reception room, W.)

These are deeds by the state to purchasers of forfeited tax property.

Correspondence, 1914-1915. 1 letter box. (East.)

## Receipts.

1859-1862, 1872, 1875-1881. 12 pasteboard boxes, No. 18, 201, 239, 427, 450, 481, 486, 512, 540, 580, 599, 636. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

1901-1907. 3 sfb. and 1 book. (West and north.)

1901-1902. 1 letter box. (Office vault 2, N.)

Proposals for deposits, 1873. 1 pasteboard box, No. 130. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

## Opinions of attorney general.

1859, 1861-1866, 1873, 1875, 1880-1882, 1887. 10 pasteboard boxes, No. 219, 309, 319, 335, 407, 455, 528, 532, 567, 595. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

1905-1914. 1 sfb. (West.)

Record of opinions of attorney general, 1858-1880. 3 ledgers. (East.)

The last ledger is lettered C.

Index to opinions of attorney general, 1865-1874. 1 ledger. (East.)

No date. 1 ledger. (East.)

## Expositions.

A Minneapolis centennial register, 1876. 1 ledger. (East.)

Names of persons attending the centennial exposition in Philadelphia.

Diplomas and medals from the World's Fair Columbian exposition, 1893. 3 pasteboard boxes. (North.)

Medals from Panama exposition. 1 pasteboard box. (North.)

Correspondence, received.

New Orleans exposition, 1884-1886. 3 pasteboard boxes, No. 377, 437, 534. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

American exposition at London, 1886. 1 pasteboard box, No. 336. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

Texas world's fair exhibit, 1890. 1 pasteboard box, No. 65. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

## Miscellaneous records—Continued.

- Commissioner of labor statistics, 1887. 1 pasteboard box, No. 530. (Sub-basement vault, N.)
- Press clippings, 1891. 1 pasteboard box. (Sub-basement vault, N.)
- Signatures of the governors of other states, 1905. 1 sfb. (West.)
- Life-insurance proxies, 1906. 1 sfb. (West.)
- Applications for detective licenses, 1907. 1 sfb. (West.)
- Miscellaneous cuts. 1 sfb. (West.)
- Power of attorney papers, 1913. 1 sfb. (West.)
- Leases of rooms in state capitol to United States department of agriculture, 1914. 1 sfb. (West.)
- Policy register of the St. Paul fire and rain insurance company, 1893-1895. 1 ledger. (East.)
- Insurance on university property.
- Henry M. Rice memorial statue commission, 1914. 1 sfb. (West.)
- Tabulation of railway rates. 1 book. (East.)
- Compiled for Governor Johnson.
- Swampland contests, 1863-1879. 1 ledger. (East.)
- Indexes. 4 ledgers. (East.)
- Poster, 1908. (North.)
- St. Louis Republic, 100th anniversary. 1 flag. (North.)

## II. THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

The office of secretary was recognized by the organic act of Minnesota, 1849. The duties of the office as laid down by the act were to record and preserve all the laws and proceedings of the legislative assembly and all acts of the governor in his executive capacity, likewise to record the oaths of officials.<sup>1</sup> The constitution of 1857 provided that election returns should be made to the secretary.<sup>2</sup> Bonds and corporation records have been in the care of the secretary from an early date.<sup>3</sup> The census records, since 1865, have been deposited with him.<sup>4</sup> Under the act of 1907 the position of clerk of government surveys was created and placed in the control of the secretary of state. The clerk was instructed to receive and preserve the records and archives of the United States surveyor general for the State of Minnesota when the United States land commissioner should give them into the custody of the State.<sup>5</sup> Many documents have come to the clerk because of this law. Since 1911 records connected with motor vehicles have greatly increased the duties of the secretary.<sup>6</sup> The general statutes order that all documents of the State not ex-

<sup>1</sup> Legislative Manual, 1915. Sec. 3, p. 8; sec. 11, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Legislative Manual 1915. Article 5, p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> Legislative Manual, 1915. Sec. 11, p. 11. General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913. Ch. 85, sec. 8240, p. 1838; Ch. 58, sec. 6148, pp. 1331-1332.

<sup>4</sup> Legislative Manual, 1915. Article 5, p. 29.

<sup>5</sup> General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913. Ch. 4, sec. 61, p. 20.

<sup>6</sup> General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913. Ch. 13, sec. 2622, p. 592.

pressly required by law to be kept by other State officials shall be turned over to this office.<sup>1</sup>

The documents of the office of secretary of state are somewhat scattered. Many of them are located in three rooms or so-called vaults in the sub-basement; A in the southwest corner, B about the center of the west side, and C in the northwest corner. The last-named vault is often spoken of as the shipping room. Other places of storage are the document clerk's office and his two adjoining vaults, designated, from south to north, as 1 and 2. The remainder of the archives are in the office of the secretary and his office vault. The documents would be more accessible if centralized. This could be accomplished by concentrating the supplies, which under the present system take up much space, in several vaults and placing the older records in the others.

The documents in sub-basement vault A are in pasteboard boxes and bundles. Owing to persons examining the documents and failing to put the boxes back where they belong the records in some cases are in confusion. The records in sub-basement vault C are in ledgers, pasteboard boxes, and bundles. They are well arranged, but as the room is large are hard to find among the mass of supplies. The material in the document clerk's office is in books and pasteboard boxes. There are quite a number of records also in an iron cupboard. In the document clerk's office vault the records are in ledgers, books, and bundles, the latter needing further classification; in vault 2 they are in ledgers. In the office of the secretary of state the current documents and the card indexes are in wooden filing cases. The secretary of state's office vault is long and narrow. The documents there are in steel filing boxes, ledgers, and bundles. Partial indexes exist, the best of which are those for the corporation and motor-vehicle records, but there is no index to the entire content of this vault or to others. Only in the case of the secretary's office vault and vault 1 of the document clerk's office is there adequate fire and water protection. This situation endangers many valuable records.

For historical purposes the archives of the secretary of state present some of the most interesting materials found in the survey.

#### Legislative records.

Legislative bills and papers, range from 1849 to 1913.

1849-1887, 1895. 62 pasteboard boxes. (Sub-basement vault A, S.)

1851-1852, 1889-1913. 53 pasteboard boxes. (Document clerk's office vault 1, N. E.)

1913-1915. 5 sfb. (Office vault, W.)

No date. 1 bundle. (Document clerk's office vault 1, W.)

This bundle is simply entitled "old bills and papers" and needs classification.

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<sup>1</sup> General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913. Ch. 4, sec. 58, p. 20.

## Legislative records—Continued.

## Legislative bills and papers—Continued.

No date. 2 sfb. (Office vault, S.)

Bills introduced into the house, No. 1-298. Bills introduced into the senate, No. 1-256.

These are the original and engrossed bills for the general and special laws.

## Legislative bills and papers, range from 1891 to 1913. (Sub-basement.)

1891, 1895-1903. 17 pasteboard boxes. (Vault A, N.)

1903-1905. 2 pasteboard boxes. (Vault C, E.)

1911-1913. 23 pasteboard boxes. (Vault C, W.)

These are the original bills which did not pass. The file is incomplete.

## House and senate bills, 1857-1913.

1857-1907. 103 ledgers. (Sub-basement vault B, W.)

1857. 1 ledger. (Document clerk's office vault 1, S.)

1907-1913. 17 ledgers. (Document clerk's office vault 1, N. E.)

No date. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

No date. 1 ledger. (Auditor's office, sub-basement vault A, W.)

A record of bills introduced into the house and senate and a brief comment as to subsequent disposal.

## House and senate journals, 1849-1893.

1849-1893. 82 ledgers. (Sub-basement vault B, W.)

1849. 1 ledger. (Document clerk's office vault 1, N.)

The ledgers are variously titled house journal, records of the council, journals of the council, senate journals and council register. The journals are now printed.

## Record of bills referred to legislative committees, range from 1878 to 1913.

(Sub-basement vault unless otherwise indicated.)

## Senate committees.

Judiciary, 1878. (Auditor's office, sub-basement vault A, W.)

Judiciary, 1878-1884, 1886-1909. 21 ledgers. (Vault B, S.)

Judiciary, 1909-1913. 3 ledgers. (Document clerk's office vault 1, N.)

Finance, 1887. 1 ledger. (Vault B, S.)

Agriculture, 1891. 1 bundle. (Document clerk's office vault 1, W.)

Miscellaneous committees, 1911. 1 ledger. (Vault B, S.)

## House committees.

Finance, 1883. 1 ledger. (Vault B, W.)

Towns and counties, 1887. 1 ledger. (Vault B, S.)

Railroads, 1889. 1 ledger. (Vault B, W.)

Railroads, 1897. 1 ledger. (Vault B, S.)

Banks and banking, 1897. 1 ledger. (Vault A, E.)

Taxes, insurance, agriculture, 1905. 1 ledger. (Document clerk's office vault 1, W.)

House committee, 1911. 1 ledger. (Vault B, S.)

Probably house judiciary committee.

## Miscellaneous committees.

1891. 1 ledger. (Vault B, S.)

1897. 1 ledger. (Vault A, N.)

1899. 5 loose sheets. (Vault A, N.) The sheets have been cut from a ledger.

These ledgers do not specify the house to which the committee belongs.



## Legislative records—Continued.

Records of titles of bills passed, range from 1859 to 1905.

1859-1864. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

1891. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault B, E.)

1897. 1 ledger. (Document clerk's office vault 1, N.)

1905. 1 ledger. (Office vault, S.)

No date. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault B, S.)

The date has been cut off.

Enrolled laws, 1858-1913.

1858-1903. 87 ledgers. (Document clerk's office vault 2, C.)

1905-1913. 8 ledgers. (Office vault, N.)

These are the original general and special laws as enrolled. They are lacking for the territorial period.

Revised laws, 1905. 2 ledgers. (Office vault, N.)

The laws of the State, revised, to 1905.

Supplements to Minnesota law, 1903-1911. 4 boxes. (Sub-basement vault C, W.)

Contained in newspapers.

Constitutional amendments. 1 sfb. (Office vault, W.)

Petition to vote on the division of St. Louis county. 1 sfb. (Document clerk's office vault 1, W.)

Petitions, reports to committees and other miscellaneous papers, 1849-1854. 2 sacks. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

The papers are badly in need of classification.

Senate reapportionment map, 1909. 1 roll. (Document clerk's office vault 2, E.)

Charts of seating arrangements of the senate, 1907, 1911, 1915. 3 diagrams. (Office vault, S.)

Chart of seating arrangements of the house, 1911. 1 blue print. (Document clerk's office vault 1, E.)

## Election records.

Statements filed by candidates for the primaries, 1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault, W.)

Nominating petitions presented to the secretary of state, 1912. 16 bundles. (Sub-basement vault B, W.)

These belong to the progressive party.

Appointment of personal committees, 1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault, W.)

## Papers concerning primary elections.

Credentials of republican delegates, 1910. 1 package. (Office vault, S.)

Election returns, 1887-1912. 31 ledgers and 9 bundles. (Document clerk's office vault 1, W., N. E.)

Abstracts of votes cast for county, State, and national offices, and for constitutional amendments. Primary election returns after 1902. The abstracts are fairly complete.

Abstracts of votes, Marshall County election, 1884. 1 bundle. (Office vault, S.)

Special election in regard to fifty thousand dollar bonds.

## Election contests.

1893, 1897. 1 bundle and 1 roll. (Document clerk's office vault 1, W.)

Between 1891 and 1897. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

## Certificates of election.

Members of the legislature, 1891, 1895, 1899. 2 bundles. (Document clerk's office vault 1, W.)

## Papers concerning primary elections—Continued.

## Certificates of election—Continued.

County elections and members of the legislature, 1914. 1 roll. (Office vault, S.)

Affidavits of newspapers concerning election announcements, 1912-1914. 1 letter box. (Office vault, N.)

Sworn statements that newspapers have published certain notices.

Record of county officers, 1860-1872. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault B, S.)  
Executive records.

Civil appointments, 1849-1913. 7 ledgers. (Office vault, S. and N.)

Contain the name and residence of person appointed, date of appointment, etc. The ledgers for the State period are lettered A-F. The Territorial ledger has some sheets torn out and placed in the front of it. Ledger A has a broken back.

Records of executive session, 1858-1864, 1881. 2 ledgers. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Proceedings of the sessions.

Official letters and communications, 1858-1914. 9 ledgers. (Office vault, N.)

Copies of important documents, both sent and received, by the secretary of state. The phrase "railroad liens" is added to the title after 1879, and the series from then on is largely a corporation record.

Indexes to official letters and communications, 1862-1914. 2 ledgers. (Office vault, S.)

## Bond records. (In office vault, unless otherwise indicated.)

Bonds of notaries public, 1849-1914. 112 sfb. (South.)

Bonds of county officials, 1891-1915. 84 sfb. and 10 bundles. (East.)

Bonds filed with the secretary of state for county treasurers, sheriffs, attorneys, coroners, court commissioners, registrars of deeds, etc.

Register of bonds for county officers, range from 1883 to 1887. 2 ledgers. (Sub-basement vault B, E.)

Miscellaneous bonds, range from 1897 to 1915. 26 sfb. and 1 bundle. (West and south.)

These include collection agencies, treasurers of State institutions, detectives, terminal warehouses, tree pedlars, commission merchants, weigh masters, etc.

Bonds and oaths, 1849-1915. 14 sfb. (West.)

Official bonds and oaths, 1858-1915. 6 ledgers, lettered A-F. (North.)

These relate to State officials.

Index to official bonds and oaths, 1858-1915. 2 ledgers. (South.)

Minnesota State railroad bonds, 1858-1866. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault B, E.)

Records of the proceedings of the board of commissioners.

## Corporation records. (In office vault, unless otherwise indicated.)

Record of incorporations, 1857-1914. 77 ledgers. (North.)

Date of filing incorporation articles in the office of the secretary of state and the copy of the articles of incorporation. The corporations are alphabetized.

Copies of articles of incorporation, 1884-1914. 12 large letter boxes. (South.)

The papers are contained in boxes marked "invoices," but have to do with incorporation matters.

Incorporation certificate record, 1889-1913. 5 ledgers, lettered B-E. (North.)

## Corporation records—Continued.

Record of certificates of incorporation, 1907-1915. 3 ledgers. (North.)

The current ledger is loose leaf.

Amendments to certificates of incorporation, 1907. 1 pasteboard box. (North.)

Index to articles of incorporation and affidavits of publication, 1861-1886. 1 ledger. (South and north.)

Index to articles of incorporation, 1883-1886. 1 ledger. (South.)

Affidavits of newspapers publishing notices, 1874-1915. 83 scrapbooks, No. 1-185000. (South.)

Material relating to articles of incorporation.

Records of affidavits of publication, 1879-1885, 1912-1914. 2 ledgers. (South.)

Foreign corporations, 1899-1915. 87 sfb. No. 1-1270. (West.)

Every corporation is assigned a number and papers pertaining to the corporation are filed away under that number. The title is omitted after number 1596. The files consist of copies of charters, articles of incorporation, affidavits, reports, etc.

Index to foreign corporations, 1899-date. 4 wooden drawers. (Office, E.)

Domestic corporations, 1867-1915. 7 sfb. No. 1-1054. (West.)

Papers similar to those of foreign corporations.

Index to domestic corporations, 1867-date. 31 wooden drawers. (Office, E.)

Index to corporations, 1887-1895. 1 ledger. (Document clerk's office vault 1, N.)

Index to corporations, 1891. 1 ledger. (Document clerk's office vault 1, N.)

Index to social corporations, 1887-date. 4 wooden drawers. (Office, E.)

Index to corporations, 1861-1907. 4 ledgers. (North.)

Records of railroads, 1867-1915. 14 ledgers. No. 1-14. (North.)

Contain copies of contracts, mortgages, bonds, deeds of trust, and other papers.

Official letters and communications and railroad liens, 1858-1879. 9 ledgers. (North.)

See executive records.

Railroad mortgage, 1896. 1 roll. (South.)

Mortgage land record, 1871-1875. 1 ledger (South.)

Relating to railroads.

Record of railroad mortgages, 1898-1901. 1 letter box. (South.)

Old railroad reports, 1887-1897. 1 sfb. (West.)

Railroads, 1858-1912. 3 sfb. No. 1-101. (West.)

Acceptances of railroads to gross earning tax law, 1857-1881. 1 sfb. (West.)

Services, railway company. 1 sfb. (West.)

Papers in regard to condemnation of property for railroad purposes.

General index to books of railroad records, 1858-1903. 1 ledger. (South.)

Steam vessels' insurance certificates, 1885-1887. 1 sfb. (West.)

Index to railroad record of steamboats, 1859-1913. 1 ledger. No. 1. (South.)

Charters and acceptances, 1893-date. 4 sfb. (West.)

Catholic churches, 1912-1915. 1 sfb. No. 1-62. (West.)

Index to religious corporations, 1882-1915. 4 wooden drawers. (Office, E.)

Record of Catholic church, 1877-1901. 2 ledgers. (North.)

Incorporation of Catholic churches.

## Corporation records—Continued.

Certificates of banks, 1895. 1 bundle. (Document clerk's office vault 1, W.)  
 Certificates of incorporation of State banks, 1907–1915. 3 ledgers. (Office vault, N.)

Trade-marks, 1889–1915. 4 sfb. No. 1–679. (West.)

Index to trade-marks, 1893–1914. 1 ledger. (West.)

Record of trade-marks, 1899–1914. 3 ledgers. No. 5, 7, 9, in official letters and communications and railroad liens. (North.)

See executive records.

Liens, 1891–1915. 3 sfb. No. 1–401. (West.)

Claims against corporations.

Transient merchants' and pedlars' licenses, 1909. 1 sfb. (West.)

Commissioner of deeds. 2 sfb. (West.)

Agricultural associations, 1911–1912. 1 sfb. (West.)

Miscellaneous, 1858–1913. 9 sfb. No. 1–1326. (West.)

Incorporation papers.

Service of process papers, 1858–1915. 1 sfb. (West.)

Record of service of process, 1877–1912. 4 ledgers. (North.)

The last three ledgers are lettered B, C, and D.

## Correspondence, 1902–1914.

1902–1910, sent. 18 letter copies. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

1904–1913, received. 127 letter boxes. (Sub-basement vault A, N. E. W.)

1912–1913, received. 2 letter boxes. (South.)

1913–1914, sent and received. 18 letter boxes. (North.)

## Census records.

Returns of the United States Government census, 1850–1870. 24 books.  
 (Document clerk's office vault 1, N.)

1850. 1 book.

1860. 8 books.

1870. 15 books.

Returns of State census, 1865–1885. 125 books. (Document clerk's office vault 1, N. S.)

1865. 11 books.

1875. 31 books.

1885. 83 books.

Returns of State census, 1895–1905. 227 books. (Sub-basement vault C, W.)

1895. 109 books.

1905. 118 books.

The United States census is taken on the even years and the State census is taken on the odd years. The State census returns are the originals.

A record of census takers, 1905. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, N.)

Accounts, 1905 census. 1 book. (Sub-basement vault A, N.)

Stubb receipts for supplies, salaries, etc.

Accounts, 1905 census. 1 book. (Document clerk's office vault 1, W.)

Receipts for supplies.

Forms used by census bureau. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, N.)

This is a scrapbook of census blanks.

Census divisions of the fifth Minnesota district, together with an estimated extent of the population, n. d. 1 folder. (Document clerk's office vault 1, W.)

**Land records.**

United States survey. (Document clerk's office vault 1, unless otherwise indicated.)

Original field notes. 669 books. (South and west.)

The surveys show township and range for the fourth and fifth meridian, Indian reservations and islands. These records have been turned over to the State by the Government.

Copies of original field notes. 237 books. (Document clerk's office, E.)

The copies were made for the State soon after she came into possession of her public lands. They contain many mistakes. 27 of the books are unbound.

Correspondence, received, 1907. 2 bundles. (South.)

Official letters of the department of the interior to the surveyor general.

Indexes to surveys of islands. (East.)

State surveys. (In document clerk's office vault 1, unless otherwise indicated.)

Swamp land lists and plats, 1860-1893. (In steel cupboards, document clerk's office, E.)

Correspondence.

1905-1908. 3 letter copies. (East.)

Letters sent out by clerk of government surveys.

1908. 1 letter copy. (South.)

Letters sent out by the secretary of state in regard to surveying matters.

1910-1912, received. 1 letter box. (East.)

Notes descriptive of timber existing in certain towns and ranges.

1 bundle of loose papers. (East.)

Surveys of land, n. d. 2 bundles of blue prints. (East.)

Map of Minnesota. 1 roll. (South.)

Miscellaneous maps. 1 bundle. (West.)

Right of way maps, 1893-1894. 2 rolls. (Office vault, E.)

The Tamarac and Sand Hill River ditches.

**Miscellaneous records.****State printing.**

Record of printing done for various departments, 1880-1881. 1 ledger. (Document clerk's office vault 1, N.)

Record of printing done for various departments, 1884-1894. 2 ledgers. (Sub-basement vault B, W. E.)

Papers pertaining to State printing, 1903-1904. 1 bundle. (Office vault, S.)

Printing contracts, 1874-1908. 1 sfb. (Office vault, W.)

**Stationery. (Sub-basement vaults.)**

Accounts, 1877-1878, 1884-1891. 2 ledgers. (Vault B, E.)

Accounts, 1889-1894, 1896-1900. 9 ledgers. (Vault A, E.)

Account of paper stock, 1886-1891. 1 ledger. (Vault B, E.)

Record of stationery stock, 1895-1896. 2 ledgers. (Vault B, W.)

**Shipping department.**

Receipts for house and senate files, 1905-1907. 5 books. (Document clerk's office vault 1, W.)

Receipts for Minnesota reports, 1888-1904. 4 sfb. (Office vault, W.)

Receipts for Minnesota reports, no date. 5 books. (Document clerk's office, E., and document clerk's office vault 1, W.)

## Miscellaneous records—Continued.

## Shipping department—Continued.

Receipts, 1909–1911. 1 pasteboard box. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

These consist of bills of lading of the American Express Company and post office registration receipts.

Receipts of Great Northern Express Companies, 1910–1911. 8 books. (Sub-basement vault, A, N.)

Receipts of Great Northern Express Company, 1913–1914. 30 books. (Office vault, S.)

Correspondence, received, 1909. 1 letter box. (Document clerk's office vault 1, E.)

Miscellaneous, concerning document clerk.

Correspondence, received, 1912–1913. 2 letter boxes. (Document clerk's office, E.)

Applications for documents.

Invoice of legislative supplies, 1911. 1 letter box. (Document clerk's office, E.)

## Monument papers.

Vicksburg and Shiloh monuments correspondence. 2 bundles. (Sub-basement vault B, W.)

Deposited by General C. C. Andrews, 1911.

Vicksburg monument plans. 1 bundle. (Document clerk's office vault 1, W.)

## Motor vehicles. (Office vault unless otherwise indicated.)

Motor cycle license applications, 1913–1914. 3 pasteboard boxes. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Motor cycle record, current. 2 ledgers. (Center.)

Contains registration of motor cycles. The models range from 1908–1915.

Record of dealers and manufacturers, 1911–1913. 2 ledgers. (South.)

The title on these ledgers is "Record of Bills. House Committee."

Motor vehicle license applications, 1914. 1 package. (South.)

Manufacturers' and dealers' applications.

Form applications, motor vehicle business, 1914. 1 package. (South.)

Relating to the requirements of the State upon manufacturers and dealers.

Examination papers for chauffeurs, 1912–1913. 2 rolls. (South.)

Chauffeurs' applications for licenses, 1911–1915. 5 sfb. (North.)

Chauffeurs' applications for licenses, 1913–1914. 4 bundles. (South.)

Renewal applications for licenses, 1913. 1 bundle. (South.)

These are mainly for chauffeurs' licenses.

Chauffeur record, 1909–1912. 1 ledger. (South.)

Automobile license applications, 1911–1914. 72 pasteboard boxes. (Sub-basement vault A, W, and N.)

There are enough license applications tied up in bundles to make about five boxes more.

Automobile license applications, 1914. 2 bundles. (South.)

Automobile numbers, 1911. 1 bundle. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Report of auto department to secretary of state, 1913. 1 package. (South.)

Motor vehicle record, 1910–1911. 4 ledgers. (Document clerk's office vault 2, N.)

Registration of vehicles with description.

Index to motor vehicle records, 1911–1915. 107 wooden drawers. (Office, N.)

**Miscellaneous records—Continued.****Reports.** (Office vault unless otherwise indicated.)

- Humane society, 1912. 1 sfb. (West.)
- Board of audit, 1886-1893. 1 sfb. (West.)
- Boiler inspection, 1907-1910, 1912-1914. 1 sfb. (West.)
- Oil inspection, 1895. 1 bundle. (Document clerk's office vault 1, W.)
- Oil inspection chart, 1898. (South.)
- Reformatory reports, no date. 1 bundle. (Document clerk's office vault 1, W.)
- Treasurer's reports, 1890-1906. 6 boxes and 10 bundles.
- Miscellaneous reports, 1897-1904. 1 sfb. (West.)

**Accounts.**

- Minnesota Territory, 1849-1852. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault B, S.)
- Record of expenses.
- Account, per diem, of the members and officers of the State senate, 1859-1861. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)
- Account book, 1895. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)
- Accounts, 1894-1895. 1 roll. (Document clerk's office vault 1, W.)
- Expense accounts of various departments. The sheets have been cut from a ledger.
- Account book, 1893-1912. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault B, E.)
- Accounts, no date. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)
- Journal, 1894-1895. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault B, W.)
- Record of expenses.
- State board of corrections and charities, 1888-1894. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault B, W.)
- Record of expenses.
- Journal of State board of corrections and charities, 1889-1891. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault B, W.)
- Journal of the department of education, 1892-1895. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault B, S.)
- Treasury receipts, 1899-1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault, W.)
- Capitol bids, 1898-1901. 2 sfb. (Office vault, S.)
- Receipts, 1889-1903. 4 sfb. (Office vault, W.)
- Receipts of Minnesota reports. 4 sfb. (Office vault, W.)
- Cancelled checks.

**Correspondence, investigations, etc.****Correspondence.**

- Commissioner of the World's Fair, Chicago, 1891-1895, received. 9 letter boxes. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)
- The subjects include flour exhibits, superintendent, proposals, bills, reports, miscellaneous papers.
- Drainage commission, 1895-1901, received. 1 letter box. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)
- Contains also the minutes held at the meetings of the board of audit of the Red River Valley drainage commission, 1903-1909.
- Railroad and warehouse commission, 1902. 1 bundle. (Document clerk's office vault 1, W.)
- The bundle is entitled, "Hon., the Senate of Minnesota, the Capitol, St. Paul. Railroads." Contains correspondence and reports of commission with the legislature concerning passenger rates.
- Unclaimed letters returned to the secretary of state. 1 bundle. (Document clerk's office, E.)

## Miscellaneous records—Continued.

## Correspondence, investigations, etc.—Continued.

- Papers in investigation of cases. 3 bundles. (Document clerk's office vault 1, W.)
- Agricultural papers, 1892-1893. 1 bundle. (Document clerk's office vault 1, W.)
- Opinions of attorney general and supreme court, 1888-1912. 1 sfb. (Office vault, W.)
- Papers concerning notarial resignations, 1910-1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault, S.)
- Minutes, 1901-1902. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)
- Executive council of the federation of labor. 1 bundle. (Document clerk's office vault 1, W.)
- Locating insane hospital. 1 bundle. (Document clerk's office vault 1, W.)
- Photographs of several State institutions. 1 bundle. (Document clerk's office vault 1, W.)
- Photographs, 1 pasteboard box. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

## III. THE ATTORNEY GENERAL.

The office of attorney general was created by organic act of Minnesota, on March 3, 1849.<sup>1</sup> His duties, as defined by law, are to appear for the State in cases before the United States and State courts, keep a register of all legal proceedings in which he appears and of the several steps therein and retain a copy of all opinions given by himself or his assistants. He also is required to make annual reports to the governor of the legal business transacted in his office. Reports of criminal actions from county attorneys are received by the attorney general.<sup>2</sup>

The office of the attorney general is in the new capitol building. He has six rooms opening on a central corridor. The majority of the records are kept in two vaults adjoining the south side of this corridor, which are designated A and B from west to east. A few records are kept in an anteroom. The remainder of the records are in a sub-basement vault.

The writer was only allowed to make a cursory examination of the documents in vaults A and B and the anteroom. The records appear to be well classified and well kept. The court cases, containing a complete history of each case handled by the attorney general, are in steel filing boxes on the south side of vault A. On the east side of this vault are the annual reports of the county attorneys concerning criminal actions, also in steel filing boxes, and covering the period 1880 to date. On the west side are a number of steel filing boxes pertaining to inheritance taxes. On this side, also, is a large series of correspondence, in steel filing boxes, containing letters sent and received. Each letter is numbered and notes are often attached to

<sup>1</sup> Legislative Manual, 1915, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913, ch. 4, sec. 100-107, pp. 26-28.



a letter, which indicate its subject. Around the bottom of the vault are numerous ledgers. Vault B contains mainly printed reports and supplies, but also a few ledgers and indexes and one letter file. In the anteroom are complete ledger and card indexes to the archives in vault A. The impression gained from the office and office vaults was very favorable as concerns the condition of the records and their classification. The vaults are fireproof and the documents in the anteroom are of such a nature that they could be quickly transferred there in case of necessity.

The records in the sub-basement vault, which were examined more closely, are in bad condition. The vault, in common with many others of the sub-basement, is not fire or water proof. Within it, wooden boxes and printed reports are piled up in confusion. On the west side are the manuscript archives, consisting of a large series of correspondence, mainly in letter boxes. Many of these boxes are in a poor state of preservation and the letters themselves show the effect of the dust and dirt in the vault.

Four letter copies of Attorney General Moses E. Clapp have strayed in some way into sub-basement vault A of the auditor's office. They are on the east side of the vault. These should, properly, be returned to the office of the attorney general.

Correspondence. (In sub-basement vault west, unless otherwise indicated.)  
General.

1882-1893, received. 36 letter boxes.

The boxes are broken.

1887, sent. 2 letter copies.

The letters are faded.

1887-1890, sent. 4 letter copies, No. 3-6. (Auditor's office, sub-basement vault A, W.)

1890-1895, sent. 6 letter copies.

1894-1905, sent and received. 93 letter boxes.

Boxes in bad shape.

Special.

1886-1887, sent. Opinions. 1 letter copy.

Letters are faded.

1903-1905, sent and received. Swamp land. 1 letter box.

#### IV. THE AUDITOR.

The first territorial auditor of Minnesota, J. E. McKusick, was appointed November 3, 1849. The constitution of 1857 made provision for the continuance of the office.<sup>1</sup> The duties of the auditor have fallen naturally into two main divisions, the auditing department and the land department.<sup>2</sup> In regard to the first, from very early times, he has superintended and managed the fiscal affairs of the State.<sup>3</sup> In this capacity, he keeps records of the claims against

<sup>1</sup> Legislative Manual, 1915, article 5, pp. 34-35.

<sup>2</sup> Legislative Manual, 1915, p. 233.

<sup>3</sup> General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913, sec. 65, p. 20.

the State presented to him, of the warrants for the payment of such claims which he, in turn, presents to the treasurer,<sup>1</sup> of the drafts for money due the State, also given over to the treasurer for collection, of the receipts and disbursements of the treasury by funds and otherwise, of tax abstracts and accounts and of the boards of equalization and investment.<sup>2</sup>

In connection with land matters, the auditor keeps a record of lands leased and sold, the timber, minerals, and grass upon the lands, the principle and interest paid for them, and deeds, leases, and other contracts in connection with lands. The conveyances of land from the United States to the State and from the State to purchasers are also recorded.<sup>3</sup> The public lands of Minnesota have been a source of considerable income for some time. This has been particularly true of mineral lands since 1890.

The archives of the auditor's office are the largest in bulk of any of the State departments. They are found in two sub-basement vaults, the smaller of which has been called A and the larger B; in an office; and two adjoining vaults, which are designated, respectively, from west to east, office vault 1, and office vault 2.

In sub-basement vault A, the documents are in bundles, ledgers, letter boxes, and large pasteboard boxes. They are fairly well arranged considering the character of the material, which deals with many different subjects. The vault is protected only by a wooden door covered with tin.

The archives in sub-basement vault B, which are mainly accounts, vouchers, and warrants, are in large galvanized tin boxes, about 2½ feet long, and 2 feet high, numbered consecutively from 1 to over 360. The practice of using metal boxes of this sort to protect the documents is a very good one, but has its disadvantages from the point of view of classification. Also, the records are difficult to get at when the boxes are piled three or four deep with the labels turned the wrong way. The condition of this vault could be improved by arranging the boxes according to number and stenciling the contents on the outside instead of using labels. The amount of the records in these boxes is so large that, for the contents of them, little more was done than the taking of the titles. The boxes from which the labels had disappeared were examined. There is an index to the vault in a small ledger in the office. The vault itself is simply a portion of the eastern end of the sub-basement fenced off by a lattice. Properly speaking, it is a room rather than a vault, but goes by the latter title. The records of both sub-basement vaults are noncurrent.

<sup>1</sup> General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913, sec. 67, 68, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913, sec. 72, p. 22. Legislative Manual, 1915, p. 234.

<sup>3</sup> General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913, sec. 73, p. 22. Legislative Manual, 1915, p. 234.

The archives in office vault 1 are in ledgers and steel filing boxes. They are devoted almost exclusively to land matters and are both old and current documents. They are well classified and protected.

The archives in office vault 2 pertain largely to the auditing department and are contained in ledgers and steel filing boxes. There is a partial index to the contents of this vault in the vault itself. The documents are well arranged; most of them are current records. The vault is fireproof.

The documents in the office are mainly at the west end of the room and are found in letter boxes, ledgers, and steel filing drawers. A portion of these records might be removed to the vaults in case of fire, but the number of them would make it somewhat difficult to achieve this hastily.

#### **Tax records.**

##### **Tax lists.**

Lands reported for taxation by the United States land office, 1903-1908. 3 sfb. (Office vault 1, E.)

Lands reported for taxation up to 1899. 1 galvanized tin box. No. 65. (Sub-basement vault B, W.)

Reports of gross earnings for purposes of taxation. (In office vault 2 N, unless otherwise indicated.)

Express companies, 1907-1912. 1 sfb.

Freight companies, 1909-1912. 1 sfb.

Railroad companies, 1894-1912. 3 sfb.

Telephone companies, 1905-1913. 10 sfb.

Reports of equipment of freight lines, 1897-1909. 1 sfb.

Reports of tonnage of vessels, 1905-1908, 1910-1912. 2 sfb.

Reports of property assessments of North Dakota, 1912. 1 roll. (Office, W.)

Miscellaneous, 1901-1912. 1 bundle. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Report of assessment on iron properties, 1907. 1 book. (Office vault 1, E.)

##### **Board of equalization papers, abatements, etc.**

Proceedings of county boards of equalization, 1898-1900, 1903, 1905, 1907-1908. 7 scrapbooks. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Newspaper clippings.

Proceedings of State board of equalization, 1871-1908. 8 bundles. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

The material in these bundles is roughly classified after 1896. It pertains to proceedings of the board, appointments to office, statements of corporations, reports of proceedings of county boards of equalization, assessment sheets, newspaper clippings, unclaimed letters returned by the post office, registered letter and express company receipts and charts relating to taxation.

Record of proceedings of state board of equalization, 1891-1908. 1 ledger. (Office vault 1, S.)

##### **Abatements.**

Range from 1892-1909. 14 galvanized tin boxes, No. 28, 82, 86, 92, 101, 118, 126, 137, 146, 149, 156, 173, 175, 307. (Sub-basement vault B, W. N. E. S. C.)

Records of correction of abatements, 1895-1907. 3 ledgers. (Office vault 2, W.)

## Tax records—Continued.

## Tax levies, abstracts, etc.

Abstracts of tax levies, 1899–1914.

1899–1904. 6 folders containing loose sheets. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

1904–1914. 11 folders containing loose sheets. (Office vault 1, C.)

Abstracts of tax lists, 1878–1899.

1878–1897. 4 galvanized tin boxes, No. 51, 117, 140, 154. (Sub-basement vault B, W. N. E.)

1891–1898. Folders with loose sheets. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Abstracts of personal property assessments.

1867–1878. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 143. (Sub-basement vault B, W.)

1874, 1889–1896, 1898–1908. 15 folders containing loose sheets. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Abstracts of real estate assessments, 1890–1908. 10 folders containing loose sheets. (Sub-basement vault A, W. E.)

The entries occur every two years.

Assessment roll, 1860. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Entries in about one-third of the book.

Inebriate hospital license tax, 1911–1914. 6 sfb. (Office vault 2, W.)

Since 1907, a two per cent tax has been levied on liquor licenses for the support of the above institution.

Record of inebriate hospital tax, 1908–1914. 1 ledger. (Office vault 2, W.)

Inheritance tax records, 1911–1913. 1 ledger. (Office vault 2, W.)

Record of taxes levied on various counties, 1850–1862. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

## Delinquent taxes.

Unredeemed absolute property and forfeited tax list, 1902–1911. Bound sheets. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Forfeited tax lists, published in newspapers, 1900. 2 letter boxes. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Applications for satisfaction of tax judgments, 1908–1912. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Sales lists, 1862–1879. 18 ledgers. (Office vault 1, W.)

Description of lands sold, by counties. Probably lands forfeited for taxes.

Sales of absolute property.

1902. 1 sfb. (Office vault 1, E.)

1896–1905. 4 galvanized tin boxes, No. 153, 220, 230, 235. (Sub-basement vault, W.)

Tax settlement papers.

1860–1878. 2 galvanized tin boxes, No. 122, 142. (Sub-basement vault B, W. N.)

1910–1915. 3 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

## Bond records.

## School bonds.

Common school district bonds, 1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

School district bond record, 1887–1914. 5 ledgers, No. 1, B2, C, D, E. (Office vault 2, W.)

Register of school fund bonds, 1862–1883. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

**Bond records—Continued.****School bonds—Continued.**

Register of permanent school fund bonds, 1876-1913. 1 ledger. (Office vault 2, W.)

Register of permanent school fund bonds. 1903-1909. (Office vault 2, W.)

Also contains minutes of meetings of the State investment board.  
Register of county and municipal bonds, 1897-1914. 1 ledger, lettered D. (Office vault 2, W.)

County treasurers' bonds, 1864-1889, 1907-1909. 4 sfb. (Office vault 1, S. E.)

**Railway.**

Old bonds and papers. 1 galvanized tin box. (Sub-basement vault B, W.)

Redeemed Minnesota State railway bonds, 1881. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, S.)

Railroad adjustment bonds, 1881. 1 bundle. (Office vault 2, S.)

Paid coupons of Minnesota railway adjustment bonds, No. 1-20. n. d. 1 ledger. (Office vault 2, W.)

Record of bond tribunal, 1881. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Relating to proceedings of tribunal for settlement of Minnesota railway bonds.

Claims against Transit Valley Railway, 1881. 5 sfb. (Office vault, 1, S.)

In regard to adjustment of State railway bonds.

Claims against Minneapolis and Cedar Valley railway, 1881. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, S.)

**Miscellaneous.**

Drainage commission, 1903-1910, 1913-1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Register of bonds, 1881-1891. 1 ledger. (Office vault 1, W.)

Register, 1891-1913. 2 ledgers. (Office vault 2, W.)

Register, 1902-1910. 1 ledger. (Office vault 2, W.)

American bank note company bond. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 97. (Sub-basement vault B, E.)

**Bank records. (In sub-basement vault A, unless otherwise indicated.)**

Register of stock, 1858-(?). 1 ledger.

Register, 1859-(?). 1 ledger.

1860-1863. 1 ledger, no title.

Record of old State banks.

1859-(?). 1 ledger.

1858-1862. 1 ledger.

Registers, no date. 6 ledgers, numbered 1-6.

Record of certificates of incorporation, 1858-1871. 1 ledger.

Record of assets of insolvent banks, range from 1883-1912. 1 ledger.

Correspondence, received, 1858-1861, 1863-1868. 2 books.

**Loan and trust company records.**

Miscellaneous papers, 1884. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 104. (Sub-basement vault B, N.)

**Correspondence.**

1884-1898, sent. 2 letter copies. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

1883-1885, 1888-1893, received. 2 letter boxes. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

## Loan and trust company records—Continued.

## Title and trust companies.

Correspondence, received, 1883-1894. 2 letter boxes. Sub-basement vault A, W.)

## Land records. (In office vault 1, unless otherwise indicated.)

## Land selections.

These are lists of lands selected from the public domain according to congressional grants. The dates are those of the approval of the selections by the land commissioner in Washington. As these lands have been taken over from time to time, the dates merely represent the time of the first and last selections.

Indemnity school lands, 1857-1908. 5 ledgers. (West.)

Indemnity school lands, 1882-1891. 1 ledger. (Office, W.)

Indemnity school lands, 1883-1904, 1911. 2 sfb. (East.)

University lands, 1865-1885. 1 ledger. (West.)

Swamp lands, 1881-1906. 8 sfb. (South.)

Swamp lands, 1860-1912. 40 ledgers. (North and east.)

Agricultural college, 1868-1896. 1 sfb. (South.)

Agricultural college, 1867-1879. 1 ledger. (West.)

Internal improvement, 1867-1907. 1 ledger. (West.)

Salt spring lands, 1868-1896. 1 sfb. (South.)

Salt spring lands, 1885-1898. 1 ledger. (West.)

Experimental station, 1905. 1 ledger. (North.)

## For forestry purposes.

State capitol, 1892-1902. 1 ledger. (North.)

White Earth Indian reservation, 1901. Bound sheets in flexible covers. (West.)

## Railroad lands.

H. and D. railroad, 1873-1900. 1 ledger. (West.)

St. Paul and Sioux City railroad, 1867-1895. 1 ledger. (West.)

Southern Minnesota railroad, 1860-1909. 1 ledger. (West.)

Winona and St. Peter, 1860-1897. 1 ledger. (West.)

Minnesota Central, 1860-1874. 1 ledger. (West.)

Transit Valley and conflicting limits, 1867-1882. 1 ledger. (West.)

Northern Pacific, 1873-1874. 1 ledger. (West.)

St. Paul and Pacific, 1860-1874. 1 ledger. (West.)

Duluth and Iron Range railroad, no date. 1 bundle. (West.)

Record of railroad grants, no date. 1 ledger. (West.)

## Only a few entries.

Letters and papers relating to land grants, 1863-1899. 1 sfb. (East.)

Indexes to railroad selections according to congressional grants.  
2 small ledgers with soft leather backs. (South.)

Final entries, United States land offices, 1903-1914. 4 ledgers.  
(East and south.)

## Land examinations.

1891-1899. 4 note books. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Plats of land showing location and description of same.

Appraisals of school lands, no date. 25 note books. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Description and estimate of value of land.

**Land records—Continued.**

Old appraisals of school lands, no date. 1 ledger. (West.)

Appraisals of school land, 1866-1896, 1898-1905. 2 ledgers. (West.)

One ledger contains loose sheets.

Appraisals of indemnity school lands, 1897, 1900, 1909, 1912-1913.

Bound sheets. (West.)

Appraisals of land, 1906-1912. 2 ledgers. (North and south.)

Swamp land record, no date. 1 ledger, lettered A. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Few entries containing descriptions of lands.

Swamp land record, no date. 1 ledger. (West.)

Contain description of land.

Swamp land contests. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

1908-1909. 24 note books.

1909-1912. 4 bundles of loose sheets.

Descriptions of disputed lands, mainly pertaining to the White Earth and Leech Lake reservations.

**Deed records.**

1858-date. 56 sfb. (South.)

These deeds pertain to the Alexander Ramsey, St. Anthony, Minneapolis, Horace Austin, Itasca, Fort Ridgely, and St. Croix State parks, sanitarium for consumptives, St. Paul and Detroit fish hatcheries, the hospital for indigent and crippled children, girls' industrial school, naval militia boat house, the St. Peter, Rochester and Fergus Falls hospitals, the school for the deaf and feeble minded, the Inebriate farm, the Acton monument site, the Albert Lea creamery plant, the new Historical Society, armory sites, the soldiers' home, the experiment station, the agricultural school, the Cruxton sub-station, the Grand Rapids sub-station, the University, Duluth demonstration and the university forest experiment station, the new capitol site, the old capitol site, the State prison, the Mankato, Moorhead, Bemidji, St. Cloud, Winona and Duluth normal schools, the Pillsbury forest reserve, the State warehouse site, the State training school, the State reformatory, the Hastings and Anoka asylums, etc.

State institutions and parks, 1858-1908. 1 ledger. (East.)

Right of way deeds, 1884-1906. 1 ledger. (South.)

Miscellaneous records of right of way deeds, 1887-1914. 2 ledgers, lettered A-B. (West.)

Railroad lands, 1870-1914. 7 ledgers, lettered A-G. (West.)

Index to deed records, 1858-1915. 3 ledgers, No. 1-3. (East.)

**Land sales.****Abstracts.**

School lands, 1882-1915. 6 ledgers, lettered A-F. (South.)

Internal improvement, 1882-1915. 3 ledgers, lettered A-C. (South.)

University lands, 1882-1909, 1911-1912. 2 ledgers. West and south.)

Agricultural college, 1882-1903, 1909. 2 ledgers. (West and south.)

State institutions, 1892-1912. 3 ledgers. (West and south.)

Swamp lands, 1912-1915. 2 ledgers, lettered B-C. (South.)

Public lands, 1909. 1 ledger. (West.)

Railroad lands, 1870-1872. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Reports, 1867-1890. 3 sfb. (South.)

## Land records—Continued.

## Land sales—Continued.

## Memorandum of lands sold.

1903-1911. 7 ledgers. (West.)

1912-1914. 3 ledgers. (Office, S.)

## Lists of lands sold.

1872, 1874. 1 ledger. (Office, S.)

1880-1902. 2 sfb. (South.)

Sales books, various counties, range from 1897-1915. 65 ledgers. (Office, W. S.)

Largest number of sales are in St. Louis, Itasca, and Aitkin counties.

Newspaper copies of sales of State lands, 1909. 3 galvanized tin boxes, No. 80, 134, 188. (Sub-basement vault B, E.)

Record of sale of railroad lands by railroads, 1866-1874. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

## Land certificates.

Receipts for certificates, 1903-1915. 1 sfb. (South.)

Sent to county treasurers and to purchasers of land.

University lands, 1889-1915. 1 sfb. (East.)

Special certificates. 1 sfb. (South.)

Special certificates, 1914-1915. 1 sfb. (East.)

Record of special certificates, 1870-1915. 3 ledgers. (South.)

Cancelled, void, uncalled, and divided land certificates, 1882-1913. 2 sfb. (East.)

Affidavits of loss of certificates, 1876-1891, 1894-1912. 2 sfb. (East.)

Record of certificates issued, no date. 3 ledgers. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Notices of certificates, 1910-1915. 2 sfb. (South.)

Return slips for registered letters.

## Payments on land contracts.

Contract slips, 1862-1915. 202 sfb. (Office vault 1, N.)

Description of land, appraised value, record of sale and payments on principle and interest.

Land collections, 1874-1915. 14 sfb. (South.)

Transferred school land, 1891-1915. 7 ledgers. (West and center.)

Six of the ledgers are lettered A-F. Transferred from internal improvement lands.

## School lands.

1866-1892. 6 ledgers. (Office, W.)

1873-1875. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

1866-1915. 36 ledgers. (West, north, east, and center.)

## Indemnity school lands.

1868-1871. 1 ledger, lettered B. (Office, W.)

1872-1881, 1908-1915. 3 ledgers. (West and center.)

School lands, subdivision, 1892-1915. 2 ledgers. (West and center.)

School land contracts transferred from internal improvement land contracts, 1892. 1 ledger. (South.)

General and permanent school fund accounts, 1861-1883. 1 ledger. (West.)

University lands, 1897-1906. 1 ledger. (Office, W.)

University lands transferred from internal improvement lands, 1892-1915. 2 ledgers. (West and center.)

Agricultural college, 1867-1876, 1897-1906. 2 ledgers. (Office, W.)



## Land records—Continued.

## Payments on land contracts—Continued.

Agricultural college, 1887–1896. 2 ledgers, lettered A2, A3. (West.)

Swamp lands, 1902–1915. 5 ledgers. (West and center.)

## Internal improvement lands.

1882–1891. 1 ledger. (Office, W.)

1872–1915. 6 ledgers, lettered A, B, A2, B2, A3, B3. (North, west, and center.)

State institution lands, 1890–1915. 2 ledgers. (South and west.)

Reform school land, 1889–1890, 1892–1902. 3 ledgers. (South.)

Land sale receipts, 1875–1892, 1902–1910. 15 sfb. (North.)

Leases on land for building sites and garden plots, 1915. 1 sfb. (South.)

Record of reduction of interest on school lands, 1885. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Act of 1885, reducing from 7 per cent to 5 per cent.

Record of reduction of interest on university and general improvement lands, 1885. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, S.)

List of capitol land renters, 1891. 1 small ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Journal, State lands office, 1864–1882. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

## Plats of public lands.

1882–1894. 6 books. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

No date. 38 ledgers. (Office, W.)

No date. 3 ledgers. (Center.)

Plats of lands copied from office of surveyor general.

Invoices, 1899–1915. 2 ledgers, No. 4–5. (Office, W.)

Leech Lake Reservoir, 1905. 1 ledger. (North.)

Sub-division plat book, 1862–1909. 1 ledger. (South.)

Miscellaneous charts and plats. (West and north.)

Maps and plats of railroad lines. 16 steel drawers in a steel filing case. (Office, W.)

Railroad lands, 1892. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Index to railroad plats on file in auditor's office, 1892. 1 ledger. (South.)

Old flowage, right of way plats and papers. 1 sfb. (East.)

One paper is dated 1889.

## Land patents.

## School lands.

1862–1915. 91 sfb., No. 1–10414. (East.)

1863–1914. 26 ledgers, lettered A–Z. (West.)

1881–1914. 1 ledger, lettered A1. (West.)

## Indemnity school lands.

1897–1915. 6 sfb. (East.)

1904–1915. 1 ledger. (West.)

## University lands.

1892–1904. 1 sfb., No. 1–161.

1880–1915. 2 ledgers. (West.)

University lands transferred from internal improvement lands, 1899–1915. 1 sfb. (East.)

## Agricultural college lands.

1881–1915. 5 sfb. (East.)

1872–1915. 2 ledgers. (East.)

## Land records—Continued.

## Land patents—Continued.

## Swamp lands.

1902-1915. 1 sfb. (East.)

1865-1915. 5 ledgers. (West and north.)

## Internal improvement lands.

1886-1915. 24 sfb. (East.)

1878-1915. 3 ledgers. (West and east).

## State institution lands.

1900-1915. 1 sfb. (East.)

1897-1915. 3 ledgers. (West and east.)

State capitol lands, 1858-1901. 1 sfb. (East.)

## Public building lands.

1902-1915. 1 sfb. (East.)

1902-1915. 1 ledger, lettered A. (West.)

## Reform school lands, 1889. 1 sfb. (East.)

## Railroad lands.

L., S. and M. railroad company, 1875. 1 ledger. (North.)

St. Paul and Duluth railroad, 1891-1903. 1 ledger. (North.)

Western railroad, 1879-1915. 1 ledger. (North.)

St. Paul and Pacific railroad, 1875. 1 ledger. (North.)

St. P., M. and M., 1880-1915. 3 ledgers. (North.)

## Register of applications for patents, 1900. 1 ledger. (West.)

## Timber records.

## Appraisals.

## Land examiners' reports.

1877, 1897-1898, 1903-1913. 130 note books. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Plats, with description of timber by section, township, and range, estimated amount and value. These are originals.

1875-1894. 2 sfb. (South.)

1878-1880, 1895-1915. 11 ledgers. (West, north, and south.)

Surveyor general's reports, 1896-1915. 3 ledgers. (West, north, and south.)

## Timber sales.

1895-1913. 3 sfb. (East.)

1886-1914. 13 ledgers. (West, north, and south.)

Stumpage record, 1880-1890, 1900-1914. 10 ledgers. (South.)

## Trespass records.

Old reports, 1865-1875. 2 sfb. (South.)

1890-1893, 1898-1915. 3 ledgers. (West, north, and south.)

## Timber permit records.

Permits, 1866-1915. 13 sfb. (South and east.)

Scale sale permits, 1912-1915. 2 sfb. (East.)

County sale permits, 1912-1913. 1 sfb. (East.)

## Reports of cutting under permit.

1908-1909. 9 note books. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

1914-1915. 1 ledger. (Office vault 1, S.)

Record of timber board proceedings, 1904-1914. 1 ledger. (South.)

Receipts of pine timber sales, 1882-1889. 1 stub-book. (West.)

## Payments on stumpage sales.

1872-1875, 1888-1891. 3 ledgers. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

No date. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, El.)

## Land records—Continued.

## Timber records—Continued.

## Forestry record.

1888-1897. 2 ledgers. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

1893-1914. 2 ledgers, lettered C-D. (Office vault 2, N.)

## Appointments, oaths, and bonds.

1895-1914. 2 sfb. (South and east.)

Cruisers', deputy surveyor generals', etc.

1871-1914. 1 sfb. (South.)

Appraisers' oaths.

## Correspondence.

Sent, 1895-1914. 13 letter copies. (Office, W.)

Received, 1892-1895. 2 letter boxes. (West.)

## Mineral lands.

Applications for prospecting permits, 1890-1907. 6 sfb. (South.)

Assignments of prospecting permits, 1890-1893. 1 sfb. (South.)

## Mineral land leases.

1891-1907. 4 sfb. No. 1-872. (East.)

1903. 1 sfb. (East.)

Coal mining contracts.

Record of leases, 1890-1908. 3 ledgers. (West.)

Mineral contract and lease record, 1904-1915. 1 ledger. (Center.)

Abstract of mineral leases, 1890-1903, 1905-1907. 2 ledgers. (Center.)

Cancelled mineral leases, 1889-1907. 8 sfb. No. 1-872. (South.)

Relinquishments, cancelled leases, 1897-1913. 1 sfb. (South.)

Cancelled contract and lease record, 1889-1906. 1 ledger. (Center.)

Inspectors' weekly reports, 1915. 1 sfb. (East.)

Annual reports of mine inspectors, 1903-1914. 1 sfb. (South.)

Mesabe mountain mine survey, 1904. 1 ledger. (East.)

Miscellaneous reports on contracts, 1905. 1 sfb. (South.)

## Reports of shipments of ore.

Old reports of early shipments, 1886-1895. 1 sfb. (South.)

Mainly current reports. 33 sfb. (East.)

Monthly and quarterly reports of lessees of State iron mines. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

The Leonidas, Hanna, Grant, and Fay mines.

Lease holders' monthly reports, 1906-1909, 1914-1915. 2 sfb. (South.)

Nonshipment of ore.

Drill records, 1913. 1 sfb. (East.)

Reports of work on State mineral leases.

Royalty payments on mineral contracts, 1890-1913. 2 ledgers. (Center.)

Plats of mineral leases, 1890-(?). 2 ledgers. (East.)

## Correspondence.

1911-1913. 1 sfb. (South.)

Concerning lean ore waste.

1910-1915, sent. 6 letter copies. (South.)

1908-1912, received. 4 letter boxes. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

## State land office correspondence.

## Sent.

1875-1878, 1880-1901. 24 letter copies. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

1896-1914. 20 letter copies. (Office, W.)

Received, 1861-1870, 1879-1881, 1883-1885, 1891-1896, 1910. 4 books, 11 letter boxes, and 1 pasteboard box. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

## Land records—Continued.

## State land office correspondence—Continued.

## Sent and received.

1861-1868, 1906-1911. 1 book and 1 letter box. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

1915. 4 letter boxes. (Office, W.)

United States land-office correspondence, received, 1874-1914. Pasteboard folders in 3 large sfb. (South and east.)

## Miscellaneous land records.

## Reports of grass sales.

1895-1907. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

1910-1913. 1 sfb. (East.)

No date. 3 galvanized tin boxes, No. 9, 16, 20. (Sub-basement vault B, S.)

Grass sales receipts, 1892-1894. 1 stub-book. (Sub-basement vault A, N.)

Swamp land, 1881-1902. 1 sfb. (East.)

Swamp land contests, 1906. 1 bundle. (South.)

Land contest cases, pending, 1892-1897. 1 sfb. (East.)

Indemnity school lands, 1886-1906. 1 sfb. (East.)

Land papers, 1885-1915. 2 sfb. (East.)

Right of condemnation proceedings, 1877-1907. 1 sfb.

Railroad lands, 1875-1877. 1 pasteboard box, No. 15. (Sub-basement vault B, S.)

United States flowage, etc., 1881-1905. 1 sfb. (South.)

Reclamation board reports, 1911-1912. 1 sfb. (East.)

State lands on which ditch assessments have been paid, 1907-1913. 1 ledger. (West.)

Lists of land in Washington County, 1860. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

## Investment board.

Reports of county auditors on State loans, 1909. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Applications for loans for ditches.

1905-1908. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 310. (Sub-basement vault B, C.)

1909-1910, 1912-1914. 1 sfb. and 4 bundles. (Office vault 2, N. S.)

County applications for loans.

1897, 1907-1908. 2 galvanized tin boxes, No. 287, 289. (Sub-basement vault B, W.)

1909-1912. 3 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Town and city applications for loans, 1905-1914. 3 sfb. and 2 bundles. (Office vault 2, N. S.)

Applications for loans, 1913. 1 bundle. (Office vault 2, S.)

Applications for loans rejected by investment board, 1895-1902, 1906-1912. 3 sfb. and 1 bundle. (Office vault 2, N. S.)

Record of State board of investments, 1887-1914. 2 ledgers, No. 1-2. (Office vault 2, W.)

Record of loans and minutes of board.

Record of applications to permanent trust fund, 1914. 1 ledger, lettered B. (Office vault 2, W.)

## School loans.

Applications for school and county loans, 1887-1897, 1905-1908. 7 galvanized tin boxes, No. 39, 47, 48, 157, 304, 309, 310. (Sub-basement vault B. W. E. C.)

## Investment board—Continued.

## School loans—Continued.

County auditor's reports concerning loans, 1912-1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

The balances in the county treasury to the credit of school districts and other municipalities receiving loans from the State.

Disallowed school loans, 1887-1893. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Correspondence, sent, 1905-1909. 1 letter copy. (Office, W.)

## Correspondence.

1902-1909, sent. 2 letter copies. (Office vault 2, W.)

1909-1911, sent. 1 letter copy. (Office, W.)

1905-1908, received. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 286. (Sub-basement vault B, W.)

## Account books, vouchers, warrants, etc.

## Account books.

Treasury drafts. 5 ledgers, lettered A-E. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)  
No dates except months.

## Register of auditor's drafts.

1874-1881, 1883-1887, 1890-1898. 5 ledgers, No. 1-5. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

1898-1914. 9 ledgers, No. 6-14. (Office vault 2, W.)

## Warrant register.

1860-1901. 22 ledgers, No. 1-22. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

1901-1914. 20 ledgers, No. 23-42. (Office vault 2, N.)

## Record of treasurer's daily cash.

1892-1904. 6 ledgers, lettered A-F. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

1905-1914. 5 ledgers. (Office vault 2, E.)

## Register of daily warrants and drafts.

1896-1898, 1901-1902. 3 ledgers. (Sub-basement vault A, W. E.)

1899-1900, 1903-1914. 7 ledgers. (Office vault 2, W. N.)

## Auditor's journal.

1850-1876. 6 ledgers. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Ledgers from 1858 to 1871 are lettered A-D.

1891-1915. 11 ledgers, No. 4-14. (Office vault 2, W. E.)

## Auditor's ledger.

1858-1871. 3 ledgers. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

1891-1915. 12 ledgers, No. 4-15. (Office vault 2, W. E.)

## Record of appropriations.

1881-1906. 15 ledgers. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

The ledgers from 1881-1903 are lettered F-T.

1903-1904, 1909-1913. 6 ledgers. (Office vault 2, W. E.)

## Monthly balance of appropriations.

1898-1899, 1901-1902, 1904. 3 ledgers. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

1906-1913. About 7 ledgers. (Office vault 2, E.)

## Miscellaneous accounts.

Accounts, etc., of John Fouse, 1841-1879. 1 book. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

This book is an interesting record. While primarily concerned with accounts, interspersed among these are the minutes of the meetings of citizens for the purpose of organizing a school. The minutes give a detailed account of the creation of a local educational system. This is probably one of the earliest educational records of the State.

1857-1889. 8 ledgers. (Sub-basement vault A, W. E.)

## Account books, vouchers, warrants, etc.—Continued.

## Account books—Continued.

## Miscellaneous accounts—Continued.

Expense accounts of the State treasurer, 1864–1882. 2 ledgers.  
(Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Provost marshal's account, 1862. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Journal of board of auditors, 1862–1867. 2 ledgers. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

## Proceedings.

Groceries and merchandise account book, 1863–1872. 2 ledgers.  
(Sub-basement vault A, E.)

These are entitled, "Rosendale, Fond du Lac, Wisconsin."

Revere House, 1864–1869. 1 ledger, lettered A. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

## Record of expenses.

Auditor's journal, general revenue, 1867–1882. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Journals, 1865–1887. 7 ledgers. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

## Various accounts and expenses.

State treasury report, 1906–1907. 1 bundle. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Record of unclaimed money in the treasury, 1909. 1 ledger.  
(Office vault 2, E.)

## Mainly unclaimed court deposits.

Daily statements of receipts and disbursements, 1911–1912. 1 bundle. (Office vault 2, S.)

Cashbook of invested funds, 1910–1914. 1 ledger. (Office vault 2, W.)

Index to general ledger, auditor. 1882–1885. 1 ledger. (Office vault 2, E.)

General university expense account, 1869–1882. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Record of legislative expenses, 1860–1862. 2 ledgers. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Record of legislative warrants, 1864–1866. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Vouchers, warrants, etc. (In sub-basement vault B, unless otherwise indicated.)

## Miscellaneous vouchers.

1854–1911. 95 galvanized tin boxes and 1 bundle. (West, north, south, and east.)

The boxes are numbered 27, 30, 36, 38, 39, 50, 59, 61, 62, 64, 81, 85, 87, 93, 94, 98, 100, 102, 114, 115, 124, 130, 131, 132, 136, 138, 161, 164, 180–185, 194–204, 209, 210, 226, 238–240, 245, 248, 250, 254–274, 279, 284, 285, 288, 290, 295–301, 345–351.

1911–1914. 43 sfb. (Office vault 2, W.)

Current. 5 galvanized tin boxes. (Office, E.)

## Miscellaneous warrants.

1859–1878, 1880–1883, 1885, 1896, 1888–1913. 31 galvanized tin boxes and 1 bundle. (West, north, east, south, and center.)

The boxes are numbered 13, 34, 107, 120, 133, 136, 145, 159, 163, 170, 211–218, 232, 234, 278, 280–283, 291, 300, 301, 319, 353.

1904–1915. 67 sfb. and 1 bundle. (Office vault 2, S. W.)

## Vouchers, warrants, etc.—Continued.

## Warrant stubs.

1853–1875, 1895–1896. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 134, and 1 book. (North.)

1867–1895, 1898–1899. 94 books. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

1899–1914. 268 books. (Office vault 2, S.)

Stub receipts.

## Auditor's draft stubs.

1853–1875. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 134. (North.)

1875–date (?). 111 books, No. 1–123000. (Office vault 2, S.)

State art society, 1912–1913. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Accountant's papers, 1898–1900. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Hunters' licenses, etc.

## Adjutant general.

Payrolls of national guard, 1888–1909. 2 galvanized tin boxes, No. 97, 249. (East.)

Payrolls, 1911. 1 bundle. (Office vault 2, S.)

Militia encampment papers, 1910. 1 bundle. (Office vault 2, S.)

Vouchers and warrants.

1909–1913. 3 galvanized tin boxes, No. 336, 311, 353. (Center.)

1913–1914. 5 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

State camp grounds improvements, 1895. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 249. (West.)

Indian war pensions, vouchers and warrants, 1908, 1912–1914. 5 sfb. and 2 bundles. (Office vault 2, N.)

Albert Lea experiment station vouchers, 1912–1913. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 353. (Center.)

## County agricultural societies, vouchers and warrants.

1901–1903, 1910–1912. 2 galvanized tin boxes, No. 102, 360. (East and center.)

1912–1914. 6 sfb. (Office vault 2, W.)

Aid to schools, warrants, 1903–1908, 1911–1912. 1 bundle. (Office vault 2, S.)

## Anoka asylum.

Salaries and expense lists.

1900–1905. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 152. (West.)

1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Vouchers, 1900–1901, 1906–1913. 4 galvanized tin boxes, No. 144, 237, 320, 363. (West and center.)

Receipts.

1904–1908. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 246. (West.)

1908–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, W. E.)

Record of interest on bank deposits, 1904–1908. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 305. (Center.)

Statement of fees due on paid-up capital of banks, 1906–1907, 1911–1914. 7 bundles. (Office vault 2, W. S.)

## School for the blind.

Expense lists.

1900–1905. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 152. (West.)

1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, W. E.)

Vouchers, 1904–1909, 1906–1913. 4 galvanized tin boxes, No. 69, 95, 318, 361. (East and center.)

Receipts.

1904–1908. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 246. (West.)

1908–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, W. E.)

## Vouchers, warrants, etc.—Continued.

## Capitol maintenance.

Vouchers, 1911–1913. 2 galvanized tin boxes, No. 340, 358. (Center.)

Warrants and vouchers, 1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

## Old capitol.

Vouchers, 1911–1913. 2 galvanized tin boxes.

Warrants and vouchers, 1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, C.)

Board of State capitol commissioners, papers, 1893–1905. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 253. (West.)

This is a large galvanized tin box locked with a padlock and contains a large amount of material bearing on the construction of the new capitol. The index in the office has two pages devoted to the contents of this box.

## Board of control.

Expense lists, 1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Vouchers, 1893, 1907–1912. 3 galvanized tin boxes, No. 224, 307, 337. (North and center.)

Warrants, 1913–1914. 3 sfb. (Office vault 2, W. N.)

Newspaper vouchers, 1910. 1 galvanized tin box. (Center.)

For publishing constitutional amendments.

Letters from newspapers containing affidavits. 1 bundle. (Office vault 2, S.)

## Sanitarium for consumptives.

Expense accounts, 1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

## Vouchers.

1903–1913. 2 galvanized tin boxes, No. 320, 366. (Center.)

1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Receipts, 1908–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

## School for the deaf.

## Expense lists.

1900–1906. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 252. (West.)

1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Vouchers, 1894–1899, 1904–1913. 5 galvanized tin boxes, No. 95, 166, 246, 318, 361. (West.)

## Receipts.

1904–1908. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 246. (West.)

1908–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

## Dairy and food commission.

Vouchers, 1904–1914. 4 galvanized tin boxes, No. 305, 315, 337, 365. (Center.)

Warrants and vouchers, 1913–1914. 3 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

## Receipts.

1912–1913. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 365. (Center.)

1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

## Drainage commission.

## Vouchers.

1908–1913. 3 galvanized tin boxes, No. 249, 336, 355. (West and center.)

1908, 1910, 1913–1914. 1 bundle loose papers and 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, W. N.)

Warrants, 1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Department of education, vouchers and warrants, 1913–1914. 5 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)



Vouchers, warrants, etc.—Continued.

State entomologist, vouchers, 1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, W.)

Bank examiner.

Vouchers, 1909–1913. 3 galvanized tin boxes, No. 307, 340, 360. (Center.)

Warrants, 1913–1914. 3 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Receipts, 1910–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

School for the feebleminded.

Expense lists.

1900–1905. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 252. (West.)

1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Vouchers.

1894–1899. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 95. (East.)

1906–1913. 3 galvanized tin boxes, No. 95, 318, 361. (East and center.)

Receipts.

1904–1908. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 246. (West.)

1912–1914. 3 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Fergus Falls State hospital.

Expense lists.

1891–1895, 1900–1905. 2 galvanized tin boxes, No. 109, 252. (North and west.)

1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Vouchers, 1892–1899, 1901, 1906–1913. 8 galvanized tin boxes, No. 32, 33, 88, 106, 169, 174, 320, 363. (West, north, east, south, and center.)

Receipts.

1904–1908. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 246. (West.)

1908–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Koochiching company fire breaks, vouchers, 1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, W.)

State fire marshal.

Warrants and vouchers.

1908–1913. 3 galvanized tin boxes, No. 314, 336, 352. (Center.)

1913–1914. 3 sfb. (Office vault 2, W. N.)

Fire relief association, vouchers, 1910–1912. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 360. (Center.)

Fire wardens and chiefs, vouchers, 1900–1904. 2 galvanized tin boxes, No. 102, 227. (West and east.)

State forestry board.

Vouchers, 1911–1913. 2 galvanized tin boxes, No. 335, 352. (Center.)

Warrants, 1913–1914. 5 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Fire preservation, warrants and vouchers, 1901–1904, 1911–1912. 2 galvanized tin boxes, No. 35, 97. (East and center.)

Game and fish commission.

Expense lists, 1910. 1 bundle. (Office vault 2, S.)

Vouchers, 1889–1914. 6 galvanized tin boxes, No. 97, 231, 313, 337, 358, 365. (West, east, and center.)

Warrants and vouchers, 1913–1914. 5 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Receipts.

1905–1914. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 365. (Center.)

1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

## Vouchers, warrants, etc.—Continued.

## Grain inspection.

Vouchers, 1906–1914. 4 galvanized tin boxes, No. 314, 340, 355, 365. (Center.)

Warrants and vouchers, 1914. 6 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

## Receipts.

1906–1914. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 365. (Center.)

1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

## Hastings asylum.

## Expense lists.

1900–1905. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 252. (West.)

1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, W.)

Vouchers, 1899, 1901, 1906–1913. 5 galvanized tin boxes, No. 88, 144, 237, 320, 366. (West, east, and center.)

## Receipts.

1904–1908. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 246. (West.)

1908–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

## Hay inspection.

Vouchers, 1909–1913. 3 galvanized tin boxes, No. 314, 338, 353. (Center.)

Warrants and vouchers, 1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

## State highway commission.

Vouchers, 1911–1913. 2 galvanized tin boxes, No. 339, 352. (Center.)

Warrants and vouchers, 1913–1914. 5 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

## Board of health.

Vouchers, 1906, 1909–1913. 4 galvanized tin boxes, No. 233, 302, 340, 357. (West and center.)

Warrants and vouchers, 1913–1914. 3 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

## Minnesota historical society.

Sundry bills, 1886–1887. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 249. (West.)

## Vouchers.

1897–1902. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 102. (East.)

1913–1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, W.)

## Home school for girls.

Salary and expense lists, 1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Vouchers, 1910–1913. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 361. (Center.)

Receipts, 1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

## Hospital for C. and D. Children.

Expenses, 1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Vouchers, 1908–1913. 2 galvanized tin boxes, No. 312, 354. (Center.)

Hospital vouchers, 1879–1888, 1897. 3 galvanized tin boxes. (North and east.)

Two boxes are numbered 44, 123.

## Department of immigration.

## Warrants and vouchers.

1908–1913. 3 galvanized tin boxes, No. 311, 338, 355. (Center.)

1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Industrial school for girls, vouchers, 1908–1910. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 312. (Center.)

## State hospital for inebriates.

Salaries and expense lists, 1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Vouchers, 1909–1913. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 354. (Center.)

## Receipts.

1907–1911. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 367. (Center.)

**Vouchers, warrants, etc.—Continued.****Minnesota Institute for defectives.**

Expense lists, 1889–1895. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 111. (North.)

Vouchers, 1891–1899, 1901. 4 galvanized tin boxes, No. 42, 43, 151, 220.  
(West and east.)

**Insurance commission.**

Vouchers, 1911–1914. 3 galvanized tin boxes, No. 339, 353, 365.  
(Center.)

Warrants, 1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, W. N.)

**Receipts.**

1904–1908. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 246. (West.)

1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

**Farmers' institutes.**

Vouchers, 1891–1892, 1896–1903, 1912–1913. 5 galvanized tin boxes,  
No. 8, 19, 97, 102, 358. (East and center.)

Warrants and vouchers, 1913–1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

**Bureau of labor.**

Vouchers, 1909–1913. 3 galvanized tin boxes, No. 308, 338, 357.  
(Center.)

Warrants and vouchers, 1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

**Live stock sanitary board.**

Vouchers, 1906, 1909–1913. 4 galvanized tin boxes, No. 233, 302, 339,  
357. (West and center.)

Warrants and vouchers, 1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

**Legislative.****Vouchers.**

1903. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 224. (North.)

1907, 1911–1913. 5 bundles. (Office vault 2, S.)

Certificates, 1859–1872. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Stub receipts, 1905–1911. 5 books. (Office vault 2, S.)

Payments for supplies, salaries, etc.

Stub receipts, 1912. 1 book. (Office vault 2, S.)

Chief clerk's mileage payments.

Stub receipts, 1912. 1 book. (Office vault 2, S.)

Salaries and miscellaneous expenses.

Miscellaneous receipts, 1914. 6 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

**Public school libraries.**

Vouchers, 1902–1905, 1910–1913. 4 galvanized tin boxes, No. 251,  
327, 355, 359. (West and center.)

Warrants and vouchers, 1913–1914. 5 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

**Normal schools.**

Estimates, 1906. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 292. (Center.)

Expense lists, 1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Vouchers, 1896–1899. 2 galvanized tin boxes, No. 55, 116. (East  
and north.)

**Duluth normal school.****Expense lists.**

1900–1905. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 247. (West.)

1913–1914. 3 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Vouchers, 1906–1910, 1912–1913. 2 galvanized tin boxes, No. 318,  
354. (Center.)

**Receipts.**

1904–1908. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 246. (West.)

1908–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

## Vouchers, warrants, etc.—Continued.

## Normal schools—Continued.

## St. Cloud normal school.

## Expense lists.

1900-1905. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 247. (West.)

1913-1914. 3 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Vouchers, 1891-1895, 1910-1913. 2 galvanized tin boxes. No. 171, 361. (West and center.)

## Receipts.

1904-1908. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 246. (West.)

1908-1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

## Mankato normal school.

## Expense lists.

1900-1905. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 247. (West.)

1913-1914. 5 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Vouchers, 1888-1900, 1906-1913. 4 galvanized tin boxes, No. 40, 102, 317, 354. (Center.)

## Receipts.

1904-1908. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 246. (West.)

1908-1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

## Moorhead normal school.

## Expense lists.

1900-1905. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 247. (West.)

1913-1914. 3 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Vouchers, 1887-1895, 1910-1913. 3 galvanized tin boxes, No. 40, 317, 354. (East and center.)

## Receipts.

1904-1908. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 246. (West.)

1908-1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

## Winona normal school.

## Expense lists.

1900-1905. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 247. (West.)

1913-1914. 3 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Vouchers, 1892-1895, 1899-1900, 1906-1913. 4 galvanized tin boxes, No. 102, 171, 318, 361. (West, east, and center.)

## Receipts.

1904-1908. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 246. (West.)

1908-1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

## Oil inspection.

Vouchers, 1903-1905, 1911-1913. 3 galvanized tin boxes, No. 233, 328, 356. (West and center.)

Warrants, 1913-1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, W. N.)

Receipts, 1907-1914. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 364. (Center.)

Pedlars' licenses, vouchers, 1911-1913. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

## Minnesota state prison.

## Expense lists.

1891-1895. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 109. (North.)

1914. 4 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Vouchers, 1891-1899, 1901-1913. 10 galvanized tin boxes, No. 37, 56, 90, 148, 160, 167, 224, 237, 319, 366. (West, north, east, south, and center.)

## Receipts.

1904-1908. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 246. (West.)

1908-1914. 3 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

**Vouchers, warrants, etc.—Continued.**

Redeemed prison certificates, 1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

State prison revolving fund.

Salaries and expense lists, 1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Vouchers, 1906–1913. 2 galvanized tin boxes, No. 319, 366. (Center.)

Printing bills.

Vouchers.

1900–1906. 10 pasteboard boxes and 1 bundle. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

1912–1913. 2 galvanized tin boxes, No. 338, 360. (Center.)

1913–1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, W.)

Public examiners.

Vouchers, 1907–1913. 4 galvanized tin boxes, No. 315, 357, 360, 365. (Center.)

Warrants, 1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Receipts.

1907–1908. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 365. (Center.)

1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Public instruction.

Vouchers, 1909–1913. 3 galvanized tin boxes, No. 316, 335, 357. (Center.)

Warrants, 1911–1912. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 335. (Center.)

Publishing laws and newspapers.

Vouchers.

1899, 1901, 1903, 1905–1911. 4 galvanized tin boxes, No. 249, 251, 316, 340. (West and center.)

1912. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2 N.)

State public schools.

Expense lists.

1889–1895. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 111. (North.)

1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Vouchers, 1891–1899, 1906–1913. 5 galvanized tin boxes, No. 26, 53, 90, 312, 361. (South, east, and center.)

Receipts.

1904–1908. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 246. (West.)

1908–1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Railroads.

Cancellations, 1893–1900. 3 galvanized tin boxes, No. 78, 176, 227. (West and east.)

Adjustments, no date. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 97. (East.)

Railroad and warehouse commission.

Warrants and vouchers, 1911–1912. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 335. (Center.)

Warrants, 1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

State reformatory.

Expense lists.

1890–1895. 2 galvanized tin boxes, No. 109, 147. (West and north.)

1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Vouchers, 1892–1899, 1901, 1906–1913. 8 galvanized tin boxes, No. 60, 77, 90, 150, 172, 221, 320, 366. (West, east, and center.)

Receipts, 1904–1908. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 246. (West.)

## Vouchers, warrants, etc.—Continued.

## Rochester hospital.

## Expense lists.

1891–1895, 1900–1905. 2 galvanized tin boxes, No. 109, 247.  
(West.)

1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Vouchers, 1890–1899, 1901, 1906–1913. 8 galvanized tin boxes, No. 41,  
49, 75, 77, 88, 152, 320, 366. (West, east, and center.)

## Receipts.

1904–1908. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 246. (West.)

1908–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

## St. Peter's Hospital.

## Expense lists.

1889–1895, 1900–1905. 2 galvanized tin boxes, No. 111, 247.  
(West.)

1914. 3 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Vouchers, 1891–1899, 1901, 1906–1913. 10 galvanized tin boxes, No.  
63, 68, 70, 71, 72, 79, 88, 110, 320, 366. (North, east, and center.)

## Receipts.

1904–1908. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 246. (West.)

1908–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

St. Vincent, Hallock-Fair controversy. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 97.  
(East.)

## Sanitarium for consumptives, etc.

Expense lists, 1890, 1910, 1913. 2 galvanized tin boxes, No. 121, 366.  
(North and center.)

## School text books.

Vouchers, 1892. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 76. (East.)

Stub receipts, 1879–1883. 2 books. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

## Secretary of state.

Fees, 1906–1908. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 305. (Center.)

## Receipts.

1908–1914. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 365. (Center.)

1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

## Seed grain.

Contracts, 1891. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 227. (West.)

Receipts, 1877. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

## Sheriff's expenses.

## Vouchers.

1909–1912. 2 galvanized tin boxes, No. 314, 338. (Center.)

1911–1914. 5 sfb. (Office vault 2, W. N.)

## Soldiers' home.

## Warrants and vouchers.

1907–1912. 3 galvanized tin boxes, No. 311, 303, 325. (Center.)

1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Receipts, 1907–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

## Soldiers' relief.

Vouchers, 1909–1913. 4 galvanized tin boxes, No. 303, 306, 325, 356.  
(Center.)

Warrants, 1913–1914. 7 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

## State institutions.

Insurance, 1894–1902. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 90. (Center.)

## Receipts.

1892–1904. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 226. (West.)

1913–1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

**Vouchers, warrants, etc.—Continued.****State officers.**

Vouchers, 1871–1872.

Receipts, 1892–1894. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 226. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

**State training school.**

Expense lists, 1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Vouchers, 1882, 1891–1899, 1901, 1906–1913. 9 galvanized tin boxes, No. 31, 76, 95, 144, 162, 165, 249, 320, 361. (West, east, south, and center.)

**Receipts.**

1904–1908. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 246. (West.)

1908–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

**Treasurer's receipts.**

1872–1878, 1884–1890, 1892–1905, 1907–1914. 6 galvanized tin boxes, No. 54, 127, 133, 228, 249, 365, 1 wooden box and 1 bundle. (West, north, east, and center.)

1911–1914. 7 sfb. (Office vault 2, N. E.)

State treasurer's daily statements, 1902–1903, 1908–1911, 1913. 6 bundles. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

**Tax commission.**

Vouchers, 1909–1913. 3 galvanized tin boxes, No. 316, 338, 356. (Center.)

Warrants, 1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Tree planting, vouchers, 1898–1910. 3 galvanized tin boxes, No. 57, 246, 327. (West, east, and center.)

**University of Minnesota.****Expense lists.**

1891–1894, 1906. 2 galvanized tin boxes, No. 147, 246. (West.)

1913–1914. 7 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Abstracts, 1907–1913. 2 galvanized tin boxes, No. 312, 363. (Center.)

**Quarterly estimates for supplies.**

1905–1908. 5 ledgers. (West and south.)

Vouchers, 1873–1899, 1901–1904, 1906–1907, 1910–1912, 1914. 26 galvanized tin boxes. (West, north, east, and center.)

The boxes are numbered 52, 66, 74, 84, 104, 108, 113, 119, 125, 168, 186–193, 222, 298, 299, 322, 341, 361–363.

Subvouchers, 1900(?)–1914. 16 galvanized tin boxes. (Center.)

The boxes are numbered 321–324, 328–333, 341–344, 361, 362.

**Receipts.**

1903. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 236. (West.)

1908–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

**Weights and measures.**

Vouchers, 1911–1914. 2 galvanized tin boxes, No. 360, 365. (Center.)

Warrants and vouchers, 1913–1914. 4 sfb. (Office vault 2, N. E.)

**Wolf bounties.**

Vouchers, 1883, 1892–1897, 1899–1912. 34 galvanized tin boxes. (West, north, east, south, and center.)

The boxes are numbered 1–7, 10–12, 14, 18, 25, 46, 58, 83, 89, 91, 96, 99, 103, 112, 156, 178, 179, 223–225, 275–277, 293, 294, 326.

Warrants, 1894–1895. 4 galvanized tin boxes, No. 17, 21–23. (South.)

## Correspondence.

## General.

Received, 1858-1911. 36 letter books, 8 books, 5 large pasteboard boxes, and 2 bundles. (Sub-basement vault A, W. E.)

## Sent.

1858-1870. 1 letter copy in galvanized tin box, No. 141. (Sub-basement vault B, W.)

1873-1875, 1877-1909. 18 letter copies. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Sent and received, 1909-1912. 10 letter boxes. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

## Special.

Immigration, sent, 1908-1909. 1 letter copy. (Office, W.)

Drainage commission, 1912-1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Reports of engineers.

Pedlars' licenses, sent and received, 1909. 1 letter box. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

## Miscellaneous.

## Township organization.

Names and changes of towns, 1858-1870. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Changes of names of villages, etc., 1906-date. 4 sfb. (Office vault 1, E.)

Plats of townships, 1858-date. 2 ledgers, lettered A-L, M-L. (Office vault 1, W.)

Index to township organization papers, 1858-1914. 1 ledger. (Office vault 1, W.)

New York Times, Duluth Daily Star, etc., 1892-1908, etc. 2 bundles. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Minneapolis newspapers, 1903. (Office vault 1, W.)

## Legislative records.

Titles of acts passed by legislature, 1871-1877. 2 ledgers. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Record of senate judiciary committee, 1877. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

House and senate calendars, 1909. 1 bundle. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

## Census records.

Rice, Anoka, and Cottonwood, 1885. 3 ledgers. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

## Auditor's reports.

1860-1880. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 128. (Sub-basement vault B, N.)

1901-1910. 1 bundle. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Reports, 37 legislature.

Correspondence, etc., 1911-1913. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, W.)

## World's fair papers.

World's fair at Chicago, 1893. 2 bundles, No. 24, 45. (Sub-basement vault B, S. E.)

Reports and paid vouchers.

Miscellaneous papers. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 29. (Sub-basement vault B, S.)



## Miscellaneous—Continued.

Louisiana purchase exposition, 1904.

Miscellaneous papers. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 97. (Sub-basement vault B, E.)

Record of proceedings and accounts of the board of managers. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Minutes and memoranda. 1 scrapbook. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Letters, newspaper clippings, and miscellaneous papers.

Opinions of attorney general, etc., range from 1859 to 1914. 3 sfb. (Office vault 1, S. E.)

Many of these pertain to railroad matters.

Fire relief, etc., 1904-1914.

1904-1912. 1 bundle. (Office vault 1, S.)

1913-1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault 1, N.)

Reports of relief associations.

Claims against Transit Valley Railway, 1881. 1 sfb. (Office vault 1, S.)

Papers pertaining to claims withdrawn.

Petition for the passage of the Rowell bill, 1909. (Sub-basement vault B, E.)

The petition is wound around two spools, suspended on a large framework, and contains thousands of names.

Stenographers' shorthand notes, 1909. 2 bundles. (Office vault 2, S.)

Applications for tree bounties, 1880-1914. 6 bundles. (Office vault 1, S.)

Papers relating to board of control, 1911. 1 bundle. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Minutes of drainage commission, 1909-1910, 1912. 1 bundle of loose papers. (Office vault 1, W.)

These are probably copied in a ledger.

Unaudited bills, etc. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 97. (Sub-basement vault B, E.)

Notices from comptroller to State auditor, 1913. 1 bundle. (Office vault 1, S.)

Board of auditor's claim record, 1863. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Affidavits of appointment of agents, 1914-1915. 2 sfb. (Office vault 1, S.)

## V. THE STATE TREASURER.

The office of treasurer dates from November 3, 1849.<sup>1</sup> The duties of the treasurer, as defined by law, are to keep an accurate account of the receipts and disbursements of the treasury, specifying the names of the persons from whom received, to whom paid, on what account the same was received and paid out, and the time of such receipt and payment. For all payments into the State treasury he issues two receipts—one to the county treasurer and one to the county auditor. In addition, he prepares a daily cash balance and a record of warrants paid. He delivers a daily statement to the auditor of his business transactions for the day, reports to the legislature and to the governor, and publishes in a newspaper every two months the condition of the funds in his care. In his annual re-

<sup>1</sup> Legislative Manual, 1915, p. 89.

ports he has to show statistics of conditions in the treasury for the preceding fifteen years.<sup>1</sup> The office of the treasurer is in the new capitol.

The bulk of the records in the custody of the treasurer is considerable. They are located in a sub-basement vault, an office, and an office vault. The archives of the sub-basement vault are older records, mostly contained in ledgers and galvanized iron boxes. They are well arranged and classified. The vault itself, however, offers little protection from fire and water damage. The records in the office vault are both old and current, and are kept in ledgers and steel filing boxes. They are also well classified. A card index for the bond records is kept in the vault, in a steel case, locked with a padlock. The vault is both fire and water proof. In the office are a few current records, which could quickly be moved to the vault in case of danger. This office is one of the few using galvanized iron boxes to keep records in, a practice to be commended.

Records of payments into the treasury.

Record of auditor's drafts issued.

General.

Early drafts, no date. 5 ledgers. (Sub-basement vault, S.)

These are probably drafts issued when money was lacking, payable later with interest.

Register of drafts, 1895-1909. 6 ledgers. (Sub-basement vault, S.)

Register of drafts, 1911-1914. 3 ledgers. (Office vault, E.)

Special.

Record of drafts drawn on counties, 1877-1880. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault, S.)

Registers of auditor's drafts, 1915. 6 ledgers. (Office vault, E.)

These include insurance, tax, and land collections, mineral royalties, trust funds, stumpage, and miscellaneous.

Auditor's drafts are statements issued by the auditor to the treasurer that certain sums are due the state.

Collection notices.

Carbon copies of collection notices, 1912-1915. 74 books. (Office vault, S.)

On receipt of the auditor's drafts, the treasurer sends notices to those who owe sums to the state.

Drafts paid, miscellaneous, 1878-1915. 60 sfb. (Office vault E. and W.)

Cancelled drafts.

Record of drafts paid, miscellaneous, 1889-1905, 1907-1909. 9 ledgers. (Sub-basement vault, S.)

Record of drafts paid, miscellaneous, 1910-1915. 8 ledgers. (Office vault, E. and C.)

Receipt records.

General.

Receipt books, old style, 1911-1912. 17 books. (Office vault, S.)

Receipt books, new style, 1911-1915. 53 books. (Office vault, S.)

Record of receipts, 1865-1869. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault, E.)

Record of receipts, 1883-1892. 1 sfb. (Office vault, E.)

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<sup>1</sup> General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913, Ch. 4, sec. 78-90, p. 22-24.

**Records of payments into the treasury—Continued.****Receipt records—Continued.**

**Special.** (In sub-basement vault, north, unless otherwise indicated.)

Bank examiners' fees, 1897-1910. 5 stub-books.

County ledgers, 1887, 1890-1896. 2 stub-books. (South and east.)

Dairy and food commission fines, 1905-1910. 4 stub-books.

Hunters' licenses, 1904-1911. 3 stub-books.

Incorporation fees, 1894-1910. 8 stub-books.

Inebriate tax, 1907-1911. 10 stub-books.

A two per cent tax on saloons for the support of inebriate homes.

Inheritance tax, 1906-1911. 1 stub-book.

Insurance commission, 1881-1887. 1 sfb. (Office vault, E.)

Insurance tax, 1906-1912. 6 stub-books.

Land collections, 1904-1910. 7 stub-books.

**Payments for land.**

Mineral leases and contracts, 1906-1910. 5 stub-books.

Miscellaneous receipts, 1900-1912. 10 stub-books.

Oil inspection fees, 1908-1911. 4 stub-books.

Pedlars' licenses, 1909. 1 stub-book.

Railroads, 1900-1909. 1 stub-book.

School district loans, 1901-1911. 6 stub-books.

**Payments on principal and interest.**

School district and university loans, 1902-1904. 1 stub-book. (West.)

Stumpage, 1903-1911. 5 stub-books.

Tax collections, 1904-1910. 1 stub-book.

Telephone companies, 1904-1912. 3 stub-books.

Tonnage taxes, 1904-1909. 1 stub-book.

Transportation companies, 1906-1910. 1 stub-book.

Interest statements range from 1895 to 1915. 60 sfb. (Office vault, E.)

Bank, 1895-1914. 55 sfb. The year 1907 is missing.

Miscellaneous range from 1895, 1908 to 1915. 5 sfb.

These items pertain to hay and grain inspection fund, school districts, and certificates of indebtedness.

**Records concerning disbursements from the treasury.****Auditor's warrants.****Register of warrants.**

1858-1908. 20 ledgers. (Sub-basement vault, S.)

1909-1915. 6 ledgers. (Office vault, W.)

The payee, the appropriation, the number of the warrant, and the date redeemed.

Receipts for warrants, 1860. 1 sfb. (Office vault, E.)

Lists of warrants unpaid, 1908-date. 1 ledger. (Office vault, W.)

List of warrants paid, 1880-1881. 1 sfb. (Office vault, E.)

**Cancelled checks and abstracts, 1893-1915.**

1893-1911. 13 large galvanized iron boxes. (Sub-basement vault, C.)

1912-1914. 4 large galvanized iron boxes. (Office vault, S. and N.)

1914-1915. 75 steel drawers. (Office vault, E.)

**Sorted according to type of check.**

Fifty-four different sets of checks are used by the treasurer. The abstracts contain the name of payee, address, amount, and purpose for which money is called. For example, many of the abstracts are pay rolls. When the cancelled checks come back from the banks, they are filed away with the abstracts for reference.

Outstanding checks, 1913-1915. 5 sfb. (Office vault, E.)

## Records concerning disbursements from the treasury—Continued.

Voided checks, 1914-1915. 1 sfb. (Office vault, E.)

Mistakes made and new checks made out.

Check registers range from 1863 to 1915. (In sub-basement vault unless otherwise indicated.)

Stubs of checks drawn on banks, 1884, 1890-1896. 7 books. (North.)

Record of checks issued against places of deposit, 1863-1910. 22 ledgers. (South.)

Record of checks issued against places of deposit, 1910-1915. 31 ledgers. (Office vault, W. and E.)

## Miscellaneous.

Journal of expenditures, 1864-1865. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault, E.)

Record of fees and exchanges paid by the treasurer, 1895-1907. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault, S.)

Record of fees and exchanges paid by the treasurer, 1907-1912. 1 ledger. (Office vault, W.)

Legislative pay rolls, 1876-1905. 3 sfb. (Office vault, E.)

Signed pay rolls of the employees of the house and senate, 1909-1915. 4 bundles. (Office vault, S.)

Record of receipts and disbursements of the treasury. (In sub-basement vault unless otherwise indicated.)

Daily balance cashbook, 1892-1915. 4 ledgers.

1892-1905. 2 ledgers. (South and east.)

1905-1915. 2 ledgers. (Office vault, W. and C.)

Daily cashbook, 1873-1915. 36 ledgers.

1873-1909. 30 ledgers. (North.)

1910-1915. 6 ledgers. (Office vault, W.)

Receipts and expenditures treated as a whole.

Cashbook, 1895-1915. 2 ledgers. (Office vault, W.)

Incorporation fees.

Daily journal, 1871-1873, 1880-1897. 18 ledgers. (East.)

1871-1873. 1 ledger.

1880-1897. 17 ledgers.

Record of receipts and expenditures by funds.

Treasurer's journals, 1857-1915. 38 ledgers.

1857-1911. 34 ledgers. (East and north.)

1912-1915. 4 ledgers. (Office vault, C.)

Records of receipts and expenditures by funds.

Special treasurer's journal, 1897-1899. 1 ledger. (East.)

Sugar-beet sales.

Appropriation ledgers, 1889-1894, 1901-1915. 14 ledgers.

1889-1894. 1 ledger. (East.)

1901-1910. 9 ledgers. (East.)

1911-1912. 2 ledgers. (Office vault, W.)

Current ledgers. (Office.)

Records of receipts and expenditures as a whole.

Treasurer's ledgers, 1857-1887, 1891-1913. 18 ledgers.

1857-1887. 8 ledgers, lettered A-H. (East.)

1891-1913. 10 ledgers, No. 1-10. (South.)

Really appropriation ledgers. Called general fund after 1901. Receipts and expenditures considered by funds.

Index to treasurer's ledgers, 1899-1901. For volumes 5-7. 3 books. (South.)

Legislative cash book, 1887-1889. 1 ledger. (South.)

Legislative day book, 1891-1893. 1 ledger. (East.)

**Record of receipts and disbursements of the treasury—Continued.**

Blotters, 1897–1901. 4 ledgers. (North.)

Daily petty cash books. Temporary records.

Blotter; 1905–1915. 1 ledger. (West.)

**Record of balances.**

Monthly bank balances, 1905–1906. 1 sfb. (Office vault, E.)

Monthly bank balances, 1891–1900. 2 ledgers. (East.)

Record of statements of State depositories.

Remittance records, 1907–1915. 16 ledgers. (Office vault W. and C.)

Deposits and withdrawal of deposits in banks.

Pass books of banks, range from 1887–1907. 2 bundles. (North.)

Treasurer's monthly balances. 1883–1892, 1902–1903, 1912–1915. 5 ledgers.

1883–1892. 3 ledgers. (East.)

1902–1903. 1 ledger. (East.)

1912–1915. 1 ledger. (Office vault, C.)

Treasurer's monthly trial balance, 1883. 1 ledger. (Office vault, C.)

**Bond records.** (In office vault east, unless otherwise indicated.)

Miscellaneous bonds, range from 1893 to 1915. 20 sfb.

Many of these bonds are expired, rejected, or redeemed.

School loan bonds, 1905–1915. 86 sfb. (West.)

These are deposited for loans to towns, cities, and counties and are sorted according to counties.

**Registers of bonds.**

State bonds, 1858–1862. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault, S.)

Bonds owned by the State, 1867–1905. 3 ledgers. (Center.)

Trust-fund bonds, 1879–1914. 1 ledger. (Center.)

School-fund bonds, 1861–1881. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault, E.)

School-fund bonds, 1883–1915. 10 ledgers. (West and center.)

**Records of securities.**

Registers of securities, 1883–1907. 4 ledgers. (Sub-basement vault, S.)

These are largely concerned with securities of building and loan associations and loan and trust companies for doing business in the State.

Papers connected with withdrawal of securities range from 1892 to 1900. 8 sfb.

Correspondence, sent, 1895–1901. 2 letter copies. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

Report to treasurer on surety bonding companies, 1914. 1 sfb.

Index to bank and school bond records. 1 small sfb., locked with a padlock. (Center.)

**Correspondence.** (In office vault east, unless otherwise indicated.)

Miscellaneous, received, 1886–1894. 8 sfb.

Miscellaneous, sent, 1894. 1 letter copy. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

**Miscellaneous records.**

State institutions' inventory, 1896. 1 sfb. (Office vault, E.)

Descriptions and records of deeds of property to State prison at Stillwater and other State institutions, 1896. 1 ledger. (Office vault, W.)

Bank discharges, 1911–1915. 1 sfb. (Office vault, E.)

Indexes, 1881–1887, 1890–1896. 2 small ledgers. (Sub-basement vault, S.)

No date. 1 small ledger. (Sub-basement vault, S.)

## VI. THE ADJUTANT GENERAL.

The first adjutant general, Alexander C. Jones, was appointed September 1, 1858.<sup>1</sup> The officer at the present time has charge of all records relating to the National Guard, the active military force of the State, and to the regiments furnished by the State during the Civil and Spanish-American Wars. He also has charge of all military property and acts as claim agent for pensions, bounties, arrears of pay, etc., against the United States, arising out of the military service for the National Government by citizens of the State.<sup>2</sup> By statute of 1901, the Adjutant General was instructed to compile from the original muster rolls in his office, and such additional sources as he could command, a complete alphabetical list of the Minnesota volunteers of the Civil War and include these in the military history of each man as shown by such rolls. The original rolls were then to be placed in suitable metal boxes for safe keeping and the compilation to be used in their stead for all practical purposes.<sup>3</sup>

The office of the Adjutant General is located in the new capitol. There are three rooms in the office which have been designated from west to east by the numbers 1 to 3. A portion of the records is found in office 3 and in vault adjoining office 2, but the majority of the documents are in another portion of the building, in a vault connected with the office of the Indian and Civil War record clerk, who is under the supervision of the Adjutant General. The vault of the Indian and Civil War record clerk has been designated simply office vault to distinguish it from office 2 vault, etc., of the Adjutant General.

The documents in the custody of the Indian and Civil War record clerk are indicated by his title. His vault also contains the more recent National Guard records. Most of these records are in ledgers and steel filing boxes. They are well classified, mainly by regiments and companies. Within such headings, further classification could be desired. A partial invoice exists for the Indian and Civil War records. In enumerating these, those records which are included in the invoice have been designated A; those which were found not to be in the invoice have been designated B. The vault is fire and water proof.

The documents in Adjutant General office 3 are card indexes to enlistment and discharge papers of the National Guard. They are not protected in case of fire. It was not possible to examine closely the records in Adjutant General office 2 vault, but they contain the enlistment and discharge papers mentioned above and some 20 boxes of correspondence. These records are protected.

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<sup>1</sup> Legislative Manual, 1915, p. 100.

<sup>2</sup> Legislative Manual, 1915, p. 249.

<sup>3</sup> General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913. Ch. 12, sec. 2408, p. 543.

## Civil War records, A. 1861-1870. (Office vault, W. N.)

The archives cited below are taken from an invoice of the Indian and Civil War record clerk and concern the First to the Eleventh Regiments of Infantry, the First Mounted Rangers, the Second Cavalry, Hatch's battalion, Brackett's battalion, the First, Second, and Third Light Artillery, and the First and Second Minnesota Sharpshooters. It was not possible to examine these records further.

Muster rolls of companies; a few missing.

Descriptive lists of companies; a few missing.

Sanitary commission records; 12 ledgers.

Receipts of money sent home by soldiers in different regiments; 1 ledger.

Quartermaster general's record; 1 ledger.

Receipts and disbursements of quartermaster's store; 1 ledger.

Tender and acceptance of companies and accounts of the department general and quartermaster general; 1 ledger.

Military appointments, 1861-1864; 1 ledger.

Recruits credited to each town and county; 2 ledgers.

Record of drafted men; 1 ledger.

Record showing men in different hospitals; 1 ledger.

A record showing the partial disposition made of officers and soldiers; resigned, died, etc.; 1 ledger.

Militia roll of Ramsey County; 1 ledger.

A record of stores issued to militia; 1 ledger.

First Minnesota Infantry.

Proceedings of regimental council; 1 ledger.

Hospital reports; 2 ledgers.

Consolidated report; 1 ledger.

Morning report; 1 ledger.

Special orders; 1 ledger.

Guard report; 1 ledger.

Record of commissions issued; 2 ledgers.

Record of medical department; 1 ledger.

Correspondence received; 1 ledger.

General orders, 1 ledger.

## Civil War records, B. 1859-1865. (Office vault, W. N.)

The archives cited below are Civil War records not included in the invoice of the Indian and Civil War record clerk. (They are originals except where indicated otherwise.)

Ordinance records, 1859-1865. 7 ledgers. (West.)

Stores received and issued.

Muster rolls, descriptive lists, official correspondence, received, 1861-1865. 40 sfb. (West.)

The muster rolls give the company, regiment, names, rank, appearance, nativity, when enrolled, when mustered, residence, married or single, and remarks. The descriptive lists are statistics of the physical characteristics, age, height, etc., of the men.

Reports of mustering-in officers, 1861-1865. 1 sfb. (West.)

Muster rolls, 1861-1865. 18 ledgers. (North.)

Copied from the originals listed in the invoice.

Miscellaneous records, 1861-1865. 6 sfb. (West.)

These are records of the Veteran Reserve Corps, unassigned men, three-months men, Veteran Engineer Corps, record of colored troops, and hospital reports.

## Civil War records, B—Continued.

Registers of information concerning different regiments. 15 ledgers.  
(North.)

Copied from original records.

Records since the Civil War, 1865 to date. (In office vault, W., unless otherwise indicated.)

Ordinance records, 1865–1914. 11 ledgers.

Stores received and issued.

Returns of military property, 1905–1909. 1 bundle.

Record of transfers of military stores, 1907–1912. 47 sfb.

Property rolls.

The First Infantry, 1892–1898. 15 ledgers.

Second Infantry, 1894–1898, 1901–1902. 3 ledgers.

No date, 1 ledger.

Third Infantry, 1903. 1 ledger.

Fourth Infantry, 1898–1899. 5 ledgers.

Individual property rolls.

First Infantry, 1892–1897. 3 ledgers.

Second Infantry, 1905. 1 ledger.

Quartermaster's property rolls.

Property book, 1902. 1 ledger.

Roll and property account, no date. 1 ledger.

Attendance rolls.

First Infantry, 1883, 1887–1898. 12 ledgers.

Second Infantry, 1892–1904. 5 ledgers.

Third Infantry, 1888–1895. 1 ledger.

Fourth Infantry, 1898–1900. 4 ledgers.

Company and regiment not given, 1898–1901, 1899–1907. 3 ledgers.

Muster rolls.

First Regiment, 1891–1897. 11 ledgers.

Second Regiment, 1889–1903. 6 ledgers.

Third Regiment, 1882–1894, 1898–1903. 3 ledgers.

Fourth Regiment, 1885–1901. 5 ledgers.

St. Paul Cavalry, 1885–1890. 1 ledger.

Enlistment papers.

Men discharged from service, 1907–1911. 7 sfb.

Index to papers of men discharged from service, range from 1883–1914.

8 drawers in a wooden filing case. (Adjutant General's office 3, W.)

Index to papers of men in active service, 1890–1915. 4 drawers in a wooden filing case. (Adjutant General's office 3, W.)

Appointments, special orders, programs of conventions, copies of official correspondence, printed reports, etc., 1884–1892, 1898. 3 scrapbooks.

Monthly reports of commanding officers, First Regiment, to adjutant general, 1886–1898. 2 small ledgers.

Inspection reports received by adjutant general, 1911–1912. 1 bundle.

Applications entered for Indian pensions, 1906–1915. 1 ledger. (Office vault, N.)

Record of deaths on Indian pension list for the Sioux war of 1862, 1906–1915. 1 ledger. (Office vault, N.)

Record of rifle practice scores, 1890. 1 ledger.

One drum, Eighth Regiment Minnesota Infantry, 1862–1865. (Office vault, N.)

Correspondence.

General, sent and received, 1895–1897. 1 letter box.

Ordinance matters, received, 1893–1898. 1 letter box. (Office vault, N.)



## VII. THE CLERK OF THE SUPREME COURT.

The organic act of Minnesota, passed March 3, 1849, provided for the appointment of a clerk of the supreme court by the supreme court or justices thereof.<sup>1</sup> The first clerk was James K. Humphrey, who was appointed January 14, 1850.

The constitution of the State of Minnesota, adopted October 13, 1857, provided for a clerk of the supreme court to be chosen by the electors of the State for a term of four years.<sup>2</sup> Vacancies were to be filled by the judges of the supreme court. The duties of this officer are to keep such dockets, journals, and other records and to perform such duties appropriate to his office as the supreme court may by its rules prescribe.<sup>3</sup>

The office of the clerk of the supreme court is in the new capitol building. His records are contained in three rooms and a vault adjoining the second room. For the sake of convenience, these offices have been designated, from west to east, office 1, 2, and 3. In office 1 and office 2 vault, the records are mainly in ledgers and steel filing boxes. Office 2 is a little more than a passage and contains no records. Office 3 contains records in steel filing boxes. Office 2 vault is fire proof.

The records are well arranged and access to them is made easy through adequate general and special indexes. The largest single class of records is that of the papers connected with cases which appear before the supreme court, of which there are over 19,000.

Roll of attorneys admitted to practice, 1858-1915. 1 ledger. (Office 1, E.)

Record of attorneys, index to roll of attorneys. 1 ledger. (Office 1, E.)

Papers in cases, 1851-1915. 969 sfb.

201 sfb., No. 1-4030. (Office 3, E.)

650 sfb., No. 4031-17040. (Office 2, W. S. E. N.)

93 sfb., No. 17041-18899. (Office 3, W.)

25 sfb., No. 18900-19405. (Office 1, W.)

Records of lower court proceedings, appeal documents, arguments of attorneys, etc. There are about 20 cases to a filing box.

General index to papers in cases, 1851-1915. 2 ledgers. (Office 1, vault, E.)

Papers in cases, current. Approximately 100 bundles. (Office 1, W.)

These are original files from district courts and are returned upon the conclusion of cases concerned.

Order books, 1851-1915.

1851-1914. 19 ledgers, lettered A-T. (Office 2 vault, W.)

1914-1915. 1 ledger, lettered U. (Office 1, E.)

1891-1912, record of cases dismissed for lack of prosecution. 1 ledger, lettered G. (Office 1, E.)

<sup>1</sup> Legislative Manual, 1915. Sec. 9, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Legislative Manual, 1915. p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913. Ch. 5, sec. 128, p. 32.

## Registers of action, 1851-1915. 45 ledgers.

1851-1858. 1 ledger, territorial, lettered A. (Office 2 vault, W.)

1858-1911. 40 ledgers, lettered A-02, No. 1-18000. (Office 2 vault, W.)

Ledger N2, 1908-1911, is in office 1, E.

1912-1915. 4 ledgers, lettered P2-R2, No. 18001-19000. (Office 1, E.)

## Judgment books, 1851-1915. 36 ledgers.

1851-1858. 1 ledger, territorial, lettered A. (Office 2 vault, W.)

1858-1912. 33 ledgers, lettered A-G2. (Office 2 vault, W.)

1912-1913. 1 ledger, lettered H2. (Office 1, E.)

1914-1915. 1 loose leaf ledger, lettered I2. (Office 1, E.)

Order books, registers of actions and judgment books are triplicate permanent records of the clerk of the legal history of each case acted upon by the supreme court.

## Minute records, 1850-1915. 17 ledgers.

1850-1858. 1 ledger, territorial, lettered A. (Office 2 vault, W.)

1858-1913. 15 ledgers, lettered A-O. (Office 2 vault, W.)

1913-1915. 1 ledger, lettered P. (Office 1, E.)

Proceedings of the court.

## Naturalization records.

First papers, 1858-1905. 13 ledgers, lettered A-M. (Office 2 vault, W.)

Index to first papers, 1859-1905. 1 ledger, lettered A. (Office 1, E.)

Final papers, minors, 1904-1915. 1 ledger. (Office 2 vault, W.)

Final papers, adults, 1904-1906. 1 ledger. (Office 2 vault, W.)

1898-1903, nature not clear. 1 ledger. (Office 2 vault, W.)

Index to naturalization matters in minute records ledgers, A-I. 1 ledger. (Office 1, E.)

## Correspondence, general, sent and received, 1907-1915. 3 letter boxes. (Office 2 vault, W.)

## Miscellaneous records.

Receipts paid into office, 1898-1906. 1 stub-book. (Office 1, E.)

Fee payments, 1903-1914. 3 ledgers. (Office 1, E.)

Up to January 1, 1915, the office of the clerk of the supreme court was supported by fees. Since then it has been on a salary basis.

Accounts, 1895-1902. 2 ledgers, lettered A-B. (Office 2 vault, W.)

Accounts, 1903-1906. 1 ledger. (Office 2 vault, W.)

Exhibits in cases, current. 9 steel drawers in a steel filing case. (Office 3, E.)

Miscellaneous articles produced as evidence before the court and destroyed after a time.

## VIII. SUPERINTENDENT OF EDUCATION.

The office of superintendent of public instruction was created in 1860.<sup>1</sup> In 1913 the title of this officer was changed to superintendent of education. His duties are to exercise a general supervision over the public schools of the State. He is required by law to keep papers, reports, and public documents sent to him, to draw up a record of his public business, to prepare a uniform system of records for public schools and to receive reports from superintendents and officers. He is further authorized to establish a uniform system of accounting for educational funds, to supervise the accounts and

<sup>1</sup> Legislative Manual, 1915, p. 99.

other records of public schools, and to control the plans for the construction of school buildings. Because of these provisions and the close connection of the superintendent with the work of the normal, high and graded schools, the library commission, and the examining, licensing, and employing of teachers, records concerning all such matters are found in his department. The regular biennial report to the legislature is required from the office.<sup>1</sup>

The documents of the superintendent are found in three offices, designated 1-3 from north to south, and in two vaults adjoining offices 1 and 3, respectively. The records in the offices are in wooden filing cases and letter boxes, and are well arranged. The archives in office 1 vault are by far the most numerous. They are contained in steel filing boxes, steel filing cases, ledgers, and bundles, and a portion of them is indexed. The documents in office 3 vault are in steel filing boxes, wooden filing boxes, pasteboard boxes, and letter boxes. The many supplies in this vault rather obscure the records. The department of the superintendent of education is fortunate in having two vaults for the protection of its documents. The majority of the records are found in these vaults.

Records of the high school board. (In office 1 vault, unless otherwise indicated.)

Minutes, 1882-1914. 4 sfb. (North.)

Record of minutes, 1878-1914. 3 ledgers. (West and north.)

Inspection records.

Reports of industrial departments, 1912-1913. 1 wooden drawer. (Office 3, N.)

Reports of associated rural schools, 1913-1914. 1 wooden drawer. (Office 3, N.)

Record of schools visited and reports concerning them, 1891-1892. 1 ledger. (West.)

Visitors' reports, 1882-1889. 1 sfb. (North.)

Correspondence. (Office 3, N.)

Concerning the agricultural curriculum, 1913-1914. 1 wooden drawer.

High school inspectors, 1914-1915. 1 wooden drawer.

Reports.

High school boards, 1882-1914. 4 sfb. (North.)

High school treasurers, 1882-1889. 1 sfb. (North.)

High school applications, 1882-1889. 1 sfb. (North.)

Graded schools.

Special reports, 1882-1889. 1 sfb. (North.)

County superintendents, 1910-1914. 5 large folders. (South.)

Clerks and principals of schools, 1914. 1 drawer in a wooden filing case. (Office 3, N.)

Correspondence. (Office 3, N.)

1912-1914, sent and received. 2 drawers in a wooden filing case.

1914. 1 drawer in a wooden filing case.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. pp. 261-262, 284-285. General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913. Ch. 14. Sec. 2829-2899. pp. 636-646. Sec. 2927-2975. pp. 650-658.

## Records of the high school board—Continued.

## Reports—Continued.

## State aid to schools.

## Applications.

Special aid for rural schools, 1909-1914. 74 sfb. (West.)

Schools on Indian reservations, 1912-1915. 1 sfb. (North.)

Record of applications, 1900-1902, 1904-1905. 2 ledgers. (West.)

Record of regular state aid, 1905-1907. 2 sfb. (West.)

Record of deficiency state aid, 1903-1906. 2 sfb. (West.)

High schools, 1912. 1 bundle. (East.)

Graded schools, 1911. 1 bundle. (East.)

Semi-graded and rural schools, 1911, 1913. 2 bundles. (East.)

Correspondence arranged alphabetically by counties, 1907-1915. 3 wooden drawers. (Office 2, N.)

## Correspondence concerning the consolidation of schools.

1906-1913. 2 pasteboard boxes. (Office 3 vault, W.)

1912-1915, sent and received. 2 wooden drawers.

## Miscellaneous.

Papers, 1882-1889. 1 sfb. (North.)

Statistics as to nationality, 1888. 1 sfb. (North.)

Architect's plans for an addition to the Morristown public school. 1 drawer in a wooden filing case. (Office 3, N.)

## Library commission. (In office 1 vault, unless otherwise indicated.)

Library orders, 1912-1915. 21 sfb. (West and north.)

Record of library orders, 1887-1915. 5 ledgers. (West.)

Lists of libraries, 1914. 1 sfb. (Office 3 vault, E.)

There are also some papers on the supervision of school libraries in this box.

## Dictionaries.

## Orders.

1901-1913. 4 sfb. (North.)

1901-1913. 2 ledgers. (West.)

Cash book, 1897-1901. 1 ledger. (West.)

New books, 1899, 1902. 1 ledger. (West.)

Miscellaneous papers, 1887-1911. 1 sfb. (West.)

These include bids from companies for supplying books for libraries, correspondence, contracts with companies, and minutes of the commission.

Reports on plans for furniture for school libraries, 1912-1914. 1 sfb. (Office 3 vault, E.)

## Training of teachers. (In office 1 vault, unless otherwise indicated.)

## Training schools and institutes.

Reports, 1909-1914. 2 sfb. (North.)

Accounts, 1903-1907, 1909-1911. 2 ledgers. (West and north.)

Correspondence, 1914-1915, sent and received. 1 drawer in a wooden filing case. (Office 3, S.)

Miscellaneous papers, mainly 1914. 1 drawer in a wooden filing case. (Office 3, S.)

Reports on teachers, circulars, correspondence, etc.

## Normal school board.

Minutes, 1897-1898, 1903-1914. 7 sfb. (North.)

Record of minutes, 1898-1913. 2 ledgers. (West and north.)

Treasurer's report, 1893-1894, 1898. 1 sfb. (North.)

Estimates, expense lists, receipts, etc., for the Duluth, Mankato, Moorhead, St. Cloud, and Winona normal schools, 1905-1915. 69 sfb. (North.)

**Training of teachers—Continued.****Normal school board—Continued.**

Cancelled vouchers, 1897-1898. 1 sfb. (North.)

Record of expense lists and appropriations, 1906-1915. 2 ledgers. (North.)

Mankato credit list, 1913. 1 sfb. (North.)

Record of examination fees. Also some correspondence.

Endorsements of State normal school diplomas, 1891-1901. 1 ledger. (West.)

Index to graduates.

Mankato, 1870-1906. 1 ledger. (West.)

St. Cloud, 1874-1904. 1 ledger. (West.)

Miscellaneous papers, 1906-1912. 1 sfb. (North.)

Entitled, "For the next meeting of the normal board." Correspondence, estimates, etc.

Papers in E. J. Freeman case, 1898. 1 sfb. (North.)

Correspondence.

County superintendents, etc., 1911-1913, sent and received. (Office 2, N.)

Miscellaneous, 1902-1904, received. 1 letter box. (East.)

**Teachers' records. (In office 1 vault, unless otherwise indicated.)****Examinations.**

Record of minutes of State examining board, 1899-1901, 1909-1910. 2 ledgers. (West.)

Also a few entries entitled, "Colleges and universities passed upon."

Reports of programs for high school board examinations, 1914. 2 wooden drawers. (Office 3 vault, N.)

Reports of examinations, 1905-1914. 2 sfb. (West.)

Official summer school registration slips.

Record of failed examinations, 1909-1914. 20 sfb. (West.)

Pass slips for examinations, August, 1914. 1 bundle. (Office 3 vault, W.)

Temporary record of grades made.

Record of State high school board examinations, 1890-1914. 171 bound books. (East.)

For high and graded schools.

Record.

1892-1887. 1 ledger. (Office 3 vault, S.)

1902-1906. 1 ledger. (West.)

Readers' pay rolls, 1905-1914. 2 ledgers. (West and north.)

Forms used in examinations, current. 1 wooden filing case. (Office 3, E.)

**Certificates.****Applications.**

Professional and special, 1900-1915. 55 sfb. (West.)

Normal school training department, 1911-1914. 9 sfb. (West.)

Life, granted, 1893-1905. Sfb. (West.)

Pass and fail, 1912-1914. 1 bundle. (Office 3 vault, W.)

Temporary renewal, 1914. 1 bundle. (Office 3 vault, W.)

Renewal, 1913-1914. (West.)

Renewal certificates. 1 bundle. (Office 3, W.)

## Teachers' records—Continued.

## Certificates—Continued.

Papers relating to the transfer of old certificates and examinations to permanent records, 1914. 1 wooden filing case. (Office 3 vault, N.)

Unrecorded normal school certificates, 1914. 1 sfb. (North.)

Recorded normal school certificates, 1911-1913. 1 sfb. (North.)

Appeals from revocations of certificates, 1897-1900. 1 sfb. (West.)

Record of fee receipts, 1913-1915. 3 ledgers. (North.)

Record of certificates, etc., prior to card index. (West.)

1893-1897. 1 ledger.

No date. 1 ledger.

Index to records of certificates. (South.)

Professional, 1902-1914. 11 sfb.

List of colleges represented in the professional certificates, 1902-1914. 1 sfb.

Certificates in force for country teachers, 1902-1914. 18 sfb.

Expired certificates for country teachers, 1902-1914. 30 sfb.

Correspondence concerning professional certificates, 1913-date, sent and received. 1 wooden drawer. (Office 2, N.)

State teachers' employment bureau. (In office 1 vault, unless otherwise indicated.)

Register of applications for schools, 1909. 1 ledger. (West.)

There is some correspondence in this ledger.

Applications for summer school work, 1912-1915. 4 sfb. (North.)

Card catalogue of registrations, 1913-1914. 1 wooden drawer. (North.)

Card catalogue of current vacancies and registrations, 1914-1915. 1 wooden drawer. (North.)

List of teachers who have accepted positions, 1913. 1 sfb. (Office 3 vault, E.)

Receipts, 1913-1914. 1 stub-book. (Office 3 vault, E.)

Correspondence with people who have registered, 1913-1915, sent and received. 4 wooden drawers. (Office 1, N.)

Correspondence, general, 1913-1915. 2 wooden drawers. (Office 1, N.)

Rulings of superintendent and attorney general. (Office 1 vault, unless otherwise indicated.)

1893-1894. 1 ledger. (West.)

This ledger is in bad condition; its back is off, and the paper is poor.

Index to rulings of the superintendent, 1897 (?). 1 ledger. (West.)

Opinions of the attorney general, 1896-1914. 3 letter boxes. (East.)

Circular No. 7, on the compulsory school law, 1910. (Office 3 vault, S.)

## Reports of the educational commission.

Correspondence concerning the report, 1913-1914. 1 wooden drawer. (Office 1, N.)

1914-1915. 1 wooden drawer. (Office 3, N.)

## Accounts. (In office 1 vault, unless otherwise indicated.)

Abstracts of bills paid, 1910-1914. 3 sfb. (North.)

Department vouchers, 1906-1914. 9 sfb. (North.)

Register of vouchers, 1905-1914. 1 ledger. (North.)

Register of apportionment of general school fund, 1888-1914. 1 ledger. (North.)

## Accounts—Continued.

Errors in State apportionment, 1905–1914. 1 sfb.

Journal, 1883–1893. 1 ledger. (West.)

Record of donations received for the Andrew Carnegie fund of the Gustavus Adolphus College of St. Paul, 1906. 1 ledger. (West.)

Land record, 1908. 2 ledgers. (West.)

Correspondence. (Office 1 vault, unless otherwise indicated.)

Index to old correspondence, 1897 (?). 1 ledger. (West.)

1896–1898. 1 ledger. (West.)

1900–1909, sent. 38 letter copies. (East.)

1911–1915, sent and received. 6 wooden drawers in a wooden filing case. (Office 2, N.)

Miscellaneous. (In office 1 vault, unless otherwise indicated.)

Outline of courses offered in the State, 1911–1913. 1 sfb. (North.)

School statistics, 1910–1914. 1 sfb. (North.)

Miscellaneous statistics, no date. 1 pasteboard box. (East.)

Record of printing, 1913–1914. 1 ledger. (North.)

## IX. INSURANCE DEPARTMENT.

The insurance department was organized in 1872. It is in the charge of a commissioner who has supervision over all classes of insurance companies. He causes them to file certificates of incorporation, legal documents conveying to him the power of attorney, annual statements, certificates of authority for agents or companies, and annual financial reports, and to deposit securities with the State treasurer. Fees are charged and receipts are given for these services. The department examines insurance companies, grants licenses, and takes charge of the papers of corporations which become insolvent. By the laws of 1913, the commissioner was given additional responsibilities with regard to the approving of securities issued by the companies and to the insuring of State buildings. A biennial report is made to the legislature.<sup>1</sup>

The records of the insurance department are in four offices, numbered 1–4 from west to east, a vault adjoining office 3, and three sub-basement vaults designated as A, B, C. Sub-basement vaults A and C are located on the north side of the building and vault B is in the southeast corner. The documents in the offices are in letter boxes and filing cases and are well arranged. The records in the office vault are in ledgers, bundles, letter boxes, letter copies, and steel filing boxes. There is an index for the steel filing boxes, but other papers are in need of additional arrangement. The documents in sub-basement vault A are in pasteboard boxes, ledgers, and bundles. They are mainly older records. Those in sub-basement vault B are in wooden filing cases or lying on shelves. There is considerable

<sup>1</sup>Legislative Manual, 1915, p. 235. General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913, Ch. 19, sec. 3240–3302, pp. 710–731.

confusion in this vault. Nothing is kept in sub-basement vault C but a few printed records. The office vault contains the largest number of records and affords the best protection. Many of the office records could be transferred there in case of danger. No such solution presents itself for the documents in the sub-basement vault and records there have little protection.

Applications of insurance companies for permission to do business in the State, 1872-1904. 1 ledger. (Office 3 vault, W.)

Papers of domestic companies in process of formation, 1914. 1 sfb. (Office 3 vault, W.)

Articles of incorporation. (Office 3 vault, W.)

Record, 1885-1894, 1902-1914. 3 ledgers.

Township Mutual Companies, 1909-1914. 1 ledger.

Union Mutual Association, 1887 (?). 1 bundle.

Modern Samaritans Company, 1906. 1 bundle.

Miscellaneous records of companies, 1873-date. 96 sfb. and 1 bundle. (Office 3 vault, W. E.)

Authorities for agents, appointments of attorneys, etc.

Records of foreign companies, 1872-date (?). 48 red pasteboard boxes. Sub-basement vault A, N. E.)

Registers of companies. (Office 3 vault, W., unless otherwise indicated.)

Stock, fire, and marine, 1873-date. 1 ledger.

There is a separate index with this ledger.

Fire, casualty, etc., no date. 1 ledger. (Office 3 vault, S.)

Separate index.

Mutual, fire, hail, etc., 1875-date. 1 ledger.

Companies retired from the State, 1902-1905. Cards in a bundle. (Sub-basement vault A, C.)

Companies refused admission to the State, 1899-1900. 1 bundle. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Records of agents of companies. (In sub-basement vault A, unless otherwise indicated.)

Domestic, 1907-1911. 1 bundle. (Center.)

Foreign and fire, 1901-1907. 1 bundle. (Center.)

Life, 1902-1907. (Center.)

Casualties, 1901-1907. 1 bundle. (Center.)

Fire, 1901-1907. 4 bundles. (East.)

Agents appointed by Minnesota companies, 1906. 1 bundle. (Office 3 vault, W.)

Agents' books, 1874-1901. 28 ledgers. (Office 3 vault, W.)

Register of agents, 1901-1912. 4 sfb. (Sub-basement vault B, C.)

The agents are divided into those representing life companies, American and foreign, fire companies, and fire and casualty companies.

Agents of companies, 1913. 1 filing case. (Office 2, E.)

Agents of companies, 1914. 1 wooden filing case. (Office 3, E.)

Licenses.

1889-1900. 1 bundle. (Office 3 vault, W.)

Applications of brokers for licenses, 1906-1911. 2 bundles. (East and center.)

Brokers' register, 1910-1914. 1 ledger. (Office 3 vault, W.)

Joint stock certificates, 1900-1902. 1 ledger. (Office 3 vault, E.)



## Reports to commission.

## Annual statements.

## General records, 1878-1914.

1878-1880, 1888-1890, 1893-1899, 1901. 5 bundles. (Sub-basement vault B, W. E.)

1890-1897, 1900. 2 bundles. (Office 3 vault, W.)

1880-1912. A large number of statements. (Sub-basement vault B, W. N. E.)

1912-1914. 10 bundles and 1 wooden filing case. (Office 3, W.)

1913. 1 wooden filing case. (Office 2, S.)

1913-1914. 5 bundles. (Office 4, W.)

Special records. (In sub-basement vault A, unless otherwise indicated.)

Travelers Insurance Company, 1895. 1 roll. (East.)

Township Mutual, 1888, 1895-1898. 3 bundles. (East.)

Millers National Mutual Fire Insurance Company, 1887. 1 folder. (East.)

Woodworkers Mutual Fire Insurance Company, 1890. 1 bundle. (East.)

Papers pertaining to taxation of companies, 1910-1915. 1 black leather folder. (Office 3 vault, W.)

The statements above are filled in upon blank forms and contain information regarding the financial condition of the companies. Questions as to income, disbursements, ledger and nonledger assets, losses, schedules of property, etc., are answered in this way. A portion of the schedule is devoted to information which can be used as a basis for taxation by the State. The schedules in sub-basement vault B are disarranged, due to the fact that people who have made use of them have failed to replace them properly.

## Report register.

1901-1908. 1 ledger. (Office 3 vault, E.)

1905-1915. 1 ledger. (Office 4 vault, E.)

The registers contain the names of companies, the dates the reports were received, the abstracts and affidavits filed, and the licenses given, etc.

Bulletins of the insurance commission to insurance companies, 1907-1909. 1 wooden filing case. (Office 3, S.)

There is some correspondence concerning the correction of reports with these bulletins.

Bulletins No. 1-43. 1 bundle. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Permanent mailing list for the reports of the insurance commission concerning companies, 1880-1882. 1 ledger. (Office 3 vault, E.)

The back of this ledger has been broken off.

Reports on premiums paid by unauthorized companies, 1904-1911. 1 sfb. (Office 3 vault, W.)

Requisitions. (In sub-basement vault A, unless otherwise indicated.)

Life agents, 1901-1902, 1907-1908, 1910-1911. 6 bundles. (East, south, and center.)

Life and casualty agents, 1901-1907, 1909-1911. 10 bundles. (East and center.)

Fire agents.

1900. 2 bundles. (Office 3 vault, W. E.)

1901-1905, 1907-1911. 14 bundles. (East, south, and center.)

Miscellaneous, 1881-1890. 10 bundles. (East.)

## Reports to commission—Continued.

## Examinations.

Certificates, 1882. 1 folder. (Sub-basement vault A, S.)

## Reports.

1884-1899, 1902-1914. 8 bundles. (Office 3 vault, W.)

1900. 1 bundle. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

1909-1913. 3 bundles. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Extra reports, 1913-1914. 1 sfb. (Office 3 vault, W.)

Educational endowment examinations, 1890. 1 bundle. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

New York Life Company, 1905. 1 bundle. (Office 3 vault, W.)

Alliance Life Company, 1906. 1 roll. (Office 3 vault, W.)

Record of examination reports, 1905-1915. 3 ledgers (Office 3 vault, W.)

## Record of fire premiums received in Minnesota.

1889-1893. 4 folders. (Sub-basement vault B, S.)

1891-1892, 1894-1895. 1 bundle. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

1895-1897, 1899-1913. 21 ledgers. (Office 3 vault, E.)

Premiums received and losses, 1911-1913. 3 bundles. (Office 3 vault, W.)

## Affidavits of publications in newspapers.

1886, 1892, 1894-1895, 1907-1911. 8 bundles. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

1907-1912. 7 bundles and 1 box. (Office 3 vault, W. E.)

1914. 4 letter boxes. (Office 3, E.)

Requests for preliminary life reports and printers' affidavits, 1912. 4 letter boxes. (Office 3 vault, W. E.)

Mailing list of Minnesota newspapers. 1 sfb. (Office 2, S. C.)

Insurance companies are required by law to publish certain statistics in newspapers as, for example, the statement of approval of the annual report by the insurance commissioner.

## Complaints against insurance companies. (Office 3 vault, W.)

1905. 1 small ledger.

There are only a few statements. Some of the pages have been removed.

Record, 1905-1906. 1 ledger.

There are only a few entries.

## Reports of existence of fire companies in cities and towns.

1886, 1888, 1895, 1897, 1906-1911. 5 bundles. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

1912-1914. 3 bundles. (Office 3 vault, W.)

1914. 1 bundle. (Office 3, E.)

1 bundle. (Sub-basement vault A, C.)

## Judicial records.

## Summons.

1882-1887. 1 bundle. (Office 3 vault, W.)

1892-1893, 1898-1899, 1901-1902, 1904-1907, 1909. 9 bundles. (Sub-basement vault A, E. S.)

Correspondence, 1911-1914, sent. 1 letter copy. (Office 4, W.)

Receipts for copies of legal papers executed by insurance companies.

## Service of process.

1908-1909. 1 bundle. (Sub-basement vault A, S.)

1910. 2 bundles. (Office 3 vault, W. E.)

Receiver's papers. (In sub-basement vault A, unless otherwise indicated.)

State mutual fire insurance companies.

Articles of incorporation and minutes of directors' meetings, 1897-1905.  
1 ledger. (South.)

Register of policy-holders, 1905. 1 ledger. (South.)

Only a portion of the ledger has been used.

Farm policies, 1905. 1 box. (South.)

List of farm policies. 1 ledger. (South.)

Receipts, 1904-1905. 2 stub-books. (South.)

For miscellaneous expenses.

Cash-book, 1904-1906. 2 ledgers. (South.)

One of these ledgers also contains papers in connection with the disallowing of claims for unearned premiums.

Correspondence, 1904-1907, sent.

1904-1905. 1 letter box. (West.)

Letters of the secretary to agents.

1904-1907. 3 letter copies. (South.)

Letters sent out by the receiver.

1904-1905. 3 letter boxes. (West.)

St. Paul Mutual Hail and Cyclone Insurance Company.

Amended by-laws. (Office 3 vault, W.)

Policy register, 1897-1908. 3 ledgers. (South.)

There are some certificates of authority and some correspondence in the second ledger.

Reports, 1894-1899. 1 bundle. (East.)

Correspondence.

1894-1895, 1904-1906, sent. (South.)

Letters of the company written before it went into the hands of the receiver.

1904-1905, received. 1 letter box. (West.)

Mainly letters from agents to the company.

Millers' and Manufacturers' Insurance Company.

Accounts. (South.)

Record of receipts and expenses, 1895-1898. 1 ledger.

Receipts for dividend checks, 1895-1897, 1901-1907. 3 stub-books.

Receipts for payment of policies, etc., 1901-1903. 1 stub-book.

Northwestern National Life Insurance Company.

Policies, 1888-1904. 1 bundle. (Office 3 vault, E.)

Correspondence, 1905, received. 1 large pasteboard box. (West.)

Letters from policy-holders.

Odd Fellows' Accident Insurance Company membership register, 1896.  
2 ledgers. (South.)

One of the ledgers contains only a few entries.

M. B. L. A. policy register, 1894. 1 ledger. (South.)

This includes assessment payments. There are only a few entries.

American Friendly Society. (Office 3 vault, W.)

Minutes of meetings, 1899-1900. 1 ledger.

Correspondence, 1899-1900. 1 ledger.

Commercial Life Company.

Papers, 1896. 1 bundle. (East.)

Summons, 1887-1906. 1 sfb. (Office 3 vault, W.)

Accounts, vouchers, warrants, etc. (In office 3 vault, unless otherwise indicated.)

Expense records, 1877-1896. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, S.)

Register of vouchers, 1901-1914. 1 ledger. (South.)

Duplicate warrants issued for supplies, etc. 1 sfb. (West.)

Bills.

Examination of insurance companies, no date. 1 folder.

Duplicate bills.

1911-1912, paid. 1 letter box. (West.)

Examination of insurance companies, 1913-1915. 1 folder.  
(West.)

Abstracts of audited bills, 1911-1914. 1 sfb. (West.)

Receipts.

Fees and taxes.

1906-1907. 1 book. (West.)

1890. 1 folder. (Sub-basement vault B, S.)

1888, 1891-1896. 4 bundles. (West.)

1901-1906. 1 bundle. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

1907. 1 bundle. (East.)

Old line life insurance. 1 bundle. (West.)

License receipts.

Old line life, 1913-1914. 1 stub-book. (West.)

Life, health, and accident, 1913. 1 stub-book. (West.)

Cooperative, 1908-1912. 1 stub-book. (West.)

Cooperative and assessment, 1903-1912. 2 stub-books. (East.)

Casualty, 1911-1914. 2 stub-books. (West.)

Casualty and marine, 1906-1907. 1 stub-book. (West.)

Fraternal societies, 1914. 1 stub-book. (West.)

Township mutual, 1900-1904, 1907-1914. 8 stub-books. (West and east.)

Fire and hail companies, 1914. 1 stub-book. (West.)

Fire companies, 1907-1910. 1 stub-book. (West.)

Miscellaneous, 1894-1896, 1903-1907. 2 stub-books. (West and east.)

Deposits, 1906-1908. 1 sfb. (West.)

Cash sheets, 1907-1911. 2 bundles. (East.)

Reports to the State treasurer, 1909-1911. 4 bundles. (East.)

Reports to the State auditor, etc., 1910-1911, 1913. 3 bundles. (West.)

Check book, 1897-1905. 1 stub-book. (West.)

Daily receipts, 1914. 1 manila folder. (West.)

Attorneys' assessments, life and casualty companies, 1885-1887, 1897.  
2 ledgers. (West.)

Miscellaneous, 1907-1910. 2 wooden drawers. (North.)

Record of miscellaneous receipts, 1891-1894, 1901-1915. 11 ledgers.  
(West and south.)

Two of the ledgers are becoming unbound.

Accounts, 1887-1895. 3 ledgers. (West.)

Journals.

1894-1895, 1899, 1905. 5 ledgers. (Sub-basement vault A, S.)

1903-1915. 5 ledgers. (West.)

Trial balances.

1907-1911. 1 bundle. (East.)

1914. 1 manila folder. (West.)

1905-1911. 1 ledger. (West.)

1906-1913. 2 ledgers. (Office 4, E.)

## Accounts, vouchers, warrants, etc.—Continued.

## Bank records.

1897-1905. 1 bank book. (West.)

## Statements.

1912-1913. 1 letter box and 1 manila envelope. (Office 2 vault, W.)

1 bundle, no date. (East.)

## Index. 1 ledger. (West.)

Correspondence, sent. 1 letter box. (Office 4, W.)

Miscellaneous, 1905. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, S.)

Correspondence. (In office 3 vault, unless otherwise indicated.)

## General.

Sent, 1872-1914. 124 letter copies. (West and east.)

## Received.

1890-1902. 78 letter boxes. (East.)

1901-1910. 19 large pasteboard boxes. (Sub-basement vault A, W. S. C.)

1908. 2 large pasteboard boxes. (Sub-basement vault B, W. N.)

## Sent and received.

1899-1900. 1 letter box. (East.)

1910-1912. 5 large pasteboard boxes. (Office 3, S.)

1912-1914. 1 wooden filing case and 4 bundles. (Office 2, W.)

1888-1891, 1894. 5 bundles. (East.)

1894. 2 bundles. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

## Special.

Life policy forms, 1907-1911, sent and received. 4 letter boxes. (West.)

Accident and health policies, 1909-1911, sent and received. 3 letter boxes. (West.)

Fraternal associations, 1910, received. 1 letter box. (Office 3, S.)

Amendments to State insurance laws, etc., 1901-1907. 1 letter box. (West.)

Fire prevention day congress, 1911. 1 letter box. (West.)

Special contracts, 1905. 1 envelope. (West.)

Unauthorized insurance, 1912-1914. 1 letter box. (West.)

Policy forms, current. 4 drawers in a wooden filing case. (Office 3, E.)

## Miscellaneous.

## Committee on insurance papers.

Report, concerning proposed bills for the legislature, 1906. (Sub-basement vault A, C.)

## Miscellaneous papers.

1906-1907. 1 bundle. (Sub-basement vault B, C.)

1907. 1 bundle. (Office 3 vault, E.)

Minutes of proceedings of insurance department, 1893-1896. 1 ledger. (Office 3 vault, W.)

Mailing list for insurance bulletin. (Office 2, S.)

Forms used by insurance department, current. 2 wooden filing cases. (Office 3, E.)

Invoices, 1895-1899. 1 ledger. (South.)

Also sample forms.

Report of the survey on the materials used in the construction of buildings in the cities of Minnesota, 1913-1914. 1 letter box. (Office 2, S.)

Complaints against insurance companies, 1905-1906. 2 ledgers. (Office 3 vault, W.)

Only a few entries.

## Miscellaneous—Continued.

Record of insurance on State property. 1913-1914. 1 wooden filing case. (Office 2, S.)

Papers pertaining to pending claims, 1914. (Office 2, S.)

Register of members of State militia insured by the State, 1875-1888. 9 rolls. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Companies and field staff of the Fourteenth Minnesota Infantry.

Register of membership in the National Masonic Accident Association, 1890-1896. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, S.)

Valuations, 1907. 1 bundle. (Sub-basement vault B, N.)

Prepaid books of express companies, 1906-1912. 9 books. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Reports and decisions of the public examiner, 1904-1910. 1 sfb. (Office 3 vault, W.)

Marine premiums on which taxes have been paid by companies, 1900-1904. 1 chart. (Office 3 vault, W.)

Whole life, 1902-1905. 1 chart. (Office 3 vault, W.)

Papers, 1901-1910. 1 bundle. (Office 3 vault, E.)

2 maps. (Sub-basement vault A.)

1 ledger, 1889 (?). (Sub-basement vault A, S.)

## X. THE RAILROAD AND WAREHOUSE COMMISSION.

The first commissioner, A. J. Edgerton, was appointed by act of March 4, 1871. The duties of this official pertained mainly to the inspecting of railways and to the making of recommendations to the legislature concerning them. On March 6, 1874, the membership of the commission was increased to three men and other duties were added, such as working out and setting into practice a schedule of rates which was to be accepted by the courts. In 1875 the office was reduced to one commissioner and made elective for the first time. On March 5, 1885, a commission of three members was again created, these officials to be appointed by the governor. In this year the inspection, weighing, and registration of grain became a part of the routine of the commission. This work was carried on as a separate department.<sup>1</sup> In 1899, the commission became elective for a second time and the regulation of express companies and commission merchants further increased its jurisdiction.<sup>2</sup> By a series of acts requiring information from railroads, the records of the office connected with that type of corporation now assumed larger proportions. For example, the laws of 1905 and 1907 made obligatory the reports of all accidents,<sup>3</sup> the statute of 1909 required annual physical valuations,<sup>4</sup> and that of 1911 directed that financial accounts of railroads be furnished on forms prescribed by the commission.<sup>5</sup> A

<sup>1</sup> Legislative Manual, 1915, pp. 238-239.

<sup>2</sup> General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913, Ch. 28, sec. 4171, p. 936. General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913, Ch. 28, sec. 4598-4599, pp. 1014-1015.

<sup>3</sup> General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913, Ch. 28, sec. 4233, pp. 947-948.

<sup>4</sup> General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913, Ch. 28, sec. 4241, p. 949.

<sup>5</sup> General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913, Ch. 28, sec. 4244, p. 949.

separate department of weights and measures was established in 1911. Like the grain inspection department this was under the jurisdiction of the commission.<sup>1</sup> Future archives will include material concerning telephone companies according to a statute enacted by the legislature of 1915.

The records of the railroad and warehouse commission are quite complete. They are located in a sub-basement vault, in two offices, designated 1 and 2 from east to west, and a vault adjoining office 1. The documents in the sub-basement vault are noncurrent and are contained in letter boxes and bundles. There is an index to this vault in a small book in office 1. The largest portion of the records is in office 1 vault. Here the documents are in pasteboard boxes, bundles, letter copies, and ledgers, the latter kept in an iron cupboard on the south side of the vault. The documents in office 1 are in pasteboard boxes and wooden and steel filing cases; in office 2, in steel filing boxes and ledgers in iron cupboards.

The documents as a whole are well arranged and classified. Criticism might be offered, however, in the case of a few records in the sub-basement and in the inaccessibility of certain other records in the top of office vault 1. The tariff schedules, owing to the fact that they come to the commission in uneven sizes and thicknesses, have presented a problem in classification to those in charge of the archives. As these schedules are used constantly, it has been necessary to arrange them in such a way that they would be quickly available. The commission has tried, in turn, pasting them in scrap books, filing them away on shelves in a steel filing case, and arranging them in pasteboard boxes. They are now using especially constructed wooden filing cases which fit any sized schedule.

The bulk of correspondence of the commission is very large, there being over 90,000 letters in the letter copies alone. In 1911 the prevalent method of keeping correspondence in a large general file and in a few special files was realized to be inadequate for the purposes of the office. In consequence the assistant secretary of the commission, Mr. Thomas Yapp, visited a number of railroad and warehouse commissions in other parts of the country in order to observe the most recent practices elsewhere. The result of this has been the working out of a new system of classification whereby the majority of the correspondence is broken up into special files, only a small general file being retained. Both letters received and carbons of letters sent have gone into these files, which are designated A—K. Elaborate card indexes were drawn up, by means of which it is possible to locate quickly any letters desired. If these are removed

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<sup>1</sup> Legislative Manual, 1915, p. 238. General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913, Ch. 28A, sec. 4611, p. 1017.

from the file a record of it is kept by the special clerk in charge of the correspondence. No change was made in 1911 from the practice of keeping a separate file of letters sent in letter copies. In treating the correspondence in the survey, the phrases "old system" and "new system" have been used to indicate letters falling under the old classification and that since 1911.

The only adequate fire and water protection afforded the archives of the commission is in office 1 vault.

#### Tariff records.

##### Applications to change rates.

Miscellaneous, 1889-1911. 1 letter box. (Office 1, E.)

Railroads, 1905-1911. 15 blue pasteboard boxes. (Office 1 vault, E.)

Express, 1908-1911. 1 blue pasteboard box. (Office 1 vault, N.)

Railroad and express tariff posted at stations. 2 red pasteboard boxes. (Office 1 vault, W.)

Close examination difficult because of inaccessibility.

##### Demurrage records.

Reports, 1907-1910. 1 letter box. (Office 1 vault, E.)

Charges, 1907-1913. 5 bundles. (Sub-basement vault, S. W.)

Charges, 1914-1915. 1 loose leaf ledger. (Office 1 vault, S.)

Complaints, 1909-1910. 1 blue pasteboard box. (Office 1 vault, N.)

Correspondence, received, 1910-1912. 1 letter box. (Office 1 vault, E.)

#### Schedules.

##### Railroad.

##### Freight and passenger, 1887-1915.

1887-1902. 11 scrapbooks. (Sub-basement vault, S. W.)

1903-1910. 25 scrapbooks, No. 1-23, in 1 large steel filing case. (Office 1, E.)

1903-1912. 112 steel drawers in 1 steel filing case. (Office 1, E.)

1910-1913. 4 large pasteboard boxes. (Office 1, E.)

1914-1915. 11 drawers in 1 wooden filing case. (Office 1, E.)

Passenger, 1903-date. 6 bundles. (Sub-basement vault, W.)

Comparison of freight schedules, 1907. 1 large bundle. (Sub-basement vault, C.)

1909. 3 bundles. (Office 1 vault, W.)

##### Miscellaneous.

Corrections in rates, 1909-1912. 1 bundle. (Office 1 vault, S.)

Submitted by railroads.

Interstate rates, 1907. 1 bundle. (Grain inspection office 1 vault, W.)

Copies of contracts, agreements, and divisions of joint rates, current. 1 blue pasteboard box. (Office 1 vault, S.)

Express, 1903-1914. 12 scrapbooks. (Office 1, E.)

Western rates cancelled by new issue, 1904. 1 bundle. (Sub-basement vault, S.)

Express rate investigation, 1909. 237 books. (Grain inspection office vault, W.)

Express rate investigation charts, 1914. 1 bundle. (Office 1, S.)

Express and sleeping car company contracts, 1891-1894. 1 scrapbook. (Sub-basement vault, W.)

Index to tariffs, 1903-1915. 2 ledgers. (Office 1, E.)



**Tariff records—Continued.**

## Testimony in rate cases.

## Miscellaneous.

Old cases, no date. 9 bundles. (Sub-basement vault, W.)

State exhibits in iron-ore case, 1897. 1 bundle. (Sub-basement vault, S.)

Merchandise rate case, 1900. 1 bundle. (Sub-basement vault, S.)

Rate cases, 1909–1911. 7 bundles. (Grain inspection vault, W.)

Rate cases, 1914. 17 blue pasteboard boxes. (Office 2, W.)

Express rate investigation, 1909, 1913. 9 bundles, 1 book. (Grain inspection vault, W.)

## Correspondence.

Statements by commission on tariff rates, 1897–1901. 1 letter copy. (Office 1, S.)

Reconsigning charges, 1906–1908. 1 blue pasteboard box. (Office vault 1, W.)

Tariff rates, received, 1903–1908. 3 letter boxes. (Office vault 1, E.)

Tariff rates, sent and received, 1908–date. 3 letter boxes. (Office 1, E.)

Minnesota rate case, sent and received, 1913–1914. 3 large pasteboard boxes. (Office 1, E.)

Express companies, 1910–1912. 1 blue pasteboard box. (Office 1 vault, S.)

## Accident records.

Reports of special agents, 1901–1908. 1 letter box. (Office 1 vault, E.)

1907–1912. 2 sfb. (Office 2, W.)

Railroad and telegraph companies, 1905–1915. 15 blue pasteboard boxes. (Office 1 vault, W. S.)

1913–1914. 7 blue pasteboard boxes. (Office 1, S.)

Permanent record of accidents resulting from operation of trains or engines, 1914–1915. 2 loose-leaf ledgers. (Office 1, S.)

Permanent record of accidents not resulting in injury or loss of life from operation of trains or engines, 1913–1915. 2 loose-leaf ledgers. (Office 1, S.)

## Index to accident reports, 1905–1915.

1905–1907. 1 loose-leaf ledger. (Office vault 1, S.)

1907–1915. 1 loose-leaf ledger. (Office 1, S.)

## Complaint records.

Record of closed complaints, 1912–1915. 3 loose-leaf ledgers. (Office 1, N.)

Record of open complaints, current. 1 loose-leaf ledger. (Office 1, N.)

Papers relating to cases, 1887–1911. 1 pasteboard box and 62 steel filing boxes. (Office 2, W.)

1887–1891 transferred to new index book from 1890.

Docket, 1887–1891, 1893–1911. 2 ledgers in an iron cupboard. (Office 1 vault, S.)

Register, 1912–1915. 1 ledger, lettered A. (Office 2, W.)

Index to complaints, 1890–1910. 1 ledger. (Office 2, W.)

Car shortage, 1906–1908, 1910–date. 2 blue pasteboard boxes. (Office vault 1, N.)

## Delay in moving loaded cars.

Statement of cases, except where the commission makes an order. 1 loose leaf ledger. (Office 1, N.)

Correspondence, general, received, 1904–1908. 1 letter box. (Office 1 vault, E.)

Correspondence, received, concerning commission merchants, 1899–1909. 2 letter boxes. (Office vault 1, E.)

## Testimony in cases, miscellaneous.

## Papers in cases.

1889-1897. 12 bundles. (Office vault 1, W.)

1903-1910. 8 bundles, in an iron cupboard. (Office vault 1, S.)

1903-1913. 4 pasteboard boxes, No. 1-101. (Office vault 1, W. S.)

No date. 1 bundle, No. 51. (Sub-basement vault 1, S.)

No date. 3 typewritten books. (Office vault 1, W.)

Exhibits in cases, no date. 1 bundle. (Office vault 1, S.)

Reporters' notebooks, 1909-1913. 4 bundles. (Sub-basement vault 1, S.)

1914-1915. 2 bundles. (Office vault 1, W)

## Proceedings of commission.

Records of hearings before commission, 1885-1911. 8 ledgers, lettered A-H, in an iron cupboard. (Office vault 1, S.)

Actions of commission, 1911-1915. 3 ledgers. (Office 2, W.)

Record of the meetings and transactions in relation to the proposed State elevator at Duluth, 1893. 1 ledger. (Office 2, W.)

## Appointment records.

Applications for positions, very old. 1 bundle, No. 52. (Sub-basement vault, S.)

1896-1911. 23 sfb. No. 1-2100. (Office 2, W.)

Index, 1911-1915. 1 ledger. (Office 2, W.)

Record of appointment and retirement of office employees, 1876-1914. 1 ledger. (Office 2, W.)

Memoranda, 1901, 1903. 2 ledgers in an iron cupboard. (Office vault 1, S.)

Lists of appointments to be made.

Examination papers from the department of weights and measures, no date. 3 bundles. (Office vault 1, W.)

## Accounts.

Expense vouchers, 1895-1910. 7 letter copies, No. 1-7. (Sub-basement vault, S.)

1910-1911. 1 letter copy, No. 8. (Office vault 1, S.)

Carbons kept for record of expenses of commission.

Vouchers for salaries, 1898-1906, 1909-1915. 2 letter copies. (Office 1, S.)

Pay rolls and reports from the department of weights and measures, 1911-1915. 1 blue pasteboard box. (Office 1 vault, W.)

Cash-book, 1885. 1 ledger, in an iron cupboard. (Office 1 vault, S.)

Few entries.

Receipts from public warehouse licenses, 1893-1908. 1 book. (Office 2, W.)

Reports of companies to commission. (In office 1 vault, unless otherwise indicated.)

## Railroads.

Annual reports, 1871-1914. 193 books. (East, south, west.)

The reports for 1882 and 1884 are missing.

Special reports on recapitalization, 1906-1910. 1 red pasteboard box. (North.)

Returns of gross earnings for purposes of taxation, 1865-1899, 1903-1908. 5 ledgers. (South.)

Tonnage statements, for purposes of taxation, 1907-1909. 2 bundles. (Sub-basement vault, N. S.)

Lists of stockholders, no date. 1 ledger. (South.)

Express companies' annual reports, 1910-1914. 5 books. (West.)

Electric companies' annual reports, 1911-1914. 3 books. (West.)

Papers concerning stockholders, 1890-1910. 1 bundle. (South.)

Correspondence, 1902-1912. 2 letter boxes. (East.)

License and bond records. (In office 2, W., unless otherwise indicated.)

Applications for public terminal warehouse licenses, 1909-1910. 1 sfb.

Cancellations of public terminal warehouse licenses, 1908-1914. 1 sfb.

Public terminal warehouse licenses and bonds, old. 1 bundle, No. 56.

(Sub-basement vault, S.)

List of public terminal warehouse licenses and bonds, 1909-1914.  
1 ledger.

Applications for commission merchant licenses, 1900-1911. 11 sfb.

Record of commission merchants' licenses and bonds, 1899-1901, 1905-1912.  
1 ledger and 1 sfb.

Correspondence concerning commission merchants' bonds, sent and received, 1912-1913. 1 pasteboard box. (Office 1 vault, S.)

1901-1914, received. 1 letter box. (Office 1 vault, E.)

Applications from surety companies for bonds, 1903-1915. 3 sfb.

Papers pertaining to bonds voted by towns and counties to aid in the construction of railroads, 1905. 1 bundle. (Sub-basement vault, S.)

Correspondence concerning official bonds, received. 1902-1907. 1 letter box. (Office 1 vault, E.)

Correspondence concerning employees' bonds, 1904-1908. 1 letter box.  
(Office 1 vault, E.)

#### Correspondence.

Correspondence before 1911 was divided, roughly, under general and special heads. Since 1911 it has been divided into 11 files, A-K, and a very complete card-index system devised. For instance, the index card for a letter in file A, complaints, would show the name of the person concerned, the railroad or company, the number of the letter and, in addition, a brief line on the subject matter. The index is made still more useful by extensive cross-filing. A special clerk has been assigned to take charge of the correspondence.

#### Old filing system.

##### General.

##### Sent.

1871-1880. 1 bundle. (Sub-basement vault, S.)

1885-1910. 100 letter copies, No. 1-100. (Sub-basement vault, S.)

1910-1915. 90 letter copies, No. 101-190. (Office 1 vault, S.)

1915. 3 letter copies. (Office 1, E.)

##### Received.

1885-1905. 24 letter boxes, No. 1-24. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

1905-1912. 25 letter boxes. (Office 1 vault, E.)

#### Special.

##### Railroads.

1888-1906, received, excepting complaints. 6 letter boxes, No. 1-6. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

1906-1910, received, excepting complaints. 4 letter boxes.  
(Office 1 vault, E.)

Interstate Commerce Commission, received, 1888-1898, 1904-1909. 3 letter boxes. (Office 1 vault, E.)

Sidetracks and platforms, received, 1901-1908. (Office 1 vault, E.)

Conferences and letters regarding valuation, received, 1906-1909. 1 letter box. (Office 1 vault, E.)

Conferences with legislature, received, 1899, 1910. 1 pasteboard box. (Office 2, W.)

Car service, sent and received, 1906-1913. (Office 1, E.)

## Correspondence—Continued.

Old filing system—Continued.

Special—Continued.

Express companies, received, 1896–1910. 3 letter boxes. (Office 1 vault, E.)

Inspection department, received, 1902–1908. 1 letter box. (Office 1 vault, E.)

New filing system. (In office 1, unless otherwise indicated.)

File A, complaints, sent and received, 1911–1914. 2 pasteboard boxes and 8 drawers of a wooden filing case. (East and north.)

Minnesota rate case, 1914. 2 large pasteboard boxes. (East.)

File B, general, sent and received, 1911–1915. 2 large pasteboard boxes and 3 drawers of a wooden filing case. (East and center.)

File C, commission merchants, sent and received, 1913–1914. 2 large pasteboard boxes and 1 drawer of a wooden filing case. (East and center.)

File D, applications for positions, 1912–1914. 1 drawer in a wooden filing case. (Center.)

File E, railroads, sent and received, 1911–1912, 1914–1915. 1 drawer of a wooden filing case and 2 large pasteboard boxes. (North and east.)

File F, Interstate Commerce Commission, United States Senators and Representatives, sent and received, 1912–1913. 1 drawer in a wooden filing case. (North.)

File G, changes in railroad rates and classifications, express rates and classifications, sent and received, 1911–1913. 1 bundle. (Office 1 vault, S.)

1911–1914. 2 drawers in a wooden filing case. (North.)

Minnesota rate case, 1913–1914. 10 letter boxes, No. 2–11. (East.)

Files H and I, weights and measures and grain inspection, sent and received, 1912–1914. 1 drawer in a wooden filing case. (Center.)

File J, investigations, special orders and commission rulings, sent and received, 1912–1915. 1 drawer in a wooden filing case. (Center.)

File K, L, attorney general's opinions and court decisions, sent and received, 1912–1914. 1 drawer in a wooden filing case. (Center.)

Indexes, files A–K, 1912–1915. Large wooden filing case. (North.)

File not indicated, sent and received, 1915. 1 pasteboard box. (East.)

## Miscellaneous.

Attorney general's opinions, 1899–1911. 2 sfb. (Office 2, W.)

Reports to the legislature, 1889, 1891–1905. 1 bundle and 1 bundle No. 50. (Sub-basement vault, S.)

Railroad statistics, 1907–1909. Loose sheets occupying 4 shelves. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

1882–1901, 1906–1907. 2 scrapbooks. (Office 2, W.)

Railroad photographs, no date. 1 bundle. (Office 1 vault, W.)

Strike report to the governor, 1910. 1 blue pasteboard box. (Office 1 vault, W.)

Reports of commissioners of other States, old, no date, printed. 40 bundles. (Sub-basement vault, S.)

Synopsis of State laws, 1909. 1 bundle in an iron cupboard. (Office 1 vault, S.)

Blue prints. 1 bundle. (Office vault, S.)

2 bundles. (Sub-basement vault, W.)

## XI. DEPARTMENT OF GRAIN INSPECTION.

The department of grain inspection is under the jurisdiction of the railroad and warehouse commission and came into operation in 1885. The commissioner has charge of the inspection, weighing, and registration of grain. The duties of the office give rise to records of the inspection and weighing of grain, hay, and straw, and to records of scales, licenses, reports, accounts, correspondence, etc. A biennial report is made to the legislature.<sup>1</sup>

The documents of the department are kept principally in an office and an office vault. There are a few stray records in the sub-basement vault and in office 1 vault of the railroad and warehouse commission. The documents in the office are few in number and mainly in the form of ledgers. The greater portion of the archives are in the vault and are in letter boxes, letter copies, ledgers, and bundles. The vault is crowded and some of the records are consequently not very accessible. The records of the department are protected as far as the vault is concerned but not elsewhere, with the exception of the papers in office 1 vault of the railroad and warehouse commission.

## Inspection records.

Grain inspection. (In office, W. unless otherwise indicated.)

Reports, 1885-1894. 1 ledger. (Office vault, E.)

Monthly reports, 1915. 1 loose-leaf ledger.

Reports for St. Paul.

1903-1910. 1 loose-leaf ledger. (Office vault, N.)

1915. 1 loose-leaf ledger.

Daily reports for St. Paul, 1915. 1 loose-leaf ledger.

Daily reports for Minneapolis, 1915. 1 loose-leaf ledger.

Record, 1913-1914. 1 ledger.

## Hay inspection.

Daily reports, 1915. 1 loose-leaf ledger. (Office, W.)

Daily reports for St. Paul, 1915. 1 loose-leaf ledger. (Office, W.)

Reports, 1910-1914. 3 loose-leaf ledgers. (Office vault, N.)

## Correspondence.

1907. 1 blue pasteboard box. (Railroad and warehouse commission office 1 vault, W.)

1911-1914, sent and received. 1 large pasteboard box. (Office vault, E.)

## Hay and straw inspection.

1905-1909. 3 loose-leaf ledgers. (Office vault, N.)

1915. 1 loose-leaf ledger. (Office, W.)

## Reinspection records. (In office vault, N., unless otherwise indicated.)

Requests for reinspection from railroads, 1907-1911, 1913. 5 bundles of cards. (South.)

Orders for reinspection, 1911-1913. 1 bundle.

Reinspection reports, 1905-1914. Notebooks in 1 pasteboard box.

Reinspection memoranda for St. Paul, 1913-1914. 1 bundle.

<sup>1</sup>Legislative Manual, 1915, pp. 238-239. General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913, Ch. 28, sec. 4435-4610, pp. 988-1017.

## Inspection records—Continued.

## Correspondence concerning county elevators.

1899-1900 sent. 2 letter copies. (Office vault, N.)

1901-1908. 2 letter boxes. (Railroad and warehouse commission office 1 vault, E.)

## Weighing records.

## Grain weighing. (Office vault.)

Daily reports, 1901-1904. 1 ledger. (East.)

Daily reports, Star elevators, 1907-1913. 1 ledger. (North.)

Daily reports for the Hamm Brewery and Star elevator, 1901, 1907-1914. 10 bundles. (North.)

Record, 1907-1910. 1 ledger. (East.)

Record at St. Paul, 1901-1902. 1 ledger. (East.)

Hay-weighing reports for St. Paul, 1908-1912, 1914. 6 loose-leaf ledgers. (Office vault, N.)

## Hay and straw weighing.

Reports, 1905-1907, 1913. 2 loose-leaf ledgers. (Office vault, N.)

Reports, 1915. 2 loose-leaf ledgers. (Office, W.)

Straw-weighing reports for St. Paul, 1911-1913. 1 ledger. (Office vault, N.)

## Scale records.

Scale ticket records, 1911-1915. 2 bundles and 2 boxes. (Office vault, S.)

These tickets attached to cars give the railroad line, weight, and content.

## Railroad track scale records.

Reports of inspection, 1907-1914. 20 notebooks. (Office vault, N.)

Record of inspection, 1907-1914. 1 ledger. (Office, W.)

Reports of special agent, 1901-1908. 2 letter boxes. (Railroad and warehouse commission office 1 vault, E.)

Track scale list. 1 wooden drawer. (Office, W.)

## Correspondence.

1907-1914, sent and received. 16 letter boxes. (Office vault, N. E.)

Some reports are with the correspondence.

1914. 4 letter boxes. (Office, W.)

Index, 1914. 1 wooden drawer. (Office, W.)

Correspondence, scale inspector, 1907-1909. 1 letter box. (Office vault, N.)

## Box-car weight investigation.

Statement of empty box car weights, 1911-1912. 2 letter boxes. 1 blue pasteboard box and 3 loose-leaf ledgers. (Office vault, W. N.)

Papers relating to the actual weight of freight cars as distinguished from the stenciled weights.

Reports of errors of weighmasters at Minneapolis and Duluth, 1900. 1 bundle. (Railroad and warehouse commission sub-basement vault, S.)

Record of weighing, 1890-1897. 1 scrapbook. (Office vault, E.)

A temporary record for the inspector's own use.

Correspondence, 1901-1908, received. 1 letter box. (Railroad and warehouse commission office 1 vault, E.)

Report, 1915. 1 ledger. (Office, W.)

Inspection and weighing records. (In office vault, N., unless otherwise indicated.)

Monthly reports, 1901-1914. 12 letter boxes and 3 loose-leaf ledgers.

Old grain reports, 1901-1910. Notebooks in 1 pasteboard box.

## Inspection and weighing records—Continued.

Reports of inspection and board of appeals, 1905-1907. 1 letter box.

Daily reports, 1910-date. Notebooks in 1 pasteboard box.

## Correspondence.

1899, 1911-1913, sent. 10 letter copies.

1907-1910. 5 letter boxes.

## License records.

Applications for licenses, 1897-1913. 30 letter boxes. (Office vault, N.)

Local warehouses and elevators.

Purifying license applications, 1910-1911, 1913-1914. 4 loose-leaf ledgers. (Office vault, W.)

Local warehouses.

Record, 1894-1896, 1904-1914. 4 ledgers. (Office, W.)

Elevators and local warehouses. There are separate indexes for three ledgers.

Stub receipts, 1912-1915. 8 books. (Office vault, N.)

## Accounts. (In office vault, unless otherwise indicated.)

Pay-roll, 1905-1910. 1 loose-leaf ledger. (North.)

Expense lists, 1905-1915. 2 blue pasteboard boxes. (North and east.)

## Vouchers.

Grain inspection, 1913-1914. 1 ledger. (Office, W.)

Rural hay inspection, 1909-1914. 1 ledger. (Office, W.)

Vouchers paid, 1885-1897. 1 ledger. (North.)

Cash book and voucher record, 1896-1902. 1 ledger. (East.)

Annual reports of receipts and shipments, 1909-1910, 1913-1915. 4 ledgers. (Office, W.)

Cash books, 1885-1908. 6 ledgers. (North and east.)

Journal, 1897-1899. 1 ledger. (North.)

Checkbook stubs, 1901. 1 book. (East.)

Requisitions for supplies, 1901. 1 book. (East.)

Correspondence concerning supplies, 1909. 1 letter box. (North.)

## Correspondence.

## General.

1905-1914, sent and received. 1 letter box and 4 large pasteboard boxes. (Office vault, E. W.)

1885-1914, sent. 55 letter copies, numbered 1-55. (Office vault, N. E.)

Index, 1914. 1 wooden drawer. (Office, W.)

## Special.

## Grain.

1891-1900, received. 6 letter boxes, numbered 1-6. (Railroad and warehouse commission sub-basement vault, N.)

1901, received. 1 letter box. (Railroad and warehouse commission office 1 vault, E.)

Board of appeals, 1901-1908, received. 1 letter box. (Railroad and warehouse commission office 1 vault, E.)

Special agent, 1908-1915, received. 1 letter box. (Office vault, N.)

Elevator cases, 1901-1908, received. 1 letter box. (Railroad and warehouse commission office 1 vault, E.)

Terminal elevators, sent and received. 1 blue pasteboard box. (Railroad and warehouse commission office 2, S.)

State elevator site, 1893. 1 bundle. (Railroad and warehouse commission sub-basement vault, S.)

Local warehouses, 1914. 1 letter box. (Office, W.)

## Miscellaneous.

- Applications for positions, 1901-1912. 2 red pasteboard boxes. (Office vault, E.)
- Register of employees, 1904-1914. 1 ledger. (Office, C.)
- Shipping book, 1888-1889. 1 ledger. (Office vault, N.)
- Record of cars shipped.
- Index, no date. 1 ledger. (Office, W.)
- Report concerning county elevators, 1907. 1 sfb. (Railroad and warehouse commission office 2, W.)
- Papers for annual reports, 1912-1913. 1 loose-leaf ledger. (Office vault, N.)
- Local warehouse annual crop reports, 1911-1913. 3 loose-leaf ledgers. (Office vault, N.)
- Annual crop reports, 1911-1914. 9 loose-leaf ledgers. (Office vault, N.)
- Papers concerning grain cases, 1895-1908. 1 sfb. (Railroad and warehouse commission office 2, W.)

## XII. DEPARTMENT OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

The department of weights and measures was established as a separate department in the old capitol but under the jurisdiction of the railroad and warehouse commission in 1911. The commissioner of the office has supervision and control over weights, weighing devices, and measures. The archives of the office include inspection records, court records, reports, accounts, correspondence, and other documents.<sup>1</sup> The department occupies five offices, and the documents are located in the two outer offices, which are designated 1-2 from west to east, and in a vault adjoining the largest of the inner rooms. There is a second vault, but this is used by the historical society. The records in office 1 consist of current records and indexes and are in filing cases, letter boxes, and ledgers. The records in office 2 are in the nature of exhibits—confiscated weights and measures, etc. The documents in the vault are in filing boxes, letter boxes, ledgers, and bundles. There are also some standard weights and measures in this vault. The records of the department are well arranged. The only fire protection for the records is found in the vault.

## Inspection records.

Daily reports, 1912-1915. 36 bundles of cards. (Vault, W.)

Contain location of inspector, expense statements, and description of work done.

Weekly reports, 1912-1915.

1912-1914. 57 sfb. and one bundle. (Vault, E. W.)

1915. 15 drawers in a wooden filing case. (Office 1, S.)

Statements concerning inspection and fees received. These are carbons sent into the office by inspectors. The reports are numbered after 1912.

1913-1915. 182 notebooks. (Vault, N. W.)

The original notebooks of inspectors.

<sup>1</sup> Legislative Manual, 1915, p. 238. General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913, Ch. 28A, secs. 4611-4623, pp. 1017-1019.



**Inspection records—Continued.**

Monthly reports, 1915. 2 books. (Office 1, S.)

Authorities, 1913. 2 bundles. (Vault, E.)

Reports on the condition of scales, measures, and weights, with permission to owners to use them.

Certificates of the correctness of weights and measures. 1 sfb. (Vault, E.)

Affidavits concerning correction of scales, 1913-1914. 1 letter box. (Office 1, N.)

Statements by owner that scales have been corrected and requests for another inspection.

Copies of rejection slips, 1914. 5 drawers in a wooden filing case. (Office 1, N.)

Rejection stubs, 1911-1914. 1 drawer—a wooden filing case. (Office 1, N.)

These are sent in by inspectors. They relate to scales which have been rejected as not complying with the law.

Records of inspection by purchase, 1913-1915. 6 drawers in 1 wooden filing case. (Office 1, N.)

These are cases in which the inspectors have bought goods for the purpose of testing the scales.

Records of cash reports of inspectors, 1911-1915. 32 ledgers. (Vault, W.)

Index inspection files, 1912-1915. 12 drawers in a wooden filing case. (Office 1, N.)

**Judicial records.**

Reports of cases in court.

1913-1915. 1 drawer in 1 wooden filing case. (Office 1, N.)

1911-1914. 1 ledger. (Vault, W.)

Fine record, 1911-1915.

1911-1913. 1 ledger. (Vault, N.)

1911-1915. 1 ledger. (Office 1, N.)

The fines in the first ledger have been copied into the second.

Municipal Court of St. Paul record, 1911-1913. Loose sheets. (Office 1, N.)

Loaned to the department to check up fines. Lists of fines credited to the department.

Opinion of the Attorney General, no date. 1 letter. (Office, W.)

**Accounts.**

Expense lists, 1911-1915. 1 drawer in 1 wooden filing case. (Office 1, N.)

Vouchers for expenses, 1911-1912. 1 ledger. (Vault, W.)

Vouchers for salaries, etc.

1913. 1 letter copy. (Vault, E.)

1913-1914. 1 letter copy. (Office 1, N.)

Vouchers, 1914-1915. 1 sfb. (Vault, E.)

Requisitions for supplies, 1911-1913. 1 sfb. (Vault, E.)

Inspectors' requisitions for supplies, 1913. 1 bundle. (Vault, E.)

Inspectors' receipts for supplies, 1912. 1 bundle. (Vault E.)

Records of miscellaneous purchases made by inspectors in the fields. 1 ledger. (Office 1, N.)

Bids on supplies and work done for the department, 1911-1915. 1 drawer in 1 wooden filing case. (Office 1, N.)

Records of supplies and sundry expenses, 1911-1915. 1 ledger. (Vault, W.)

Express companies' receipt books, 1912-1913. 5 books. (Vault, W.)

The Great Northern, United States, Wells-Fargo, Adams, and American Express Companies are included in the list.

Receipts of department, 1911-1915. 1 drawer in 1 wooden filing case. (Office 1, N.)

## Accounts—Continued.

- Cash book, 1911-1914. 1 ledger. (Vault, W.)
- Bank statements, 1911-1915. 2 bundles. (Office 1, N. W.)
- Record of uncollected accounts, 1914. 1 ledger. (Office 1, N.)
- Miscellaneous accounts, 1911-1915. 1 book. (Office 1, N.)

## Correspondence.

## General.

## Sent and received.

- 1911-1913. 3 letter boxes and 2 bundles. (Vault, W. N. E.)
- 1914-1915. 1 wooden filing case. (Office 1, N.)

Sent, 1911. 1 letter copy. (Vault, W.)

## Special.

## Sent and received. (Vault.)

- County treasurer, 1911. 1 letter box. (West.)
- Inspectors, 1913. 1 bundle. (East.)

## Sent. (Office 1, N.)

Instructions to inspectors, 1911-1915. 1 drawer in 1 wooden filing case.

Copies of authority to scale masters, 1911-1914. 1 letter box.

Concerning the removal of rejection tags from scales.

Computation charts, 1912-1915. 1 letter.

These refer to the tables on the scales which indicate at a glance the price for given weight.

## Received.

Appointment of delegates to the weights and measures branch of the Minnesota conservation and agricultural development congress, 1912. 1 bundle. (Vault, E.)

Letters to the governor turned over to the department.

Index to letters, 1913. 1 bundle. (Vault, E.)

## Miscellaneous. (In office 1, N., unless otherwise indicated.)

List of territories assigned to inspectors, 1913. Loose sheets.

Record of routes of field men. 1 drawer in 1 wooden filing case.

Resolutions adopted by the department, 1914. 1 drawer in 1 wooden filing case.

Photographs of offices of the department on 3 cards. (Vault, E.)

## XIII. DAIRY AND FOOD DEPARTMENT.

This department dates from the appointment of W. C. Rice to the office of commissioner on April 1, 1885.<sup>1</sup> At first only the supervision of dairy products was undertaken, but in 1890 the inspection of food manufactured and sold in the State was included in the duties of the office. In general, the commissioner has charge of dairy business and the assistant commissioner of food products. Thirty-six men are employed by the department.

The law requires that those who manufacture or sell products and who operate creameries and cheese factories make annual reports. It also provides for the inspection, analysis, and labeling of food and dairy products and for the licensing of the sale of dairy products.

<sup>1</sup> Legislative Manual, 1915, p. 101.

The department is required to make a report of the results of its activities to the legislature.<sup>1</sup>

The archives of the department are found in three offices which have been designated 1-3 from west to east and in a vault adjoining office 2. The records in the offices are mainly in wooden filing cases and letter boxes, and are well arranged. The documents in the vault are largely in bundles, steel filing boxes, and letter boxes. The vault is crowded, and some of the papers, principally the correspondence and old financial records, are difficult of access. Only the records in the vault are adequately protected from fire and water.

#### Inspection.

Dairy. (In office 2, unless otherwise indicated.)

Weekly reports, 1913-1914. Several bundles. (Vault, N.)

The records for 1913 pertain mostly to St. Paul.

#### Cream inspection.

Reports, 1903-1907, 1910-1915.

1903-1907, 1910-1913. 9 sfb. and 13 bundles. (Vault, W. N. E.)

There are gaps in this record between 1903-1907.

1912-1915. 3 drawers in a wooden filing case and 98 drawers in one cabinet. (North and East.)

The reports are arranged by counties.

Creamery secretary reports, 1903-1908. 10 sfb. (Vault, E.)

These are arranged by counties and some years are missing.

Creameries authorized to label their products, 1914. 1 ledger. (North.)

This is under the provisions of chapter 353, general laws of 1909. There are a few entries.

Index of creameries by counties. 1 ledger. (Vault, E.)

#### Milk and cream inspection reports.

Reports, 1901-1903. 1 sfb. (Vault, E.)

Tests, 1912-1914. 1 ledger. (North.)

Milk inspection by counties, 1903-1904. (Vault, E.)

Cheese factory reports, 1905-1908. 2 sfb. (Vault, E.)

Creamery and cheese inspection reports, 1913. 1 bundle. (Vault, N.)

Records for herds and dairies, 1910-1911. Cards in a drawer in a wooden filing case. (Office 1, W.)

The cards are alphabetized.

Records for dairy barns and milk, 1913-1914. 60 drawers in a cabinet. (Office 1, S.)

The dairies are scored by a point system.

Record of tests, 1910-1914. 3 drawers in a wooden filing case. (North.)

Tests are taken every 2 years.

#### Food records. (In office 2 vault, unless otherwise indicated.)

Chemists' reports of maple sirup and milk, 1910. 1 bundle. (North.)

Record of samples, 1871-1900. 1 book. (East.)

Record, 1907-1911. 2 ledgers. (East.)

List of samples tested, results and disposal of goods.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 230. General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913, Ch. 21, sec. 3633-3771, pp. 831-860.

## Inspection—Continued.

## Food records—Continued.

Record of tests of sausage, vinegar, sugar, etc., 1902-1914. 1 book. (East.)

Exhibits of food tested. In one glass case. (Office 1, W.)

These are corn products and bottled goods, such as cherries, oranges, etc.

Index to vinegar samples. 1 ledger. (North.)

Brands of food sold by merchants in Duluth, 1895. 1 book. (East.)

Condemnation records. (In office 1, S.)

Notices, 1911-1912. 3 drawers in a wooden filing case.

The entries are few.

Record, 1912. 2 drawers in a wooden filing case.

There are few entries.

Record of places visited, 1896. 1 book. (Office 2 vault, E.)

Inspector's expenses, 1910-1914. 1 ledger. (Office 2 vault, E.)

Correspondence, 1906-1908, received. 2 letter boxes. (Office 2 vault, E. S.)

Miscellaneous papers, 1907-1911. 1 sfb. (Office 2 vault, E.)

Contains linseed oil inspection, lists of canning factories and officers, etc.

License records. (In office 2 vault, unless otherwise indicated.)

## Babcock test licenses.

Record, 1910-1914. 4 drawers in a wooden filing case. (Office 2, N.)

Register of licenses and collections, 1910-1914. 1 ledger. (East.)

Receipts for renewal of licenses, 1911-1914. Stub-books in 7 bundles. (South.)

Correspondence, Babcock and Creamery report, 1912, received. 1 letter box. (North.)

## Milk licenses.

Record for Minneapolis, 1908. 1 ledger. (East.)

Record for counties and cities, 1910-1914. On cards in 6 drawers in a wooden filing case. (Office 2, N.)

The cards are blue for the counties, white for St. Paul, yellow for Minneapolis, and pink for Duluth.

Record of out-of-town licenses, 1901-1903. 1 book. (East.)

Record for St. Paul, 1901-1903. 1 book. (East.)

Record of licenses issued, 1900-1915. 1 ledger. (East.)

Payments in the State treasury from licenses, fines, etc., 1901. 1 ledger. (East.)

Milk and cream receipts, 1912-1913. 3 stub-books in 1 bundle. (Insurance commission sub-basement vault, C.)

Receipts for milk, 1913-1914. Stub-books in 7 bundles. (North.)

Cash books for milk license, 1906-1907. 1 ledger. (East.)

Correspondence, 1906-1909, 1911-1912, sent and received. 4 letter boxes. (East.)

Cash book for county licenses, 1908-1909. 1 ledger. (South.)

## Journals.

St. Paul, 1908. 1 ledger. (South.)

There are few entries.

Duluth, 1908. 1 ledger.

Index to license books, 1895-1896. 1 ledger. (East.)

## Judicial records.

Court decisions, etc., 1887-1907. 1 sfb. (Office 2 vault, E.)

Record of court cases, 1910-1912. 5 drawers in a wooden filing case.  
(Office 1, S.)

When a fine was allowed by the court the date of payment is given.

Accounts, vouchers, etc. (In office 2 vault, unless otherwise indicated.)

## Expense accounts.

1912-1914. 20 sfb. (East.)

1910-1913. 1 ledger. (East.)

Register of vouchers, 1908-1915. 1 ledger. (East.)

## Receipts.

Butter, 1900-1905. 1 sfb. (East.)

## Miscellaneous.

1901. 1 sfb. (East.)

Several proposed bills for the legislature are in this box.

1908-1914. 1 ledger. (East.)

## Bills.

Bills paid, 1906-1908. 1 sfb. (East.)

1911-1913. 3 letter boxes. (Office E.)

Duplicate bills, 1914. 1 letter box. (Office 2, E.)

Correspondence, 1910, received. 1 letter box. (North.)

Day book, 1885-1895. 1 ledger. (East.)

Account book, 1885-1895. 1 ledger. (East.)

## Cash books.

Duluth, 1908. 1 ledger. (South.)

Minneapolis, 1908. 1 ledger. (South.)

## Journals.

St. Paul, 1908. 1 ledger. (South.)

There are few entries.

1909-1911. 1 ledger. (East.)

## Invoices.

Duplicate invoices, 1911-1914. 2 letter boxes. (Office 2, E.)

1915. 3 letter boxes. (Office 2, E.)

## Correspondence.

## General.

1888-1911, sent. 58 letter copies. (Office 2 vault, W. N. E.)

1904-1911, received. 37 letter boxes. (Office 2 vault, N. E.)

The correspondence listed from the east end of the office vault  
comprises about a half to two-thirds of what is actually there.

Because of inaccessibility only the above was examined.

1911-1913, sent and received. 4 drawers in a wooden filing case.  
(Office 3, W.)

1914-1915. 4 drawers in a wooden filing case. (Office 2, N.)

## Special.

National Dairy Union, 1894-1897, sent. 1 letter copy. (Office 2  
vault, C.)

Applications for butter maker's position, 1914-1915, sent and received.  
1 letter box. (Office 2, N.)

## Miscellaneous. (In office 2 vault, unless otherwise indicated.)

Report of dairy meetings held by commission, 1905-1906. 1 letter box.  
(North.)

Civil service examinations, 1907, 1913-1914. 1 sfb. and 2 bundles. (East.)

## Miscellaneous—Continued.

Dairy farm educational contest.

Butter exhibit. 1 ledger. (East.)

The back is off the ledger.

Correspondence.

1912. 1 bundle. (East.)

1913-1914, sent and received. 1 letter box. (Office, N.)

Records, 1913. 1 sfb. (Office 2, W.)

Miscellaneous papers, 1911-1914. 17 drawers in a wooden filing case. (Office 3, E.)

This material treats of such subjects as canneries, creameries, cheese factories, city and farm dairying, food, State creameries, oleo, eggs, butter and cheese, State fairs, State boards, State brands, biannual reports, etc.

Forms used by commission.

1905. 1 scrap book. (South.)

Complaints, 1903. 1 sfb. (East.)

This contains a few letters for the above date.

1 large scrapbook. (Office 2, W.)

Photographs of food exhibitions, etc. 1 bundle. (East.)

## XIV. STATE DRAINAGE ENGINEER.

The office of the State drainage engineer is in the old capitol. This officer is appointed by the drainage commission and is their active agent in reclaiming the low, flat, and swamp lands of the State for purposes of agriculture. The laws providing for the assessment and valuation of lands necessary for a right of way and for reports of the drainage engineer to the commission furnish a portion of the records of the office. Other documents are reports to the engineer upon the construction of the ditches, legal papers arising out of disputes, accounts, and correspondence.<sup>1</sup>

The archives are found in two offices, designated 1-2 from west to east, a third office directly east of office 2 but not connected with it, and a basement vault. The documents in office 1 are in filing cases, ledgers, and bundles and in office 2 in filing cases. Office 3 is in the nature of a storeroom. Such records as are kept there are found in filing cases and letter boxes. The archives in the basement vault are in manila envelopes. They are greatly in need of arrangement, as are also the printed records of this vault. The chief advantage for records in this depository lies in the protection which it affords; a feature somewhat discounted, however, by the practice of leaving the door standing open. The records in the offices have little protection.

Original field notes of surveys. (In office 2, unless otherwise indicated.)

State ditches, 1901-1915. 144 notebooks in 1 wooden bookcase. (West.)

Minnesota River survey, 1909. 109 notebooks in 1 wooden bookcase. (North.)

<sup>1</sup>Legislative Manual, 1915, p. 242. General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913, Ch. 44, secs. 5430-5522, pp. 1191-1203.

**Original field notes of surveys—Continued.**

Topographic survey of Minnesota, 1906. 83 notebooks in 1 wooden bookcase. (North.)

Ditches No. 12 and 96. 3 notebooks. (Office 1, E.)

Drainage projects, 1903. 3 notebooks. (Office 1, E.)

Miscellaneous, no date. 24 notebooks in 1 wooden bookcase. (North.)

These are notes taken by the State drainage engineer while traveling and show the progress of the work being done.

**Reports.** (In office 1, W., unless otherwise indicated.)

Weekly field reports, 1910–1913. 2 drawers in a wooden filing case.

Ditches, 1903–1907. 1 manila envelope. (Basement vault, W.)

Made by engineer to the drainage commission.

Engineer's specifications for sewer ditch for Hibbing, Minn. 1 manila folder.

Examiners of ditches, 1907–1911. 1 ledger.

Report to the auditor, 1903–1910. 1 wooden filing case.

State drainage engineer to drainage commission, no date. 1 drawer in a wooden filing case.

Condition of ditch projects, 1907–1914. 1 wooden filing case.

Topographic statements, 1911–1914. 1 wooden filing case.

Weekly reports on Roseau River improvement, 1913–1914. 1 drawer in a wooden filing case.

Miscellaneous, 1913–1914. 1 wooden filing case.

**Judicial records.** (In office 1, W.)

Claims against ditch contracts, 1912–1914. 1 drawer in a wooden filing case.

These relate to ditches No. 61, 69, 84.

Assignments of legal rights, 1912–1914. 1 drawer in a wooden filing case.

Papers relating to the turning over of the legal rights in drainage projects to corporations, etc. The papers contain some correspondence.

Deeds for right of way, 1912–1914. 1 drawer in a wooden filing case.

**Accounts, vouchers, etc.** (In office 1, unless otherwise indicated.)

**Record of expenses.**

Topographic survey, 1909–1911. 1 ledger. (Basement vault, W.)

Ditches, 1896–1910. 1 ledger. (East.)

Ottertail River cut-off, 1907–1911. 1 ledger. (East.)

Expense list, 1911–1914. 1 bundle. (East.)

State drainage, 1901–1910. (East.)

Statements by engineer of cost of State ditch, 1909–1911. 1 ledger. (West.)

Statement of cost of ditches, 1912–1914. 1 drawer in a wooden filing case. (West.)

**Bills, cancelled checks, etc., 1907–1908.** 2 manila folders. (Basement vault, N.)

**Vouchers.** 1 drawer in a wooden filing case. (West.)

**Unpaid claims to the State for ditches, No. 72, 85.** 1 drawer in a wooden filing case. (West.)

**Hydrographic contracts, 1910–1914.** 1 drawer in a wooden filing case. (West.)

**Correspondence, general, sent and received.**

1905–1910. 21 letter boxes. (Office 3, N.)

1905–1908. 2 manila envelopes. (Basement vault, W.)

1911–1915. 2 wooden filing cases and 4 drawers in a wooden filing case. (Office 1, W. E.)

**Miscellaneous.** (In office 1, W., unless otherwise indicated.)**Ditch contract papers.**

1901-1909. 14 manila folders. (Basement vault, W.)

These pertain to Clay, Marshall, Koochiching, Red Lake, Kittson, Todd, Roseau, Clearwater, Aitkin, Ottertail, Traverse, Wabasha, Jackson, Polk, Kandiyohi, and Becker Counties, and consist of reports, petitions, contracts, expenses, and correspondence concerning ditches.

1909-1915. 1 wooden filing case.

**Petitions.**

Construction of ditches, etc., 1903-1904. 5 manila envelopes. (Basement vault, W.)

Drainage projects, 1909-1914. 1 drawer in a wooden filing case.

Surveys of land in LeSueur, 1907. 1 manila envelope. (Basement vault, W.)

This refers to land upon which it is desired that ditches be constructed.

Names of owners of land affected by State ditches, 1911-1914. 1 drawer in a wooden filing case.

**Maps, blue prints, etc.**

Minnesota River survey, 1909. 1 large wooden filing case. (Office 3, W.)

Current. 18 drawers, 1 bundle, and 1 wooden filing case. (West and east.)

Photographs of drainage work, 1912 (?). 1 bundle.



## INDEX.

- Abbott, Wilbur C., of com. on bibl. of mod. Eng. history (1915), 19, 52, 61, 74.
- Abel, Annie H., of general com. (1915), 19, 52, 61, 72.
- Abondio, —, intrigue, hanged (1542), 167.
- Accounting, Minn. records, 395.
- Accounts, vouchers and warrants, Minn. records, 411, 425-428, 456-457, 461, 462, 467, 469-470, 473, 475. *See also* Finances.
- Acorn Club of Connecticut, organization and activities (1914), 339.
- Acts of trade, and policy in W. I. (1783-93), 35.
- Adad-Nirari IV of Assyria, 97.
- Adams, Ephraim D., of com. of nine (1915), 20, 54; and program com. for special meeting (1915), 71; presides at B. C. B. dinner, 87; on four-year course in history, 91.
- Adams, G. B., life councilor, 14.
- Adams, H., life councilor, 13; Napoleonic studies, 190, 210.
- Adams, Victoria, of com. on history in schools (1915), 20, 52, 61, 72.
- Adjutant-general, office in Minn., 442; records in his office, 442-444. *See also* Militia.
- Adler, Cyrus, pres. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc., 344.
- Administration, studies of Napoleonic era, 184, 199, 213. *See also* Government, Local administration.
- Agricultural college and experimental station, Minn. records, 418-421, 427.
- Agriculture, Am., as subject of hist. research, 39; Minn. records, 395, 408, 412, 427, 430, 431, 434. *See also* Animals, Economic conditions, Food.
- Alas *Pasha*, and peace with Venice (1538-39), 161, 163, 164.
- Alabama, legislation on archives, 362, 363, 366.
- Alabama Department of Archives and History, policy on use of hist. materials, 316, 325; pioneer, 362.
- Alan, Arrian's war, 119.
- Alaska-Yukon Exposition, Minn. records, 396.
- Albania, studies of Napoleonic era, 207.
- Albany, archives, 371.
- Alexander, Winthrop, pres. Roxbury Hist. Soc., 342.
- Allen land-holding, Cal. law, 86.
- Alliance Life Insurance Company, records, 454.
- Alphabet, Egyptian origin, 110.
- Altamira, Rafael, and plan for special meeting of A. H. A. (1915), 62.
- Alvord, Clarence W., of public archives com. (1915), 19, 51, 61, 72; motion by, 50, 53; on research in state history at state universities, 312-314; on accessibility of hist. materials, 319, 336; pres. Ill. Survey, 340.
- Ambler, C. H., of hist. MSS. com. (1915), 19, 51, 61, 72; to edit papers of R. M. T. Hunter, 48.
- American Antiquarian Society, organization and activities (1914), 342.
- American Asiatic Association, plan for meeting (1915), 63.
- American Association for the Advancement of Science, P. C. B. and membership, 90.
- American Baptist Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 345.
- American Catholic Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 345.
- American Friendly Society, records, 455.
- American Historical Association, committees (1915), 19-20, 51-52, 61, 72-75; meeting at Panama Pacific Internat. Exposition, arrangements, 48, 62-63. *See also* Annual meeting, Committee of nine.
- American Historical Review*, board of editors (1915), 19, 51, 61, 73, 74; report (1914), 48; com. of nine to consider relationship with A. H. A., 49, 50, 60, 75; proposed change in term of board of editors, 75.
- American history, A. H. A. conference, 37-40; value of sectional studies, 306-309.
- American Jewish Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 344.
- American Library Association, and nat. archive bldg., 354.
- American Medical Association, father, 295.
- American Political Science Association, meeting of Pacific coast branch, 82-83.
- American Revolution, A. H. A. com. on pub. of archives, report (1914), 48; members of com. (1915), 52.
- American Society of Church History, and A. H. A., 72.
- Ames, Herman V., at meeting of council, 69; pres. Pa. History Club, 346.
- Amherst (Mass.) Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 341.
- Ancient history, A. H. A. conference, 30-31; eastern origins of early European civilization, 105-112 [*see* Civilization].
- Anderson, Dice R., ballot teller, 52.

- Anderson, Sally A., pres. Confederate Memorial Lit. Soc., 347.
- Andrae, Walter, excavations at Kulah Sher-gat, 95-98.
- Andrews, Arthur L., of general com. (1915), 19, 52, 61, 72.
- Andrews, C. M., of public archives com. (1915), 19, 51, 61, 72; in vote for vice-pres., 53; on date of open archives, 323; REPORT OF PUBLIC ARCHIVES COM., 340-357.
- Andrews, Christopher C., Vicksburg and Shiloh monuments, 410.
- Andrews, Frank D., sec. Vineland Hist. and Antiq. Soc., 344.
- Angell, Jas. B., life counselor, 13.
- Anglo-Saxons, office of sheriff, 86-87.
- Animals. *See* Bee, Live stock, Prevention of cruelty, Stallion.
- Annual meeting of A. H. A., com. on program (1915), 19, 52, 61, 73; local com. (1915), 19, 52, 61, 73; PROCEEDINGS (1914), 29-41; social events, 29, 42-44; joint sessions, 30, 37, 38; attendance, list, 30, 45-47; program, 41-44; business meeting, 47-55; to be at Cincinnati (1916), 49, 60; invitations for 1916, 71, 74; place (1915), 75; of P. C. B. (1914), 85-91.
- Anoka asylum, Minn., records, 427.
- Antinopolis, Hadrian's policy, 122.
- Antonius Pius, imperial policy, 123.
- Anu-Adad Temple at Asshur, excavation history, 96.
- Appleton, Francis H., pres. Essex Institute, 342.
- Appleton, W. S., sec. Soc. for Preservation of N. Eng. Antiquities, 341.
- Appointments, Minn. records, 393, 398, 406, 437, 462.
- Aquincum, Hadrian's policy, 117.
- Arbitration, labor, Minn. records, 395.
- Arch, origin of Roman triumphal, 107.
- Architecture, eastern origins of European, 106-108.
- Archive building, movement for national, 354, 356; for state records, 366; plan in Ill., 367.
- Archives, cataloguing and cross references, 41, 381, 384; of Napoleonic era, 192, 206; cat. of French docs. on Miss. Valley, 301-304; distinction from hist. MSS., 333; care and centralization of Conn. local, 354-355; survey of Ill. local, 355; N. C. unexploited, 356; Nat. Assoc. of State Supervisors, 356; report by Nat. Assoc. of State Libraries, 356; legislation for, 361-373; earlier studies, 362; development of legislation, 362-363; extent, 363; classes, 364; methods with state records: sec. of state as general custodian, 364; concentration in existing dept., state library, or hist. soc., 365-366; separate dept., 366; separate bldg., 366; conditions and time of transfer to special dept., 367; legislation for local records, 368-370; services of public archives com., 369; working of permissive centralization, 370-373; character of com., ex officio or expert, 372. -Principles of classification, 373-384 (*abstract*, 41); failure of logical arrangement, 374; respect des fonds, 374-376, 381; Iowa classification, 376-380; classes of users, 381; uniformity of system, 381; accessibility, 382; classification of centralized local, 382; protection in use, 383. -REPORT ON MINN., 385-476. *See also* Archive building, Conference of archivists, Historical materials, Public archives commission.
- Arkansas, legislation on archives, 363, 366.
- Armenia, Hadrian's surrender, 116.
- Armour, Eric N., sec. Champlain Soc., 348.
- Armstrong, Robt., candidacy for gov. (1837), 247.
- Army, Roman, Hadrian's reforms, 118. *See also* Military, Militia, War.
- Arnold, I. N., pres. Chicago Hist. Soc., 296; career, 296.
- Arrian, Alani war, 119; and Hadrian, 120.
- Art, studies of Napoleonic era, 215; Minn. records, 395, 427.
- Artillery, improvements and Napoleon's strategy, 224.
- Ashby v. White, contested elec. case, 174, 175.
- Ashurnirari I of Assyria, Sim Shamash Temple, 97.
- Ashur Temple at Asshur, excavation, 96, 97; building, 100.
- Ashurbalkala of Assyria, tomb, 98.
- Ashurdan of Assyria, and Anu-Adad Temple, 96.
- Ashurnazirpal II of Assyria, tablets, 95; palace, 96.
- Ashurnazirpal III of Assyria, stele, 97; tomb, 98.
- Ashurlishishi I of Assyria, Anu-Adad Temple, 96.
- Ashurlishishi II of Assyria, stele, 97.
- Asia, influence of trade on Am. occupation of Pacific coast, 88, 283-289 [*see* Pacific coast].
- Asshur, excavations at, 95-102 [*see* Assyrian history].
- Assyria, origin of Roman triumphal arch, 107. *See also* next title.
- Assyrian history, R. W. Rogers on fresh light on early, 30, 95-102; excavations at Asshur, 95-98; Anu-Adad Temple, 96; private houses, 96; stelae, 97; Ashur Temple, 97; Sim-Shamash Temple, 97; Ishbar Temple, Sumerian remains, 97; royal tombs, 98; palace, 99; site and founding of Asshur, 99-100; wall of the city, early rulers, 100-101; Babylonian war (c. 2220 B. C.), 101; reign of Shamash-Adad I, 101; establishment of prices and tribute, 102.
- Astor, J. J., Oregon settlement and Asiatic trade, 284.
- Asylums, Minn. records, 427, 430.

- Atchison, D: R., senatorial contest (1853), Neb. Ter. as issue, 261-264, 276, 279; probable influence on Douglas in Kan.-Neb. bill, 265, 278; and railroad land grants, 274.
- Attianus, and Hadrian, 120.
- Attorney-general, Minn. records, 395, 401, 412-413, 437, 464, 469; office in Minn., 412.
- Attorneys, Minn. records, 445.
- Audit Company of New York, report on A. H. A. finances, 58-59.
- Auditing committee of A. H. A. (1914), 48; of P. C. B. (1914), 89.
- Auditor, Minn. records, 400, 411, 436; office in Minn., 413; records in his office, 413-417. *See also* Accounts.
- Austria, studies of Napoleonic era, 188.
- Autissier, *Mme.* —, and search in French archives, 303.
- Automobiles, Minn. records, 410.
- Avenel, G.; *vicomte d'*, on price of pepper, 128.
- Ayer, E: E., collection of Americana, 29, 44; of local com. (1914), 44; of com. on entertainment (1914), 44.
- Aylesbury election cases (1703), 174.
- Baal, Hadrian and cult, 122.
- Babylonia, Assyrian war (c. 2200 B. C.), 101; temple tower as prototype of church spire, 107; symbol of the state, 110.
- Bacon, Roger, achievements, 31.
- Badoer, Alvise, Turkish negotiations (1540), 165; arrest, 166-167.
- Badoer, Federigo, and arrest of father, 167.
- Baensch, Emil, pres. Wis. Hist. Soc., 347.
- Bailey, Ebenezer, sec. Fitchburg Hist. Soc., 341.
- Baldwin I, policy as king of Jerusalem, 141.
- Baldwin II, and Iefs, 143.
- Baldwin, Jas. F., of program com. (1915), 19, 52, 61, 73; on hist. cases before king's council, 33.
- Baldwin, Simeon E., life councillor, 14.
- Balian, on Kingdom of Jerusalem, 143.
- Balkans, studies of Napoleonic era, 207.
- Baltimore, invitation to A. H. A., 71.
- Bancroft, F.: of exec. council (1915), 14, 52, 53; of local com. (1915), 19, 52, 61, 73; of com. on pub. of archives of Am. Rev. (1915), 52; at meetings of council, 69, 72, 74.
- Bancroft, G.: as sec. of navy, 234. *See also* Cabinet.
- Banking, Minn. records, 395, 408, 417-418, 427, 439, 441.
- Barbarossa, Khair-ed-Din, attack on Castelnuovo, 164; gift from Venice, 166.
- Barber examination, Minn. records, 395.
- Barbour, Lucius B., sec. Acorn Club, 339.
- Barker, Eugene C., of exec. council (1915), 14, 52, 53; of program com. for special meeting (1915), 19, 52, 61, 73; on research in state history at state universities, 40, 308-312; *REPORT OF PUBLIC ARCHIVES COM.*, 349-357; on respect des fonds, 376.
- Barnardiston v. Soame, contested elec., 172.
- Barry, W.: and Chicago Hist. Soc., 294.
- Bartholomay, H.: of com. on entertainment (1914), 44.
- Bartlett, Adolphus C., of com. on entertainment (1914), 44.
- Basilica cathedral, Karnak as prototype, 106.
- Bassett, J: S., of program com. (1915), 19, 52, 61, 73.
- Bayard, Jas. A., pub. of papers, 48.
- Bayly, T: H.: and Andrew Johnson, 255.
- Beach, Walter G., on law and opportunity, 83.
- Beccaria, Cesare Bonesano, *Marchese di*, and Holbach, 82.
- Becker, A: C., of com. on entertainment (1914), 44.
- Becker, Carl, ed. *Am. Hist. Review* (1915), 19, 51, 61, 75.
- Bee inspection, Minn. records, 395.
- Beer, G: L., of com. on Justin Winsor prize (1915), 19, 52, 61, 72.
- Belden, C: F. D., on oversight of investigators, 325.
- Belgium, Brit. relations (1788-1870), 37; studies of Napoleonic era, 204; classification of archives, 375.
- Bell, Herbert C., on Brit. commercial policy in W. I., 35.
- Bell, J.: as polit. leader, 249; and Polk, 249; and Wilmot proviso contest, 251; and compromise of 1850, 251; reëlec. to Senate (1853), 256; and Johnson in Senate, 257; pres. candidacy, 258; adheres to Confederacy, 258; on indifference on Pacific railway, 269n., 272n.
- Benton, T: H., and Polk's cabinet, 234; consulted by Polk, 238, 240; and lt.-generalcy, 239; senatorial contest (1853), Neb. Ter. as issue, 261-264, 276, 279; as conservative proslavery man, 262; dilemma of Kan.-Neb. bill, 266; on Jefferson and Oregon, 284; motives of interest in Oregon, 285.
- Bergen County (N. J.) Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 343.
- Berks County (Pa.) Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 346.
- Bibliography, proposed, of Am. travels, 64; Napoleonic studies, 181-220 [see Napoleonic era]; bibl. works on the era, 191; of Nashville convention, 252n; proposed, of hist. socs., 301.
- Bibliography committee of A. H. A., members (1915), 19, 51, 61, 72; report (1914), 48, 64-65; Collections on European History, 64; proposed bibl. of Am. travels, 65.
- Bibliography of modern English history, A. H. A. com. on members (1915), 19, 52, 61, 74; report (1914), 48, 65; effect of European war, 65, 71.
- Bigelow, J: [2], of com. on pub. of archives of Am. Rev. (1915), 52; at meeting of council, 69.

- Billerica (Mass.) Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 341.  
 Billings, Mrs. Braddish, sec. Women's Canadian Hist. Soc., 348.  
 Biography. *See* Memoirs.  
 Black Death, and minimum wages for Eng. priests, 32.  
 Blair, E. T., of com. on entertainment (1914), 44.  
 Blair, J.; candidacy for Senate (1849), 245n.  
 Blair, Watson F., of com. on entertainment (1914), 44.  
 Blanchard, Walter E., pres. Sherborn Hist. Soc., 342.  
 Blaney, Jas. v. Z., and Chicago Hist. Soc., 294; career, 295.  
 Blind, Minn. records, 427.  
 Board of control, Minn. records, 428, 437.  
 Bogert, C. V. R., sec. Bergen Co. Hist. Soc., 343.  
 Bohemond, principality, 143.  
 Boiler inspection, Minn. records, 395, 400, 411.  
 Bolton, C. K., pres. Soc. for Preservation of N. Eng. Antiquities, 341.  
 Bolton, Herbert E., pres. of P. C. B. (1914-15), 15, 89; of hist. MSS. com. (1915), 19, 51, 61, 72; of program com. for special meeting (1915), 19, 52, 61, 73; and plans for special meeting (1915), 62; at P. C. B. dinner, 87.  
 Bonds, debt, Minn. records, 395, 400, 416-417, 441, 463. *See also* Public debt.  
 Bonds, official, Minn. records, 406, 417, 463.  
 Bonham, Milledge L., jr., of com. on milit. prize (1915), 20, 52, 61, 73.  
 Bonney, W. P., sec. Wash. State Hist. Soc., 347.  
 Bounties, Minn. records, 435, 437.  
 Bourbon plots of Napoleonic era, 216-217.  
 Bourne, H. E., of com. on history in schools (1915), 20, 52, 61, 72; in vote for councilors, 53.  
 Bovard, G. F., pres. Southern Cal. Hist. Soc., 339.  
 Bowen, Clarence W., treas. of A. H. A. (1915), 13, 52, 53; report as treasurer (1914), 47, 56-58; at meeting of council, 69.  
 Boyd, Allen R., of com. on milit. prize (1915), 20, 52, 61, 73.  
 Boyd, W. K., of general com. (1915), 19, 52, 61, 72.  
 Boyen, Hermann von, milit. law, 36.  
 Bradbury, Jas. W., and Pacific railway, 272n.  
 Bradford County (Pa.) Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 346.  
 Brant, Jos., letter, 348.  
 Brayman, Mason, and Chicago Hist. Soc., 294; career, 295; papers, 299.  
 Breasted, Jas. H., *EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN AND EARLY CIVILIZATION IN EUROPE*, 30, 105-112.  
 Bridges, Minn. records, 395.  
 Brigham, Johnson, on oversight of investigators, 325.  
 Brisebois, Napoléon, sec. Montreal Soc. Hist., 348.  
 British Museum, policy on use of hist. materials, 326.  
 Broomall, W. P., pres. Delaware Co. Hist. Soc., 345.  
 Brown, Aaron V., candidacy for Senate (1849), 245n.; campaigns for gov., 246n., 248; sectionalism, 250; and Nashville convention, 253; break with Nicholson, 253; in Buchanan's cabinet, 257.  
 Brown, C. E., sec. Wis. Archaeological Soc., 347.  
 Brown, Ephraim, papers, 344.  
 Brown, Nell S., campaign (1849), 246n.  
 Brown, W. H., and Chicago Hist. Soc., 294; career, 295.  
 Brown, W. T., candidacy for Senate from Tenn. (1849), 245n.  
 Brownlow, W. G., in state campaign (1855), 256; self-characterization, 256n.  
 Bryan, W. J., on Cal. anti-Jap. legislation, 86.  
 Bryce, Jas., on divine conception of the state, 112.  
 Buchanan, Jas., as sec. of state, 233; and It-generalcy for Benton, 239; and Trist's treaty, 241; Cave Johnson's support and letters, 249; and annex. of Cal., 288. *See also* Cabinet.  
 Buck, Solon J., of public archives com. (1915), 19, 51, 61, 72; motion by, 54; report as sec. of conference of hist. socs., 300; on restrictions on use of hist. materials, 337; superintendent and sec. Minn. Hist. Soc., 342; and report on Minn. archives, 353, 391n.  
 Bucks County (Pa.) Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 345.  
 Budget, A. H. A., for 1915, 51, 73; com. (1914), 70.  
 Buena Ventura River, myth, 285.  
 Buffalo Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 344.  
 Burgoon, Isadore H., pres. Sandusky Co. Pioneer and Hist. Assoc., 344.  
 Burley, Clarence A., of com. on entertainment (1914), 44; pres. Chicago Hist. Soc., 296, 339.  
 Burpee, Lawrence J., RESTRICTIONS ON USE OF HIST. MATERIALS, 40, 314-328.  
 Burr, G. L., vice-pres. of A. H. A. (1915), 13, 52, 53; ed. *Am. Hist. Review* (1915), 19, 51, 61, 74; at meetings of council, 69, 72, 74; resignation as ed. of *Am. Hist. Review* declined, 73.  
 Bush, W. H., of com. on entertainment (1914), 44.  
 Bushnell, C. J., at P. C. B. dinner, 84; address on perspective in history, 84; of com. on resolutions, 85.  
 Business meeting, of A. H. A., 47-55; of P. C. B., 89.

- Butler, E: B., of com. on entertainment (1914), 44.
- Byllesby, H: M., of com. on entertainment (1914), 44.
- Cabinet, H: B. Learned on meetings under Polk, 231-242 (*abstract*, 38); regularity of meetings, 231, 236; secrecy, 231; materials on other admins., 232; Polk's diary as source, 233; character of his secretaries, 233-234; discipline, 235; character of meetings, 237; outside advisers, 237, 240; and annual messages, 238; and opinions, 238; and lt.-generalcy, 239; Polk's control, 240-242
- Caldwell, Wallace E., on Greek attitude toward peace and war, 30.
- Calhoun, J: C., and Polk's cabinet, 234; consulted by Polk, 237, 240; and Oregon, 285.
- California, Jap. question, 85-86; report on archives, 353. *See also* Pacific coast.
- California Genealogical Society, organization and activities (1914), 339.
- California State Library, policy on use of hist. materials, 315.
- California, University of, hist. courses at summer school (1915), 63.
- Callahan, Jas. M., of general com. (1915), 19, 52, 61, 72.
- Cambridge (Mass.) Historical Society, organization and activities, 341.
- Campbell, Jane, sec. Am. Catholic Hist. Soc., 345.
- Campbell, Lemuel R., acknowledgment to, 249n.
- Campbell, W: B., elec. as gov. (1851), 253; declines renomination, 255.
- Canadian archives, policy on use of hist. materials, 318, 324, 326.
- Canale, Giacomo da, and Turkish treaty (1540), 161, 166.
- Cannon, H: L., vice-pres. of P. C. B. (1914-15), 15, 89; of com. on history in schools (1915), 20, 52, 61, 72; on Eng. royal income (13th cent.), 85.
- Cannon, Newton, campaign for gov. (1837), 247.
- Cantelmo, Cesare, and Turco-Venetian negotiations (1539), 163-165.
- Capitol, history of Minn., 389; Minn. records, 395-396, 399, 411, 418, 421, 423.
- Caricatures. *See* Iconography.
- Carlton, W: N. C., on oversight of investigators, 325.
- Carnochan, Janet, pres. Niagara Hist. Soc., 348.
- Carnuntum, Hadrian's policy, 117.
- Carr, Clyde M., of com. on entertainment (1914), 44.
- Carransa, Adolphe, gift of medals to A. H. A., 69.
- Carroll, W., as a milit. candidate, 247.
- Carter, Clarence E., of general com. (1915), 19, 52, 61, 72.
- Cartoons. *See* Iconography.
- Cass, Lewis, and Polk's cabinet, 234; consulted by Polk, 238; support in Tenn., 248.
- Cass County, Minn., elec. records, 392.
- Castelnuovo, and Venetian diplomacy (1538-39), 161, 164.
- Cataloguing of archives, 41, 384.
- Cathcart, Wallace H., sec. Western Reserve Hist. Soc., 344.
- Cattle. *See* Live stock.
- Cavazza, Constantino, and Turkish negotiations (1540), 167.
- Cavazza, Nicolò, and Turkish negotiations (1540), hanged, 167.
- Census, Minn. records, 393, 400, 408, 436.
- Centralization of archives, permissive, 370-378.
- Chadwick, French E., of com. on pub. of archives of Am. Rev. (1915), 52.
- Chaffee, J: E., pres. Bradford Co. Hist. Soc., 346.
- Chamberlain, G: W, sec. Malden Hist. Soc., 341.
- Champlain Society, organization and activities (1914), 348.
- Chapman, C: E., reads Cleland's paper, 88; of P. C. B. auditing com. (1914), 89.
- Charity and correction, Minn. records, 411. *See also* Prison, Reform.
- Charles II of England, change in privy council (1679), 34.
- Charles V and Venice (1539), 162, 164.
- Chase, Franklin H., sec. Onondaga Hist. Assoc., 344.
- Chatham, W: Pitt, 1st earl of, on parl. privilege, 176.
- Cheyney, E: P., ed. *Am. Hist. Review* (1915), 19, 61, 74; of com. on bibl. of mod. Eng. history (1915), 19, 52, 61, 74; report on *Am. Hist. Review*, 48; report of com. on bibl. of mod. Eng. history, 48, 65, 71; in vote for vice-pres., 53; at meeting of council, 69.
- Chicago, proceedings of A. H. A. meeting (1914), 29-41; previous A. H. A. meetings, 29; great fire, 297.
- Chicago Art Institute, courtesy to A. H. A., 29, 42; thanks of A. H. A. to, 53.
- Chicago Astronomical Society, career, 294.
- Chicago Caxton Club, courtesy to A. H. A., 29; thanks of A. H. A. to, 53.
- Chicago College Club, courtesy to A. H. A., 29, 44; thanks of A. H. A. to, 53.
- Chicago Historical Society, courtesy to A. H. A., 29; O. L. Schmidt on, 293-300; founding, 294; incorporators, 294-296; presidents, 296; secretaries and librarians, 296; catastrophes, 297; present bldg., 297; finances, 298; library, papers, 298-299; pubs., 299; policy of collections and pubs., 300; museum, 300; lectures, 300.—Organization and activities (1914), 339.
- Chicago Literary Club, courtesy to A. H. A., 29; thanks of A. H. A. to, 53.

- Chicago Lyceum, 293.  
 Chicago Medical College, founder, 295.  
 Chicago Public Library, policy on use of hist. materials, 317.  
 Chicago University, first, 294.  
 Chicago, University of, policy on use of hist. materials, 319, 325, 328.  
 Chicago University Club, courtesy to A. H. A., 29, 43; thanks of A. H. A. to, 53.  
 China, movement for Am. dipl. relations, 286, 287. *See also* Asia.  
 Chinda, Viscount Sutei, on Cal. anti-Jap. legislation, 86.  
 Chouan plots of Napoleonic era, 217.  
 Chrestien de Troyes, poems as hist. sources, 150; not a cleric, 152; light on relation of feudal lord and church, 152-158.  
 Christianity, attitude of Hadrian, 123.  
 Cincinnati, A. H. A. meeting to be at (1916), 49, 60, 71.  
 Citizenship, training for, 84, 85, 91.  
 Civics, motive, 84.  
 Civil rights. *See* Habeas corpus.  
 Civil service, Minn. records, 393, 396, 397, 398, 400, 406, 435, 437, 462, 468.  
 Civil War, Schleiden's diplomacy, 80; Minn. records, 397, 398, 400, 410, 426, 443-444.  
 Civilization, J. H. Breasted on eastern origins of early European, 105-112; architectural sequences, 106-108; origin of writing, 108-110; conception of state, 110-112. *See also* Culture, Social conditions.  
 Claiborne, J. F. H., on Polk, 241.  
 Claims, Minn. records, 395, 399.  
 Clark, A. Howard, curator of A. H. A. (1915), 13, 52, 53.  
 Clark, Robt. C., address at P. C. B. dinner, 83; on Latin-Am. history in U. S., 83.  
 Classification of archives, principles, 373-384.  
 Clausewitz, Karl von, on strategy, 227.  
 Clawson, Spencer, pres. Utah State Hist. Soc., 347.  
 Clay, H.; and nationalism, 80.  
 Clayton compromise, 250.  
 Cleland, Robt. G., ASIATIC TRADE AND AM. OCCUPATION OF PACIFIC COAST, 283-289 (*abstract*, 88).  
 Clemson, T. G., and Polk's cabinet, 240.  
 Clerestory, Egyptian origin, 106.  
 Clifford, Nathan, as atty.-gen., 234. *See also* Cabinet.  
 Clinton, J. W., pres. Polo Hist. Soc., 340.  
 Codes, Hadrian's, 119; studies of Napoleon's, 213.  
 Coe, —, candidacy for Senate from Tenn. (1849), 245n.  
 Coffin, Victor, on Senate under Napoleon I, 36.  
 Coke, Sir E.; on parl. privilege, 174.  
 Colby, C. W., on England and Belgium, 37.  
 Cole, Harry B., pres. Sauk Co. Hist. Soc., 347.  
 Colin, Jean, on Napoleon's generalship, 223.  
 Colleges, history entrance requirements, 71, 74. *See also* Agricultural college, State universities, Universities.  
 Colnett, Jas., Nootka Sound controversy, 79.  
 Colonial Society of Massachusetts, organization and activities (1914), 341.  
 Colonies, French, studies of Napoleonic era, 207.  
 Colorado Historical and Natural History Society, organization and activities (1914), 339.  
 Columbia Historical Society, invitation from A. H. A., 74.  
 Columbia River, trading posts before 1811, 79.  
 Columbus, Christopher, motives of exploration, 131.  
 Commerce, development of internal, and nationalism, 38; rise of Ottoman Turks and trade routes, 127-133 [*see* Ottoman Turks]; Asiatic, and Am. occupation of Pacific coast, 283-289 [*see* Pacific coast]. *See also* Acts of trade, Bridges, Economic conditions, Fur-trade, Internal improvements, Railroads, Roads, Trade-marks, Warehouses, Weights and measures.  
 Commercial Life Insurance Company, records, 455.  
 Commission government for states, 83.  
 Committee of nine, members (1915), 20, 54; recommended and authorized, 49, 50, 60, 70; proposed substitute, 49; selection of members, 50, 54-55; to consider *Am. Hist. Review*, 75.  
 Committees of A. H. A., members (1915), 19-20; on history in schools created, 49, 50, 74; com. on appts. to, 72.  
 Commutations, Minn. records, 394.  
 Compromise of 1850, Tenn. and, 251; Bell's suggestion of dividing Texas, 251; Nashville convention, 252-253; finality, 253, 254; influence on Kan.-Neb. bill, 265.  
 Concordat of 1801, studies, 211, 212.  
 Confederate Memorial Literary Society, organization and activities (1914), 347.  
 Conference of archivists, attendance, 356; PROCEEDINGS, 361-384 (*abstract*, 41); program, 361; LEGISLATION FOR ARCHIVES, 361-373; PRINCIPLES OF CLASSIFICATION, 373-384; cataloguing, 384.  
 Conference of historical societies, officers (1915), 20, 52, 61, 72; and survey of hist. agencies, 74; PROCEEDINGS, 293-337 (*abstract*, 40); CHICAGO HIST. SOC., 293-300; report of sec., 300; report on coop. search in French archives, 301-304; RESEARCH IN STATE HISTORY AT STATE UNIVERSITIES, 304-314; RESTRICTIONS ON USE OF HIST. MATERIALS, 314-337.  
 Conferences of A. H. A., on ancient history, 30-31; on med. history, 31-32; on Europe and the Orient, 31, 33, 34, 37; on med. Eng. history, 32-33; on mod.

- Eng. history, 34-35; on Napoleonic Europe, 36; on mod. history, 37; on Am. history, 37-40.
- Conger, Arthur L., com. on milit. and naval history (1915), 20, 52, 61, 74; of com. on milit. history prize (1915), 20, 52, 61, 73; report on milit. history prize, 49.
- Connecticut, care of local archives, 354-355; legislation on archives, 362, 363, 365, 369; pub. of vital records, 370; classification and use of centralized local records, 382-384.
- Connecticut State Library, policy on use of hist. materials, 315, 325.
- Connelley, W: E., sec. Kansas Hist. Soc., 340.
- Connor, Robt. D. W., of com. of nine (1915), 20, 54.
- Conover, C: H., of com. on entertainment (1914), 44.
- Conspiracies. *See* Plots.
- Constantine the Great, Christ as his war god, 111.
- Constantinople, importance of fall questioned, 131.
- Constitution, Minn. records, 392, 393, 405.
- Constitution of A. H. A., 11. *See also* Committee of nine.
- Consumption, Minn. records, 428, 434.
- Contarini, Tomà, and Turco-Venetian negotiations (1539), 164.
- Continental system, studies, 210-211.
- Conventions, Minn. records, 401.
- Coolidge, Archibald C., in vote for councilors, 53; at meetings of council, 69, 72, 74.
- Coolidge, Elizabeth Dowse, sec. Sherborn Hist. Soc., 342.
- Cooper, W: J., on purpose of high-school history, 91.
- Corporations, Minn. records, 406-408, 439, 452.
- Correction. *See* Charity, Prison, Reform.
- Council. *See* Executive council, Privy council.
- Counties, Minn. records, 399. *See also* Local records.
- Cox, I: J., of com. on Justin Winson prize (1915), 19, 52, 61, 72; of com. of nine (1915), 20, 54; ballot teller, 52; in vote for councilors, 53; pres. Miss. Valley Hist. Assoc., 343.
- Crane, C: R., of com. on entertainment (1914), 44.
- Crane collection, 219.
- Crime. *See* Charity, Extradition, Pardons, Police, Prison, Reform, Requisitions.
- Cross, Arthur L., of com. on bibl. of mod Eng. history (1915), 19, 52, 61, 74.
- Cruelty. *See* Humane Society, Prevention.
- Crusades, and individualism, 81. *See also* Jerusalem.
- Culture, econ. causes of decline of ancient, 31. *See also* Civilization, Social conditions.
- Cummins, Burton A., pres. S. D. Dept. of History, 347.
- Curator of A. H. A., for 1915, 13, 52, 53; list (1889-1914), 18.
- Cusachs, Gaspar, pres. La. Hist. Soc., 340.
- Cushing, —, monument in Wis., 347.
- Cushing, Max P., on Holbach and French Rev., 82.
- Cutler, Mary H., at P. C. B. dinner, 87.
- Cyclone insurance, 455.
- Dacia, Hadrian's policy, 117.
- Dairy and food, Minn. records, 396, 400, 428, 439, 471-474; department in Minn., 470.
- Dallas, G: M., and Polk, 238.
- Dana, R: H., pres. Cambridge Hist. Soc., 341.
- Davenport, Frances G., of local com. (1915), 19.
- Davis, Andrew McF., pres. Harvard Commission on Western History, 341.
- Davis, Cushman K., records as gov., 393.
- Davis, Frances A., custodian Wy. Hist. Soc., 348.
- Davis, Jefferson, and Andrew Johnson, 255.
- Davis, J: F., at P. C. B. dinner, 87; thanks of P. C. B. to, 89.
- Davis, Nathan S., and Chicago Hist. Soc., 204; career, 205.
- Davis, W. W., sec. Whiteside Co. Hist. Soc., 340.
- Davois, Gustave, bibl. of Napoleonic era, 191.
- Dawes, C: G., of com. on entertainment (1914), 44.
- Dawson, Edgar, of com. on history in schools (1915), 20, 52, 61, 72.
- Deaf, Minn. records, 428.
- Deeds, records of Minn. commissioner, 400, 408; of Minn. public property, 419, 441.
- Defectives, Minn. records, 431. *See also* Blind, Deaf, Feeble-minded, Insane.
- Delaware, legislation on archives, 363, 366.
- Delaware County (Pa.) Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 345.
- Delitzsch, F., acknowledgment to, 99.
- Democracy, development after War of 1812, 38.
- Democratic party. *See* Tennessee.
- Denmark, studies of Napoleonic era, 205.
- Dent, T., pres. Chicago Hist. Soc., 296.
- Dental examiners, Minn. records, 396.
- Department of Agriculture, quarters in St. Paul, 402.
- D'Ewes, Sir Simonds, on contested elec. in House of Commons, 171-172.
- De Witt, J: H., pres. Tenn. Hist. Soc., 347.
- Dickerson, Oliver M., of com. on history in schools (1915), 20, 52, 61, 72.
- Diderot, Denis, and Holbach, 82.
- Dion, on Hadrian's destruction of Danubian bridge, 118n.
- Diplomacy, studies of Napoleonic era, 197-198, 202, 205, 209.
- Dixon, Archibald, and Kan.-Neb. bill, 277.

- Dodd, W: E., in vote for councilors, 53.  
 Dodge, A: C., Neb. bill, 274.  
 Doelle, J. A., sec. Keweenaw Hist. Soc., 342.  
 Donelson, Andrew J., in Nashville convention, 253; vice-pres. candidacy, 256.  
 Douglas, Stephen A., Andrew Johnson and candidacy (1860), 257; transcontinental telegraph bill (1852), 271; and Chicago Univ., 294. *See also* Kansas-Nebraska act.  
 Dow, Earle W., on Roger Bacon, 31; in vote for councilors, 53.  
 Dow, G: F., sec. Essex Institute, 342.  
 Doysié, Abel, and search in French archives, 301, 303.  
 Drainage, Minn. records, 396, 399, 411, 417, 424, 428, 436, 437, 474-476; office in Minn., 474.  
 Drink. *See* Inebriates.  
 Drury, Francis K. W., policy on use of hist. materials, 322.  
 Dubois, Naz., pres. Montréal Soc. Hist., 348.  
 Du Casse, Baron Albert, work on Napoleonic era, 184.  
 Dudley, C. E., sec. Col. Hist. and Nat. History Soc., 339.  
 Dues, new rule on payment of A. H. A., 49, 50, 60, 74.  
 Dufayard, C.; on Napoleonic studies, 217.  
 Duluth, records of state suit, 400.  
 Duluth and Iron Range Railroad, land records, 418.  
 Duluth Normal School records, 431, 448.  
 Dummer, W: F., of com. on entertainment (1914), 44.  
 Duncalf, F.; INFLUENCE OF ENVIRONMENT ON KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM, 31, 137-145.  
 Dunning, W: A., life councilor, 14; of com. of nine (1915), 20, 54; at meeting of council, 60.  
 Dutcher, G: M., of com. to select com. of nine, report, 50, 54-55; report of com. on nominations, 67-69; NAPOLEONIC STUDIES, 181-220.  
 Eberhart, Adolph O., congratulations for, 400.  
 Economic conditions and decline of ancient culture, 31; clerical econ. exactions as factor in Reformation, 34. *See also* Agriculture, Commerce, Conservation, Finances, Forestry, Labor, Land, Resources, Social conditions.  
 Economic history, studies of Napoleonic era, 210-211.  
 Economics and training for citizenship, 84, 85.  
 Edgerton, A. J., Minn. railroad and warehouse commissioner, 458.  
 Education, Minn. records, 396, 397, 411, 425, 427-431, 433-435, 439, 447-451; Minn. land records, 418-420, 424; Minn. bond and loan records, 416-417, 424-425; early Minn. record, 425. *See also* Colleges, History (teaching).  
 Edward I of England, and papal tax (1274), 32; exchequer reforms, 32; income (1275), 85.  
 Edwards, Ninian, papers, 297, 298.  
 Egypt, and early Greek civilization, 105; and origin of European writing and alphabet, 108-110; Hadrian's religious policy, 122.  
 Ekhsarsaghkura Temple at Asshur, 100.  
 Eldredge, Zoeth S., at P. C. B. dinner, 87.  
 Elections, House of Commons and disputed, 171-177; Tenn. in (1852), 247, 254; Polk and vice-pres. candidacy (1844), 248; Andrew Johnson and Douglas's candidacy (1860), 257; Minn. records, 392-393, 395, 405-406.  
 Electricity, Minn. records, 396.  
 Electric railroads, Minn. records, 462.  
 Elevators. *See* Grain, Warehouses.  
 Elizabeth of England, and elec. privileges of House of Commons, 172.  
 Elliott, Thompson C., on early Columbia River trading posts, 79.  
 Emancipation Proclamation, destruction of original, 297.  
 Emerton, Ephraim, in vote for vice-pres., 53; in vote for councilors, 53.  
 Emma, Hadrian and, 122.  
 England, conference on med. hist., 32-33; on mod. hist., 34-35; Edward I and papal tax, 32; exchequer reforms of Edward I, 32; minimum wages for priests (1346-81), 32; munic. aspects of Wat Tyler rising, 33; suspension of habeas corpus act after 1689, 35; royal income (13th cent.), 85; purpose of Hadrian's wall, 117. *See also* Bibliography, Great Britain, Privy council.  
 Entertainment committee of A. H. A., members (1914), 44.  
 Entomology, Minn. records, 396, 429.  
 Equalization board, Minn. records, 400, 415. *See also* Taxation.  
 Essex Institute, organization and activities (1914), 342.  
 Europe, eastern origins of early civilization, 105-112 [*see* Civilization].  
 European history, A. H. A. list of collections in Am. libraries, 64; in high schools, 90-91.  
 Evans, Sir Arthur, restorations at Crete, 106n; on origin of alphabet, 110n.  
 Everett, E.; and mission to China, 287.  
 Ewing, Andrew, and candidacy for gov. (1853), 255.  
 Ewing, Robt., sec. Tenn. Hist. Soc., 347.  
 Exchequer, English, reforms under Edward I, 32.  
 Executive, Minn. records, 393, 406. *See also* Cabinet, Council, Governor, and other offices by name.  
 Executive committee of P. C. B., for 1914-15, 15, 89.  
 Executive council of A. H. A., for 1915, 13-15, 52, 53; list of elected councilors (1884-1914), 18; recommendations (1914), 49, 60; report of sec. (1914), 59-61; minutes of meetings (1914), 69-75; minutes to be printed, 71, 74.



- Expenditures, Minn. records, 439-441.  
*See also* Finances.
- Expositions, Minn. records, 396, 401, 411, 436-437.
- Express, Minn. records, 460, 464.
- Extradition, Minn. records, 394.
- Fabrics of Napoleonic era, 215.
- Farmer, T.; disputed elec. (1886), 171.
- Farmer, W.: G., pres. Manchester Hist. Assoc., 343.
- Farmers' institutes, Minn. records, 431.
- Farrand, Max, of com. on pubs. (1915), 19, 51, 61, 72; of program com. for special meeting (1915), 19, 52, 61, 73; of com. of nine (1915), 20, 54; on development after War of 1812, 38; report of com. on pubs., 48, 63-64; on selection of com. of nine, 50; motion by, 53; at meeting of council, 69.
- Farwell, J.: V., of com. on entertainment (1914), 44.
- Fay, Sidney B., of com. on Herbert Baxter Adams prize (1915), 19, 52, 61, 72; in vote for councilors, 53.
- Fearing, Danl. B., pres. Newport Hist. Soc., 346.
- Feebleminded, Minn. records, 420.
- Fees, Minn. records, 395, 439, 446.
- Fegley, W., sec. Berks Co. Hist. Soc., 346.
- Ferguson, W.: S., of com. on history in schools (1915), 20, 52, 61, 72.
- Feudalism, E. H. McNeal on feudal noble and church, 149-158; literature as hist. source, 149-150; poems of Chrestien de Troyes, 150; state of society and church at his time, 151; his point of view, 152; feudal lord and sacraments, 152-153, 157; and private devotion, 153, 157; and oaths on relics, 154; and pious acts and expressions, 154; religious and scientific instruction, 155-156; moral influence, 156; extent of influence of church, 158.
- Finances. *See* Accounts, Auditor, Banking, Budget, Economic conditions, Exchequer, Expenditures, Fees, Fines, Licenses, Public debt, Receipts, Taxation.
- Fines, Minn. records, 439.
- Finland, studies of Napoleonic era, 206.
- Finley, J.; "Hoosters nest," 340.
- Fire, Chicago, 297; destruction of libraries, 327n; Minn. records, 396, 429, 437. *See also* Insurance.
- Fish, Carl R., of com. on Justin Winsor prize (1915), 19, 52, 61, 72; of com. on pubs. (1915), 19, 51, 61, 72; in vote for councilors, 53; of com. on resolutions (1914), 53; on date of open archives, 324.
- Fish. *See* Game.
- Fishburn, Eugene H., of com. on entertainment (1914), 44.
- Fitchburg (Mass.) Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 341.
- Fitzpatrick, J.: C., policy on use of hist. materials, 315, 316, 323, 324, 326.
- Fling, Fred M., of advisory board of *History Teacher's Mag.* (1915), 20, 52, 61, 72; of com. on milit. and naval history (1915), 20, 52, 61, 74; of com. on milit. prize (1915), 20, 52, 61.
- Floyd, J., on Oregon and Asiatic trade, 284.
- Food. *See* Agriculture, Dairy, Game, Grain.
- Ford, Guy S., of exec. council (1915), 14, 52, 53; paper on Boyen's milit. law, 36; on Napoleonic studies, 36; motion by, 50; of com. on resolutions (1914), 53.
- Ford, Worthington C., vice-pres. of A. H. A. (1915), 13, 52, 53; at meeting of council, 69; report on coop. search of French archives, 301-304; policy on use of hist. materials, 320.
- Foreman, Edwin G., of com. on entertainment (1914), 44.
- Forestry, Minn. records, 396, 418, 423, 429, 435, 437. *See also* Timber.
- Fornance, Jos., pres. Montgomery Co. Hist. Soc., 345.
- Fortescue, Sir J.; contested elec. (1604), 172.
- Foster, Lady, pres. Women's Canadian Hist. Soc., 348.
- Foster, Ephraim H., as polit. leader, 249.
- Foster, Herbert D., of com. on history in schools (1915), 20, 52, 61, 72; and hist. fields in secondary schools, 90.
- Foster, Mrs. J.: W., of local com. (1915), 19.
- Fouse, J.; account book, 425.
- Fox, C.: Jas., commercial policy in W. I., 35.
- France, and Turco-Venetian situation (1530), 163, 166; classification of archives, 375. *See also* French Revolution, Napoleonic era.
- Francis of Assisi, *Saint*, and individualism, 81.
- Frankford Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 346.
- Franklin, B.; and Holbach, 82.
- Fraser, Anna, of P. C. B. com. on nominations (1914), 89; on high school course in general history, 90.
- Freese, L. J., pres. Woodford Co. Hist. Soc., 340.
- Frémont, J.: C.; and Oregon, 285.
- French, C.: E., sec. Montgomery Co. Hist. Soc., 344.
- French Revolution, influence of Holbach, 82; influence on military science, 226. *See also* Napoleonic era.
- Friedenberg, Albert M., sec. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc., 344.
- Frothingham, E. G., pres. Haverhill Hist. Soc., 341.
- Fryer, G.: G., pres. Onondaga Hist. Assoc., 344.
- Fulk of Chartres, on Mohammedan fighting, 138; on orientalizing of Crusaders, 140.
- Fuller, G.: N., on restrictions in use of hist. materials, 40, 328.

- Furniture of Napoleonic era, 215.  
 Fur-trade, Columbia River posts before 1811, 79.
- Game and fish, Minn. records, 396, 427, 429.
- Gaviller, C. E., pres. Huron Institute, 348.
- Genealogy, International Congress of, meetings, 69.
- General committee of A. H. A., members (1915), 19, 52, 61, 72; report (1914), 49.
- General history, one year course in high schools, 90.
- Gentry, Meredith P., as polit. leader, 254; elec. of 1852, 254-255; campaign for gov. (1855), 256.
- Germania, purpose of Hadrian's palisade, 117.
- Germans, Hadrian's alliances, 119.
- Germantown (Pa.) Site and Relic Society, organization and activities (1914), 345.
- Germany, studies of Napoleonic era, 186-188, 199-201.
- Gibbon, E., fame, 82.
- Gikersley, J., sec. Niagara Hist. Soc., 348.
- Gilbert, W. M., pres. Vineland Hist. and Antiq. Soc., 344.
- Gilpin, H. D., fund for Chicago Hist. Soc., 298.
- Glenk, Robt., sec. La. Hist. Soc., 340.
- Glessner, J. J., of com. on entertainment (1914), 44.
- Godard, G. S., of public archives com. (1915), 19, 51, 61, 72; on legislation and care of Conn. local archives, 354-355, 369; on classifying centralized local archives, 382; on protection in use, 383.
- Godfrey de Bouillon, principality, 143.
- Goliardi, and individualism, 81.
- Goodman, W. O., of com. on entertainment (1914), 44.
- Goodwin, *Sir* Francis, contested elec. (1604), 172.
- Government, commission, for states, 83; direct, in Oregon, 83. *See also* Archives, Executive, Habeas corpus, Judiciary, Legislation, Legislature, Sheriff, Social conditions, State
- Governor, office in Minn., 391; as custodian of records there, 391; records in office there, 392-402; corresp., 397-401.
- Grain inspection, Minn. records, 396, 430, 434, 465-468; office in Minn., 465.
- Grant, W. L., on date of open archives, 324.
- Grass, Minn. sales records, 424.
- Grasshoppers, Minn. records, 399.
- Graves, Assyrian, 96.
- Gray, W. D., **POLIT. IDEAS OF HADRIAN**, 115-124 (*abstract*, 31).
- Great Britain, Belgian relations (1788-1870), 37; and Am. Northwest (1789-94), 38; Nootka Sound controversy, 79; electoral maps (1886-1906), 87; studies of Napoleonic era, 185, 198. *See also* England, Greece, debt to Egypt, 105.
- Greeks, ancient, attitude toward peace and war, 30; Hadrian's attitude, 120.
- Greeley, Horace, and homestead act, 81.
- Green, Jas. S., as radical proslavery leader, 262.
- Greene, Evarts B., sec. of the council (1915), 13, 52, 53; of com. on pubs. (1915), 19, 51, 61, 72; of program com. (1914), 44; minutes of meetings of council (1914), 69-75; at meetings of council, 69, 72, 74; of com. on com. appts., 72; report on coop. search of French archives, 301-304; pres. Ill. State Hist. Library, 340.
- Greene, Nathanael, order book, 343.
- Gregory X, *pope*, tax (1274), 32.
- Gresham, W., disputed elec. (1856), 171.
- Greve, C. T., sec. Ohio Hist. and Phil. Soc., 344.
- Gribeauval, Jean B. V. de, as artilleryist, 224.
- Gridley, H. N., on teaching Pacific coast history, 85.
- Griffin, Appleton P. C., proposed continuation of bibl. of hist. socs., 301.
- Gritti, Alvise, work on Turkish govt., 162*n*.; career, 162*n*.
- Gritti, Lorenzo, Turkish negotiations (1539), 162-164.
- Gritti, Zorzi, death, 162.
- Grove, *Mrs.* Nettie T., sec. Mo. Valley Hist. Assoc., 342.
- Guinn, Jas. M., sec. Southern Cal. Hist. Soc., 339.
- Guntter, C. F., of com. on entertainment (1914), 44.
- Gustavus Adolphus College, fund, 451.
- Habeas corpus, Revolution of 1689 and suspensions of act, 35.
- Hadrian, W. D. Gray on polit. ideas, 115-124; conservation of Graeco-Roman civilization, 115, 123; extent of cosmopolitanism, 115*n*.; early impressions of barbarians, 116; surrender of Trojan's conquests, 116; destruction of Danubian bridge, 116; garrisons in new cities, 117; walls to check intercourse with barbarians, 117; policy of milit. reforms, 118; barbarian alliances, 119; codification of praetorian edicts, 119; journeys, 120; treatment of Greeks, 120; religious policy, emperor cult, 120-123; and Christianity, 123; failure of policy, 123-124.
- Hager, Albert A., sec. Chicago Hist. Soc., 296.
- Hail insurance, 455.
- Hall, Albert H., sec. Cambridge Hist. Soc., 341.
- Hall, Willard P., Neb. bills, 273, 274.
- Hallock-Fair controversy, 434.
- Hamill, Ernest A., of com. on entertainment (1914), 44.
- Hammond, Otis G., sec. N. H. Hist. Soc., 343.

- Hammurapi of Babylon, authority over Assyria, 101, 102.
- Hampden, J. I., autogr., 340.
- Hanseatic League, and Am. Civil War, 80.
- Hanson, Jas. C. M., on oversight of investigators, 325; on use of photostat, 328.
- Harding, Samuel B., of com. on history in schools (1915), 20, 52, 61, 72; of auditing com. (1914), 47, 48; ballot teller, 52; in vote for councilors, 53.
- Harlan, Edgar R., on oversight of investigators, 325; on permissive centralization of archives, 371.
- Harper, S. N., on Rus. Nationalists, 37.
- Harris, Abram W., of local com. (1914), 44; of com. on entertainment (1914), 44.
- Harris, Isham G., elec. as gov., 257; and Johnson, 257.
- Harrison, J. N., pres. Kan. Hist. Soc., 340.
- Hart, Albert B., life councilor, 14; of com. on milit. prize (1915), 20, 52, 61, 73; at meetings of council, 69; report on general index, 71, 75.
- Hartley, Robt. M., pres. Montgomery Co. Hist. Soc., 344.
- Harvard Commission on Western History, organization and activities (1914), 341.
- Harvard University, collections on European history, 64; collection on Napoleonic era, 218; policy on use of hist. materials, 316.
- Harvey, A. E., on econ. aspects of anticlericalism (15-16 cents), 34.
- Haskell, F. T., of com. on entertainment (1914), 44.
- Haskins, C. H., of exec. council (1915), 14, 52, 53; at meeting of council, 69.
- Hastings and Dakota Railroad, land records, 418.
- Hastings Asylum, Minn., records, 430.
- Haverhill (Mass.) Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 341.
- Hawkins, Effie I., of P. C. B. auditing com. (1914), 89.
- Hay inspection, Minn. records, 430, 465, 466.
- Hayden, Horace E., sec. Wyoming Hist. and Geol. Soc., 346.
- Hayes, Alice W., bequest, 343.
- Hayes, Carlton H., of general com. (1915), 19, 52, 61, 72.
- Hazen, C. D., of program com. (1915), 19, 52, 61, 73; in vote for councilors, 53; at meeting of council, 69.
- Head, Edwin L., to prepare report on Cal. archives, 353m.
- Head, Franklin H., pres. Chicago Hist. Soc., 296.
- Health, Minn. records, 396, 428, 430, 434. *See also* Barber, Consumption, Defectives, Dental, Hospitals, Inebriates, Medical, Sanitation.
- Heaton, Hiram, sec. Jefferson Co. Hist. Soc., 340.
- Hébert, Jacques René, and Holbach, 82.
- Heilman, S. P., sec. Lebanon Co. Hist. Soc., 345; sec. Pa. Federation of Hist. Soc., 345.
- Henderson, J. B., of local com. (1915), 19, 52, 61, 73.
- Henry the Navigator, *Prince*, motives, 131.
- Henry, Gustavus A., campaign for gov. (1853), 255.
- Henry D. Gilpin fund of Chicago Hist. Soc., 298.
- Heraldry, eastern origins, 110.
- Herbert Baxter Adams prize, com. (1915), 19, 52, 61, 72; conditions of award, 23-24; list of awards, 25.
- Hewitt, Henry, pres. Wash. State Hist. Soc., 347.
- Heydon, Christopher, disputed elec. (1586), 171.
- Higgins, Van H., and Chicago Hist. Soc., 294; career, 295.
- High schools, Minn. records, 447-449.
- Hill, D. J., of local com. (1915), 19, 52, 61, 73.
- Hill, H. W., pres. Buffalo Hist. Soc., 344.
- Hillis collection, 219.
- Historical manuscripts, distinction from archives, 333.
- Historical manuscripts commission, members (1915), 19, 51, 61, 72; report (1914), 48.
- Historical materials, conference on restrictions in use, 314-337; use versus preservation, policy of various Am. institutions, 314-317, 382; questions, 317-318; permitting copies and loan, 318-321, 328, 331-336; restrictions on account of pub., 321-323, 335-336; date restriction, 323-324; oversight and censure of investigators, 324-326, 328, 329; credentials, hours, implements, 326-327; value of photostat, 327-328; temporary restriction on private papers, 330-331; distinction between archives and hist. MSS., 333. *See also* Archives.
- Historical periodicals, joint finding list, 64.
- Historical societies, proposed continuation of Griffin's bibl., 301; coop. with state universities, 310, 313; attitude towards academic scholarship, 312; organization and activities of certain (1914), 339-348; as custodians of archives, 365. *See also* Conference of historical societies.
- History, change in basis of interest, 82; components, 88; obstacles to science, 89. *See also* next title.
- History, teaching, A. H. A. standing com., 49, 50, 60; entrance requirements, 71, 74; value of home influence, 82; and training for citizenship, 84, 91; content of fields in secondary schools, 90; European history courses in high schools, 90-91; value of four-year course, 91; place of Napoleonic era, 220.
- History in schools, A. H. A. com., members (1915), 20, 52, 61, 72; established, 49, 50, 60.

- History Teacher's Magazine*, advisory board (1915), 20, 52, 61, 72; report of board (1914), 48, 65-66; A. H. A. subsidy, 49, 50, 60, 71, 73.
- Hixon, Herbert N., pres. Medway Hist. Soc., 342.
- Hodder, Frank H., on Douglas and railroads, 39; in vote for vice-pres., 53; Ray's criticism of theory of genesis of Kan.-Neb. act, 267-280.
- Holbach, Paul H. T., *baron de*, philosophy and French Rev., 82.
- Hollinger, C. B., sec. Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc., 345.
- Holt, *Str* J., on parl. privileges, 175.
- Home school, Minn. records, 430.
- Homestead act, and natural rights, 81.
- Honeyman, A. van Doren, sec. N. J. Hist. Soc., 343.
- Horack, Frank E., sec. Iowa State Hist. Soc., 340.
- Horses. *See* next title, and Stallion.
- Horseshoers' board, Minn. records, 396.
- Hospitals, Minn. records, 429, 430, 434.
- Hotchkiss, Clarence D., sec. Bucks Co. Hist. Soc., 345.
- Hotel inspection, Minn. records, 396.
- House of Commons, H. R. Shipman on disputed elections, 171-177; first known assertion of privilege (1586), 171-172; earlier case, 172; establishment of privilege, 172; hist. basis of it, 172-173; agr. of it, 173-174; jurisdiction of courts over it, 174-177.
- Houses, private Assyrian, 96.
- Houston, Sam, pres. candidacy (1852), 254.
- Hulbert, Archer B., of hist. MSS. com. (1915), 19, 51, 61, 72.
- Hull, C. H., and selection of com. of nine, 50; report on com. of nine, 54-55; report of com. on nominations, 67-70.
- Hull, W. I., on accessibility of Dutch archives, 321.
- Hulme, E. M., of exec. com. of P. C. B. (1914-15), 15, 89; on the Renaissance, 81.
- Humane Society, Minn. records, 411.
- Hume, D., and Holbach, 82.
- Humphrey, Jas. K., clerk supreme court of Minn., 445.
- Hunt, Gaillard, of com. on pubs. (1915), 19, 51, 61, 72; of hist. MSS. com. (1915), 19, 51, 61, 72; policy on use of hist. materials, 318; REPORT OF PUBLIC ARCHIVES COM., 349-357; and nat. archive bldg., 354.
- Hunt, Rockwell D., of exec. com. of P. C. B. (1914-15), 15, 89.
- Hunter, Robt. M. T., papers to be published, 48.
- Hunting. *See* Game.
- Huntingdon Presbytery, minutes, 346.
- Huron Institute, organization and activities (1914), 348.
- Hustado de Mendoza, Diego, and Turco-Venetian negotiations (1539), 162.
- Hutchinson, C. L., address of welcome, 29; as chairman of local com. (1914), 30, 44; of com. on entertainment, 44.
- Huth, Carl F., Jr., of program com. (1915), 19, 52, 61, 73.
- Jazyges, Hadrian's alliance, 119.
- Ibu Jubais, on Kingdom of Jerusalem, 139.
- Ichihashi, Yamato, and plan for special meeting of A. H. A. (1915), 63.
- Iconography of Napoleonic era, 193.
- Idaho, Brayman papers, 290.
- Ideologists, and Holbach, 82.
- Ikunum of Assyria, 101.
- Illinois, survey of local archives, 355, 369; plans for archive bldg., 367.
- Illinois Antiquarian and Historical Society, 295.
- Illinois Central Railroad, corresp. (1848-68), 299.
- Illinois State Historical Library, organization and activities (1914), 340; survey of Ill. local archives, 355.
- Illinois Survey, organization and activities (1914), 340, 355, 369.
- Illinois, University of, policy on use of hist. materials, 316, 319, 322.
- Ilushuma of Assyria, Ishbar Temple, 98; war with Babylon, 101.
- Immigration, of Japanese, 86; Minn. records, 399-400, 430, 436.
- Income of English king (13th cent.), 85.
- Incorporation of A. H. A., act, 5.
- Index of A. H. A. publications, preparation of cumulative, 7; extension, 71, 75.
- Indian office, letter books, 340.
- Indiana, legislation on archives, 363, 365.
- Indiana State Library Department of History and Archives, organization and activities (1914), 340.
- Indians, Brit. influence on warfare in Northwest (1789-94), 38; Minn. records, 397, 398, 418, 444. *See also* Fur-trade.
- Individualism as factor in Renaissance, 81.
- Industrial school, Minn. records, 430.
- Inebriates, Minn. records, 430, 439.
- Ingersoll, C. J., on Oregon as trade question, 286.
- Inheritance tax, Minn. records, 439.
- Ink, use in research in hist. MSS., 326-327; for public records, 355, 369.
- Insane, Minn. records, 396, 412.
- Institutions, Minn. records, 397, 412, 419, 421, 422, 434, 441, 451-458.
- Insurance, Minn. records, 396, 400, 402, 407, 431, 439; dept. in Minn., 451.
- Internal improvements, Minn. records, 399, 418, 419, 421, 422.
- International Congress of Archivists, on respect des fonds, 376.
- Interstate Commerce Commission, Minn. records, 463, 464.
- Investment board, Minn. records, 396, 424-425.
- Iowa, and Neb. bill and Pacific railway, 261, 274; legislation on archives, 363,

- 365, 368; working of permissive centralization of archives, 371; classification of archives, 376-380.
- Iowa Historical Department, policy on use of hist. materials, 325.
- Iowa State Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 340.
- Iowa State Library, policy on use of hist. materials, 315, 325.
- Irishum of Assyria, inscriptions, 95, 101; wall, 97; canal, 101.
- Ishbar Temple at Asshur, 98.
- Isis, Hadrian and cult, 122.
- Italy, medieval republics and individualism, 81; studies of Napoleonic era, 189, 202-204; classification of archives, 375.
- Itasca County, Minn., elec. records, 392.
- Iverson, S. G., records as auditor of Minn., 400.
- Jackson, Andrew, and Polk, 232; and Cal., 286.
- Jackson, Leroy F., at P. C. B. dinner, 84; on training for citizenship, 84; of com. on resolutions, 85.
- James I of England, and elec. privileges of House of Commons, 172, 173.
- James, Edmund J., of local com. (1914), 44; of com. on entertainment, 44.
- James, Jas. A., as sec. of local com. (1914), 30, 40; of com. on entertainment, 44; in vote for councilors, 53.
- James, T. L., pres. Jefferson Co. Hist. Soc., 340.
- Jameson, J.: Franklin, life councilor, 14; of com. on pubs. (1915), 19, 51, 61, 72; ed. *Am. Hist. Review* (1915), 19, 61, 74; report on *Original Narratives*, 48; of com. on pub. of archives of Am. Rev. (1915), 52; motion by, 54; at meetings of council, 69, 72, 74; report on coop. search of French archives, 301-304; and nat. archive bldg., 354.
- Japanese, question in Cal., naturalization, 85-86.
- Jarnagin, Spencer, before Polk's cabinet, 240.
- Jefferson, T.: and Asiatic trade and occupation of Oregon, 283.
- Jefferson County (Iowa) Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 340.
- Jenkins, C. F., pres. Site and Relic Soc. of Germantown, 345.
- Jenks, W. L., pres. Mich. Hist. Com., 342.
- Jennings, Amanda L., sec. Woodford Co. Hist. Soc., 340.
- Jerusalem, Kingdom of, F: Duncalf on influence of environment, 137-145; success of relations with natives, 137; original contempt for Mohammedans, 138; self-interest and adjustment, 138; extent of mutual appreciation, 138; treatment of Syrians, 139-140; orientalization, 140; intolerance of new arrivals, 140-142; need and lack of centralization, 142-145.
- Jewett, J. N., pres. Chicago Hist. Soc., 296.
- Jews, Hadrian's antagonism to religion, 121; studies of, during Napoleonic era, 212.
- John Crerar Library, policy on use of hist. materials, 320.
- Johns, Clarence D., survey of Ill. local records, 369.
- Johnson, Allen, of com. on Justin Winsor prize (1915), 19, 52, 61, 72.
- Johnson, Amandus, on accessibility of Swedish archives, 321.
- Johnson, Andrew, and Polk, 238; support of Cass, 248; on Tenn. in elec. of 1852, 254; campaign for gov. (1853), enemies, 255; reelec., *Nothing* issue, 256; vice-pres. candidacy (1856), 257; in Senate, 257; and Douglas's candidacy (1860), 257; Unionism, 258.
- Johnson, Cave, as postmaster-gen., 234; on candidates for Senate (1849), 245n.; on polit. balance in Tenn., 246; on Trousdale's campaign, 246n., 250; on milit. glory as polit. asset, 247; support of Buchanan, 249; Unionism, 250. *See also* Cabinet.
- Johnson, H.: of advisory board of *History Teacher's Mag.* (1915), 20, 52, 61, 72; report of board, 65, 66; at meeting of council, 69.
- Johnson, J. A., congratulations for, 400.
- Johnston, Robt. M., of program com. (1915), 19, 52, 61, 73; of com. on milit. and naval history (1915), 20, 52, 61, 74; NAPOLSON'S GENERALSHIP, 36, 223-227.
- Jomini, Baron H.: geometrical bias, 225n.
- Jones, Alex. C., Minn. adj.-gen., 442.
- Jones, Mrs. A. Conrad, sec. Montgomery Co. Hist. Soc., 345.
- Jones, G. W., support of Cass, 248; railroad land grant bill, 274n.
- Jones, H. Stuart, on Hadrian's wall, 118n.
- Jones, Jas. C., elec. to Senate, polit. character, 253; and Gentry, 254; in pres. campaign (1852), 254.
- Jones, Jenkin L., diary, 347.
- Jones, Theo. F., TURCO-VENETIAN TREATY OF 1540, 34, 161-167.
- Jonus Beg, and peace with Venice (1538-40), 161, 163, 166; career and work, 162n.
- Jordan, J. W., policy on use of hist. materials, 321; librarian Pa. Hist. Soc., 346.
- Josselyn, A. R., pres. Muskingum Co. Pioneer and Hist. Soc., 345.
- Judiciary, jurisdiction over parl. privileges, 174-177; Minn. records, 397, 412, 454, 469, 473, 475.
- Judson, Harry P., of local com. (1914), 44; of com. on entertainment, 44.
- Julianus, Salvius, code of praetorian edicts, 119.
- Justin Winsor prize, com. (1915), 19, 52, 61, 72; conditions of award, 23-24; list of awards, 24-25; report of com. (1914), 49; award (1914), 49.

- Kalah Shergat, excavations, 95.  
 Kansas, legislation on archives, 363, 365, 368.  
 Kansas-Nebraska bill, and railroad development, 39; other influences on origin, 39; P. O. Ray on genesis, 261-280 (*abstract*, 39); Ray's theory, 261; Neb. Ter. with slavery as issue in Mo. Benton-Atchison senatorial contest (1853), 261-265, 276, 279; Atchison's probable plea to Douglas, 265, 278; and popular sovereignty in compromise of 1850, 265; outline of Hodder's theory, 267; criticism of it, 268-280; elements causing, 268; share of agitation for Pacific railway, 268-270, 275; question of Douglas's interest in Pacific railway, 270-273, 280*n*.; active interest of Mo. in ter. and railway bills, 273-275; influence of threatened rush of squatters, 276, 277; influences on Douglas in repeal feature, 277-280.  
 Kansas State Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 340.  
 Karnak, as prototype of basilicas, 106.  
 Kearny, Philip, before Polk's cabinet, 240.  
 Keith, Clayton, sec. Pike Co. Hist. Soc., 343.  
 Kellar, Herbert A., MINN. ARCHIVES, 353, 385-476.  
 Kelsey, Elizabeth, on European history courses in high schools, 90.  
 Keweenaw (Mich.) Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 342.  
 Kikia of Assyria, and city of Asshur, 100.  
 Kimball, Everett, of com. on Justin Winsor prize (1915), 19, 52, 61, 72.  
 Kimball, Sarah L., sec. Cal. Geneal. Soc., 339.  
 Kinzie, J. H., and Chicago Hist. Soc., 294; career, 295.  
 Kircheisen, F. M., bibl. of Napoleonic era, 191, 220.  
 Knownothingism in Tennessee, 256.  
 Koldewey, Robt., excavations at Kalah Shergat, 95.  
 Krehbiel, E. B., on electoral maps of Gt. Bn., 87.  
 Kretsinger, Grace, on high-school European history courses, 90.  
 Labor, Minn. records, 395, 396, 401, 402, 412, 431, 464. *See also* Economic conditions, Social conditions, Slavery, Wages.  
 Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroad, land records, 422.  
 Lallou, W. J., pres. Am. Catholic Hist. Soc., 345.  
 Lamb, F. W., sec. Manchester Hist. Assoc., 343.  
 Lancaster County (Pa.) Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 345.  
 Land, Cal. law on alien holdings, 86. *See also* Public lands.  
 Langton, Hugh H., on oversight of investigators, 325.  
 Lansdowne, 1st *marquis of*. *See* Shelburne.  
 Lapham, Julia A., sec. Waukesha Co. Hist. Soc., 347.  
 Larkin, T. O., instructions, 288.  
 Larson, Laurence M., of com. on Herbert Baxter Adams prize (1915), 19, 52, 61, 72; of com. on pubs. (1915), 19, 51, 61, 72.  
 Latané, J. H., of program com. (1915), 19, 52, 61, 73; in vote for councilors, 53.  
 Latin-America, study of, in Am. universities, 83; studies of Napoleonic era and independence, 208.  
 Latta collection, 219.  
 Law and opportunity in U. S., 83.  
 Layard, Sir H., discoveries at Asshur, 96.  
 Leach, J. Granville, pres. Pa. Geneal. Soc., 345.  
 Learned, H. B., of program com. (1915), 19, 52, 61, 73; of local com. (1915), 19, 52, 61, 73; CABINET MEETINGS UNDER POLK, 231-242 (*abstract*, 38).  
 Lebanon County (Pa.) Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 345.  
 Ledyard, J., plan of exploration, 283.  
 Legislation, studies of Napoleonic era, 213; for archives, 361-373 [*see* Archives], 361-373; Minn. records, 393, 405. *See also* Codes.  
 Legislature, Minn. records, 393-394, 403-405, 426, 431, 436, 440, 441. *See also* French Senate, Government, House of Commons.  
 Leland, Waldo G., letter of transmittal, 7; sec. of A. H. A. (1915), 13, 52, 53; of local com. (1915), 19; of com. on pubs. (1915), 19, 51, 61, 72; of general com. (1915), 19, 52, 61, 72; on cataloguing archives, 41, 384; report as sec. (1914), 47, 55-56; at meetings of council, 69, 72, 74; of com. on com. appts., 72; report on cat. of French docs. on Miss. Valley, 301-302; on date of open archives, 324; on use of photostat, 327; on distinct state dept. of archives, 366; plan for Ill. archives, 367; on character of archive coms., 372; on respect des fonds, 375.  
 Letcher, J. R., sec. Utah State Hist. Soc., 347.  
 Lewis and Clark expedition, Asiatic trade as motive, 284.  
 Libby, Orin G., on research in state history at state universities, 40, 310-312.  
 Libraries, destruction by fire, 327*n*; Minn. records, 431. *See also* American Library Association, State libraries.  
 Library of Congress, joint finding list of hist. periodicals, 64; Madison papers, Polk's diary, 298; policy on use of hist. materials, 318, 324.  
 Licenses, Minn. records, 408, 427, 432, 436, 439, 448, 452, 456, 463, 467, 472.  
 Lichtenstein, Walter, of com. on bibl. (1915), 19, 51, 61, 72; work on Collections on European History, 65.  
 Liens, Minn. records, 408.  
 Lieutenant-generalcy, efforts for, during Mex. War, 239.  
 Lightner, W. H., pres. Minn. Hist. Soc., 342.

- Lincoln, Abraham, material in Brayman papers, 299.
- Lincoln, Waldo, pres. Am. Antiq. Soc., 342.
- Lindley, Harlow, ballot teller, 52; pres. Ind. State Lib. Dept. of History and Archives, 340; on permissive centralization of archives, 370; on classification of archives, 380-382.
- Lingelbach, W: E., of general com. (1915), 19, 52, 61, 72; Napoleonic studies, 36, 211; of program com. (1914), 44; acknowledgment to, 220.
- Lippincott, Horace M., sec. Site and Relic Soc. of Germantown, 345.
- Literature, studies of Napoleonic era, 214. *See also* History, Libraries, Press.
- Littledale, Sir Jos., on parl. privileges, 176.
- Live stock, Minn. records, 431.
- Livermore, T: L., pres. Mass. Military Hist. Soc., 341.
- Loan and trust companies, Minn. records, 417-418.
- Local administration, studies of Napoleonic era, 214; Minn. records, 424, 436.
- Local committee of A. H. A., members (1915), 19, 52, 61, 73; (1914), 44; acknowledgment to Chicago (1914), 29; resolution on services (1914), 53.
- Local records, commissions, and care, 354-355, 362, 364, 368; surveys, 355, 363, 369; care in Conn., 369; permissive centralization, 370, 371; classifying centralized, 382.
- Locke, G. H., on oversight of investigators, 326.
- Logan, Frank G., of com. on entertainment (1914), 44.
- London, and Wat Tyler rising, 33; A. H. A. headquarters in, 71.
- Lord, Robt. H., paper on Russo-Chinese treaty (1860), 37.
- Louisiana Historical Society, and centenary of battle of New Orleans, 69; and coöper. search in French archives, 303; organization and activities (1914), 340.
- Louisiana Purchase Exposition, Minn. records, 437.
- Lufti, and Venice (1539), 164, 166.
- Lull, Herbert G., on history in secondary schools, 84.
- Lumber. *See* Timber.
- Lunt, W: E., on tax of Gregory X, 32.
- Lutz, Ralph H., on Schleiden's diplomacy, 80.
- Lybyer, Albert H., OTTOMAN TURKS AND ROUTES OF TRADE, 33, 127-133.
- Lyell, J: W., sec. Am. Baptist Hist. Soc., 345.
- Lyte, Sir H.: on respect des fonds, 375.
- McCabe, W. Gordon, pres. Va. Hist. Soc., 347.
- McCagg, Ezra B., and Chicago Hist. Soc., 294; career, 295.
- McCormick, Cyrus H., of com. on entertainment (1914), 44.
- McElroy, Robt. M., of general com. (1915), 19, 52, 61, 72.
- McGill, Margaret, of com. on history in schools (1915), 20, 52, 61, 72.
- McGill University, policy on use of hist. materials, 316, 320.
- McIlvaine, Caroline M., librarian Chicago Hist. Soc., 296.
- McIlwain, C: H., of com. on nominations (1915), 19, 55; of program com. (1914), 44; in vote for councilors, 53.
- McIlwaine, H: R., report on archives, 356.
- McKenzie, Jas. A., pres. Waukesha Co. Hist. Soc., 347.
- McKinley, Albert E., sec. Pa. History Club, 346.
- McLaughlin, Andrew C., life councilor, 14; of com. of nine (1915), 20, 54; pres. address on Am. history and Am. democracy, 29; presides, 47; presides over meetings of council, 69, 72, 74; of com. on com. appts. (1914), 72; resigns ed. of *Am. Hist. Review*, 73.
- MacMackin, B., pres. Am. Baptist Hist. Soc., 345.
- McMaster, J: B., life councilor, 14; at meeting of council, 69.
- McNeal, Edgar H., FEUDAL NOBLE AND THE CHURCH, 31, 149-158.
- McPherson, J: H. T., report of com. on nominations, 67-69.
- Madison, Jas., papers transferred to Library of Congress, 298.
- Madlener, Albert F., of com. on entertainment (1914), 44.
- Mahan, Alfred T., A. H. A. memorial resolution, 53, 55; Napoleonic studies, 210.
- Mail, question of transcontinental (1852), 271.
- Mairesse, —, and search in French archives, 303.
- Malcom, Roy, on Cal. Japanese question, 85; at P. C. B. dinner, 87; of P. C. B. com. on nominations (1914), 89.
- Malden (Mass.) Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 341.
- Manchester (N. H.) Historic Association, organization and activities (1914), 343.
- Manhart, Frank P., pres. Snyder Co. Hist. Soc., 346.
- Maniere, G.: and Chicago Hist. Soc., 294; career, 295.
- Mankato Normal School, records, 432, 448.
- Mann, C: E., pres. Malden Hist. Soc., 341.
- Mann, Mrs. Mary R., lectures, 300.
- Manypenny, G: W., and Indians in Nebraska (1853), 275, 277.
- Maps, Minn. records, 409.
- Marchia, W: de, exchequer reforms, 32.
- Marcus Aurelius, imperial policy, 124.
- Marcy, W: L., as sec. of war, 284; and lt.-generalcy for Benton, 239. *See also* Cabinet.
- Marengo, battle of, strategy, 224.
- Margry papers in Mich. Hist. Com., 342.
- Martellosso, Girolamo, and arrest of Ba-doer, 167.

- Martínez, Esteban José, on seizure of Brit. ships at Nootka Sound, 79.
- Maryland, legislation on archives, 365.
- Mason, E. G., pres. Chicago Hist. Soc., 296; career, 296.
- Mason, J. Y., as atty.-gen., 234. *See also* Cabinet.
- Mason, Mrs. Mabel D., sec. Haverhill Hist. Soc., 341.
- Mason, Orion T., sec. Medway Hist. Soc., 342.
- Massachusetts, protection of archives, 353; legislation on archives, 362, 363.
- Massachusetts Military Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 341.
- Massachusetts State Library, policy on use of hist. materials, 315, 318, 325.
- Mathews, Mrs. Lois K., of com. on nominations (1915), 19, 55; on Kan.-Neb. bill, 39; of com. to select com. of nine, report, 50, 54-55; report of com. on nominations, 67-69.
- Maurer, Robt. A., of com. on history in schools (1915), 20, 52, 61, 72.
- May, Mr Brskine, on parl. privilege, 174.
- Mayer, Levy, of com. on entertainment (1914), 44.
- Meany, Edmond S., of com. on nominations (1915), 19, 55; presides over P. C. B., 79, 85; address at P. C. B. dinner, 83; pres. address on name for Civil War, 87.
- Medals, collection presented to A. H. A., 69.
- Medical board, Minn. records, 397.
- Medieval history, A. H. A., conference on, 31-34. *See also* Middle Ages.
- Medway (Mass.) Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 342.
- Meek, Basil, sec. Sandusky Co. Pioneer and Hist. Assoc., 344.
- Meins, Walter R., sec. Roxbury Hist. Soc., 342.
- Membership in A. H. A., attendance at annual meeting (1914), 30, 45-47; in 1914, 47, 55-56, 69. *See also* General committee.
- Memoirs of Napoleonic era, 183, 196.
- Menard, Pierre, papers, 298.
- Mercer, H. C., pres. Bucks Co. Hist. Soc., 345.
- Merriman, Roger B., of com. on bibl. of mod. Eng. history (1915), 19, 52, 61, 74.
- Merryweather, G., of com. on entertainment (1914), 44.
- Messages, Minn. records, 393.
- Messinger papers, 340.
- Mexican War, Scott-Trist controversy, 236-237; lt.-generalcy, 239; policy of absorbing Mexico, 240.
- Michaux, André, proposed western exploration, 283.
- Michigan, legislation on archives, 363, 366, 368.
- Michigan Historical Commission, policy on use of hist. material, 315; organization and activities (1914), 342; powers and duties, 363, 366; and local records, 364.
- Middle Ages and individuality, 81. *See also* Medieval history.
- Military affairs, Minn. records, 398. *See also* next titles, and Army, Militia, War.
- Military and naval history, A. H. A. com., members (1915), 20, 52, 61, 74.
- Military history prize, com. (1915), 20, 52, 61, 73; conditions of award, 25-26; no award, 49.
- Militia, Minn. records, 397, 427, 444, 458.
- Miller, J. G., Neb. bill, 274.
- Millers' and Manufacturers' Insurance Company, records, 455.
- Millers National Mutual Fire Insurance Company, records, 453.
- Mineral lands, Minn. records, 423, 439.
- Minneapolis and Cedar Valley Railroad, records, 417.
- Minnesota, U. S. S., silver service, 401.
- Minnesota archives, REPORT by H. A. Kellar, 353, 385-476; contents of report, 387; introduction, 389-391; capitols, 389-390; losses, 389; need of room, 390; bulk, 390; condition, 390, 392, 403, 412-415, 438, 442, 445, 447, 451, 459, 465, 468, 471, 474; system of reference in report, 391; in office of gov., 391-402; gov. as general custodian, 391; in office of sec. of state, 402-412; in office of auditor, 413-437; in office of treasurer, 437-441; in office of adj.-gen., 442-444.—Accidents, 461; accounting, 395; accounts, vouchers, warrants, 411, 425-428, 450-451, 456-457, 462, 467, 469-470, 473, 475; agri., 395, 408, 412, 427, 430, 431, 434; agri. college and experimental stations, 418, 421, 427; appts, 393, 398, 406, 437, 462; arbitration, 395; art, 395, 427; asylums, 427, 430; atty.-gen., 395, 401, 412-413, 437, 464, 469; attorneys, 445; auditor, 400, 411, 413, 436; automobiles, 410; banking, 395, 408, 417-418, 427, 439, 441; barbers' examination, 395; bee inspection, 395; blind, 427; board of control, 428, 437; boiler inspection, 400, 410; bonds (debt), 395, 400, 416, 441, 463; (official), 406, 417, 463; bounties, 435, 437; bridges, 395; capitol, 395-396, 399, 411, 418, 421, 428; census, 393, 400, 408, 436; charity and correction, 401, 411; civil service, 393, 398, 397, 398, 400, 406, 435, 437, 462, 468; Civil War, 397, 398, 400, 410, 426, 443-444; claims, 395, 399; commutations, 394; conservation, 401; constitution, 392, 393, 405; consumption, 428, 434; conventions, 401; corporations, 406-408, 452; county, 399; cruelty prevention, 396; dairy and food, 396, 400, 428, 439, 470-474; deaf, 428; deeds commissioner, 400, 408; deeds of state institutions, 419, 441; defectives, 431; dental examiners, 396; drainage, 396, 399, 411, 417, 424, 428, 436, 437, 474-476; educ., 396, 397, 411, 416-421, 424-425, 427, 430, 431, 433-435, 439, 451; elections, 392-393, 395, 405-406; electric railroads, 432;



- electricity, 396; entomology, 396, 429; equalization, 400, 415; expenditures, 439-441; expositions, 396, 401, 411, 436-437; express, 460, 464; extradition, 394; farmers' institutes, 431; federal relations, 399; feeble-minded, 429; fees, 439, 446; fines, 439; fire, 429, 437; forestry, 396, 418, 423, 429, 435; game and fish, 396, 427, 429, 439; governor's corresp., 397-401; grain inspection and seed, 396, 430, 434, 465-468; grass sales, 424; hay inspection, 430, 465, 466; health, 396, 400, 428-430, 434; high schools, 447-449; hist. soc., 396, 430; home school, 430; horseshoers' board, 396; hospitals, 429, 430, 434; hotel inspection, 396; Humane Society, 410; immigration, 399-400, 430, 436; Indians, 397, 398, 418, 444; industrial school, 430; inebriates, 430, 439; inheritance tax, 439; insane, 396, 412; institutions, 397, 412, 419, 421, 422, 434, 441; insurance, 396, 400, 402, 407, 431, 439, 451-458; internal improvements, 399, 418, 419, 421, 422; interstate, 399, 400; investment board, 396, 424-425; judiciary, 397, 412, 454, 469, 473, 475; labor, 395, 396, 401, 402, 412, 431, 464; legislation, 393, 405; legislative, 393-394, 403-405, 426, 431, 436, 440, 441; libraries, 431, 448; licenses, 408, 427, 432, 436, 439, 452, 456, 463, 467, 472; liens, 408; live stock sanitation, 431; loan and trust cos., 417-418; maps, 409; medical board, 397; messages, 393; military, 398; militia, 397, 427, 444, 458; mineral lands, 423, 439; *Minnesota*, 401; Mississippi River, 399; naturalization, 446; normal schools, 397, 431, 448-449; notaries public, 395, 406, 412; oaths, 406; oil, 397, 410, 432, 439; optometry, 395; pardons, 393-395; parks, 396; pensions, 444; petitions, 400, 476; pharmacy, 396; plumbing, 396; prison, 394, 396, 400, 432-433; proclamations, 393, 396, 400; public debt, 399, 439; (local), 424; public examiner, 396, 433; public lands, 398, 409, 418-424, 439; public printing, 409, 433; public utilities, 401; railroads, 397, 398, 402, 406, 407, 411, 417-419, 422, 424, 433, 437, 439, 458-464; receipts, 401, 438-439, 456; reform, 397, 400, 410, 421, 422, 430, 433; relief, 399; religion, 407; requisitions, 393, 394; resignations, 397, 398, 400; roads, 396, 430; salt springs, 418; sanitation, 400; secretary of state, 434; securities, 441; sheriff's expenses, 434; shipping, 409-410; Sioux war, 398, 444; soldiers' home and relief, 397, 434; stallion board, 397; state fair, 396; state library, 396; stationery, 409; supreme court, 397, 412, 445-446; swamp land, 402, 409, 418, 419, 421, 422, 424; taxation, 397, 400, 415, 435, 439, 453, 462; telephone, 439; territorial, 393-394, 398, 403, 404, 411; text-books, 434; Thanks-giving, 400; timber, 397, 400, 422-423, 439; tonnage, 439, 462; townships, 436; trade-marks, 408; training school, 397, 435; treasurer, 397, 411, 425, 426, 435, 438-441; tree bounties, 437; tree plantings, 435; university, 397; vetoes, 393; visitors' board, 397; warehouses, 411, 433, 463; weights and measures, 435, 468-470; wolf bounties, 435.
- Minnesota Central Railroad, land records, 418.
- Minnesota Historical Society, policy on use of hist. materials, 337; organization and activities (1914), 342; and report on Minn. archives, 354, 391*n*; records, 396, 430.
- Minnesota, University of, records, 397, 402, 426; land records, 418-421; financial records, 435, 439.
- Mississippi, legislation on archives, 363, 366.
- Mississippi River, Minn. records, 399.
- Mississippi Valley, cat. of French archives on, 301-304.
- Mississippi Valley Historical Association, joint session with A. H. A., 30, 37, 38; and A. H. A., 74; organization and activities (1914), 343.
- Missouri, senatorial contest (1853) and genesis of Kan.-Neb. act, 261-264, 276, 279.
- Missouri compromise, extension to the Pacific, 250. *See also* Kansas-Nebraska bill.
- Missouri Valley Historical Association, organization and activities (1914), 342.
- Mithras cult, Hadrian and, 122.
- Miyakawa, Masuji, naturalized, 86.
- Modern history, A. H. A. conference, 37.
- Modon, Antonio da, Turkish negotiations (1539), 162.
- Moesia, Hadrian's policy, 117.
- Mohammedanism. *See* Jerusalem, Ottoman Turks.
- Monarchy, Eng. royal income (13th cent.), 85; oriental origin of divinity, 111.
- Money, drain and decline of ancient culture, 31.
- Moniteur*, as source on Napoleonic era, 182.
- Montana, supplementary report on archives, 353.
- Montana State Library Historical and Miscellaneous Department, organization and activities (1914), 343.
- Montenegro, studies of Napoleonic era, 207.
- Montgomery, T. L., policy on use of hist. materials, 322.
- Montgomery County (N. Y.) Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 344.
- Montgomery County (Pa.) Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 345.
- Montréal Société Historique, organization and activities (1914), 348.
- Moore, C.; sec. Mich. Hist. Com., 342.
- Moore, W. G.; and cabinet meetings, 240.
- Moorhead Normal School, records, 432, 448.

- Morals, of feudal lord, 156.
- Morgan, E. B., pres. Col. Hist. and Nat. History Soc., 339.
- Mormons, material in Brayman papers, 299; Harvard collection, 341.
- Morris, R., sec. New Brunswick Hist. Club, 343.
- Morris, Seymour, of com. on entertainment (1914), 44; sec. Chicago Hist. Soc., 296, 339.
- Morris, W. A., sec.-treas. of P. C. B. (1914-15), 15, 89; of general com. (1915), 19, 72; PROCEEDINGS of P. C. B., 79-91; at P. C. B. dinner, 84; on training for citizenship, 84; on Anglo-Saxon sheriff, 86-87.
- Morton, Joy, of com. on entertainment (1914), 44.
- Moscow campaign, studies, 188, 206-207; French strategy, 226.
- Moses, J., sec. Chicago Hist. Soc., 296.
- Motor vehicles. *See* Automobiles.
- Müller, Sophus, and pre-hist. Greek bronzes, 106.
- Muller, S., on respect des fonds, 374.
- Municipal history, aspects of Wat Tyler rising, 33. *See also* Local administration.
- Munro, Dana C., in vote for vice-pres., 53; at meetings of council, 69, 72, 74; of com. on com. appts. (1914), 72.
- Munro, Wilfred H., pres. R. I. Hist. Soc., 346.
- Murat, Joachim, studies of career at Naples, 203.
- Murphy, J., pres. Acorn Club, 339.
- Music, studies of Napoleonic era, 215.
- Muskingum County (Ohio) Pioneer and Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 345.
- Naples, studies of Napoleonic era, 203.
- Napoleon I, R. M. Johnston on generalship, 223-227; results from his instruction, 224; personal element, geometrical bias, 225; influence of French Rev., 226; lack of development, 226-227.
- Napoleonic era and wars, A. H. A. conferences on, 36; approach of study, 36; French Senate, 36; G. M. Dutcher on studies, 181-220; phases of study, 181; studies in France (to 1826), 181-183; (1827-47), 183; (1848-70), 184; (1871-90), 184-185; prevalence of biog. and milit. studies, 181; lack of printed sources, 181-183; early memoirs, 183; writings of Napoleon, 184, 192; studies of admin. system, 184, 199, 213; monographs, 185; English studies (to 1890), 185; (1891-1914), 198; German studies (to 1890), 186-188; (1891-1914), 199-201; Austrian studies (to 1890), 188; (1891-1914), 201; Russian studies (to 1890), 188, 206; Italian studies (to 1890), 189; (1891-1914), 202-204; other European studies (to 1890), 189; (1891-1914), 201, 204-207; American studies (to 1890), 189; (1891-1914), 208; fields and needs of recent studies, 190, 209-210; bibl., 191; archives and MSS., 192, 206; iconography, 193; recent works on Napoleon and family, 193-194; recent milit. studies, 194-195; campaign monographs, 195; later milit. memoirs, 196; naval studies, 196; diplomatic studies, 197; colonial studies, 207; Latin-American studies, 208; econ. studies, 210-211; religious studies, 211-212; educ. studies, 212; studies of legislation, codes, 213; studies of local admin., 214; of literature, 214; of the press, 215; of theater, 215; of art, 215; of music, 215; of society, 215; of accession and abdication, 216; of police and plots, 216-217; opportunities for study, 217-218; need of cosmopolitan view, 218; American collections, 218-219; American theses, 220; place of study in hist. curriculum, 220.
- Nashville convention, attitude of Tenn., 252-253; bibl., 252n.
- National Association of State Libraries, report on archives, 356.
- National Association of State Supervisors of Public Records, 356.
- National Dairy Union, records, 473.
- National Masonic Accident Association, records, 458.
- Nationalism, development after War of 1812, 38; effect of War of 1812 and Span-Am. War, 80; in Tennessee, 250.
- Nationalist party in Russia, 37.
- Naturalization, of Japanese, 86; Minn. records, 446.
- Naval affairs, studies of Napoleonic era, 196.
- Naval Historical Society, invitation from A. H. A., 74.
- Navigation acts. *See* Acts of trade.
- Navy, American, and nationalism, 80.
- Nead, B. M., pres. Pa. Federation of Hist. Socs., 345.
- Nebraska, legislation on archives, 365.
- Neeser, Robt. W., of general com. (1915), 19, 52, 61, 72.
- Netherlands, studies of Napoleonic era, 189, 205; accessibility of archives, 321.
- Nevada Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 343.
- New Brunswick (N. J.) Historical Club, organization and activities (1914), 343.
- New Hampshire Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 343.
- New Jersey, repealed legislation on archives, 363.
- New Jersey Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 343.
- New Orleans, battle of, centennial, 69.
- New Orleans *Crescent* on Benton's campaign (1852), 262.
- New Orleans Exposition, Minn. records, 401.
- New York, legislation on archives, 363, 365; working of permissive centralization of archives, 370; character of archive com., 373.

- New York Historical Association, organization and activities (1914), 344.
- New York Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 344.
- New York Life Insurance Company, records, 454.
- New York Public Library, policy on use of hist. materials, 316, 320, 326, 333.
- New York State Library, policy on use of hist. materials, 325.
- Newberry, Walter L., pres. Chicago Hist. Soc., 296; career, 296.
- Newberry Library, exhibit of Americana, 29, 44; policy on use of hist. materials, 317, 325, 326.
- Newport (R. I.) Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 346.
- Newspapers, under Napoleon, 182. *See also* Press.
- Niagara Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 348.
- Nichols, C. S., sec. Am. Antiq. Soc., 342.
- Nicholson, Alfred O. P., candidacy for Senate (1845, '49), 245n., 248; and Polk, 248; and Cass, 248; and Nashville convention, 253; break with A. V. Brown, 253; elec. to Senate (1857), 257.
- Nicholson letter, 248.
- Nicoll, Fancher, sec. N. Y. Hist. Soc., 344.
- Nominations, A. H. A. com. on (1915), 19, 55; and selection of com. of nine, 50; method of appointment, 53; instructions on method, 54; report on plan (1914), 67-69; P. C. B., 89.
- Nootka Sound controversy, seizure of Brit. ships, 79.
- Normal schools, Minn. records, 397, 431, 448-449.
- Norman, Miss Sybil, and search in French archives, 303.
- North, F.: *lord*, commercial policy in W. I., 35.
- North Carolina, Weeks's review of records, 356; legislation on archives, 363, 366.
- Northern Pacific Railroad, land records, 418.
- Northwest, Brit. relations to Indian warfare (1789-94), 38.
- Northwestern National Life Insurance Company, records, 455.
- Norway, studies of Napoleonic era, 205.
- Notaries public, Minn. records, 395, 406, 412.
- Nowell, Alex., disputed elec. (1553), 172.
- Noyes, Edmund S., of general com. (1915), 19, 52, 61, 72.
- Numerus, use by Hadrian, 118.
- Oaths, Minn. records, 406.
- Odd Fellows' Accident Insurance Company, records, 455.
- Officers of A. H. A., for 1915, 13, 52-53; of P. C. B. (1914-15), 15, 89; list (1884-1914), 18; balloting for, 52. *See also* Nominations.
- Ogburn, W.: F., on direct govt. in Oregon, 83; at P. C. B. dinner, 84.
- Ogden, Mahlon D., and Chicago Hist. Soc., 294; career, 295.
- Ogden, W.: B., and Chicago Hist. Soc., 294; career, 295.
- O'Hara, J.: P., on homestead act, 81.
- Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society, organization and activities (1914), 344.
- Oil, Minn. records, 397, 411, 432, 439.
- Oklahoma, legislation on archives, 365.
- Old Northwest Genealogical Society, organization and activities (1914), 345.
- Olmstead, Albert T., of program com. (1914), 44.
- Ondeby, W.: contested elec. (1404), 173.
- Onondaga (N. Y.) Historical Association, organization and activities (1914), 344.
- Ontario Historical Society, invitation to A. H. A., 74.
- Opportunity and law in U. S., 83.
- Optometry, Minn. records, 395.
- Oregon, direct govt. in, 83.
- Oregon country. *See* Pacific coast.
- Organization and activities of A. H. A., 21.
- Orient, A. H. A. conference on European relations, 31, 33, 34, 37; origins of early European civilization, 105-112 [*see* Civilization].
- Original Narratives*, report of editor, 48.
- Ornaments of Napoleonic era, 215.
- Ottoman Turks, A. H. Lybyer on rise and trade routes, 127-133; anachronism of statement of obstruction, 127, 132; routes not closed, 128; evidence of price of pepper, 128, 132; of Venetian trade, 129; other possible influences considered, 130; trade as motive of great explorations, 131; origin of mistake, 131-133.
- Ousâma, on Kingdom of Jerusalem, 138, 141.
- Owen, T.: M., of public archives com. (1915), 19, 51, 61, 72; report on coop. search of French archives, 301-304; on oversight of investigators, 325; on respect des fonds, 376.
- Oxford University Press, first book, 81.
- Pacific coast, early trading posts, 79; history in grade schools, 85; R. G. Cleland on influence of Asiatic trade on Am. occupation, 283-289 (*abstract*, 88); Jefferson's trade motive, 283-284; Astor's settlement and Asiatic trade, 284; and joint occupation of Oregon, 284; Benton's motives, 285; influence of Frémont's explorations, 285; trade motive in desire for Cal., 286-289. *See also* Pacific railway.
- Pacific Coast Branch, officers (1914-15), 15, 89; annual report, 48; extra appropriation for, 71; REPORT OF SPECIAL AND ANNUAL MEETINGS (1914), 79-91; social events, 83, 87; resolutions, 85, 89; business meeting, 89; and Am. Assoc. for Advancement of Science, 90; and hist. fields in secondary schools, 90.

- Pacific railway, and organization of Neb. Ter. (1853), 262-264; agitation and Kan.-Neb. act, 267-270, 275; question of Douglas's interest, 270-273, 280n; route question (1853), 275n.
- Page, Alice E., on Oxford Press, 81; at P. C. B. dinner, 84; of com. on resolutions, 85.
- Page, H. K., sec. Sauk Co. Hist. Soc., 347.
- Pagilai, Luigi, on respect des fonds, 375.
- Paine, Clarence S., sec. Miss. Valley Hist. Assoc., 343.
- Palmer, B. F., diary, 339.
- Palmer, C., sec. Delaware Co. Hist. Soc., 345.
- Palmer, W. P., pres. Western Reserve Hist. Soc., 344.
- Palmerston, H. J.: Temple, *viscount*, and Belgian revolution (1830), 37.
- Paltsits, Victor H., of public archives com. (1915), 19, 51, 61, 72; of com. on pubs. (1915), 19, 51, 61, 72; informal report of public archives com., 48; at meeting of council, 69; on lost records, 327; on restrictions in use of hist. materials, 332-336; REPORT OF PUBLIC ARCHIVES COM., 349-357; on character of archive coms., 372.
- Pamphlets, of Napoleonic era, 182.
- Panama Exposition, Minn. records, 396, 401.
- Panama Pacific International Exposition, A. H. A. meeting at, program com., 19, 52, 61, 73; plan for meeting, 48, 62-63, 89.
- Papacy, England and tax of 1274, 32; and Venice (1539), 162, 163.
- Pardons, Minn. records, 393-395.
- Paris, studies of Napoleonic era, 214.
- Park, C. E., sec. Mass. Colon. Soc., 341.
- Parker, Adella M., on training in economics, 84.
- Parks, Minn. records, 396, 419.
- Parliamentary privileges, establishment, 173-174. *See also* House of Commons.
- Patesi, meaning of Assyrian title, 99.
- Patriotism, teaching, 84.
- Patten, H. J., of com. on entertainment (1914), 44.
- Patterson, Burd S., sec. Western Pa. Hist. Soc., 346.
- Paty contested election case, 175.
- Paulin, C. O., of com. on milit. and naval history (1915), 20, 52, 61, 74.
- Paxson, F. L., of program com. (1914), 44; report of general com., 49; motions by, 50.
- Payne, E. J., on motives of Henry the Navigator, 131.
- Payne, J. B., of com. on entertainment (1914), 44.
- Peace, attitude of ancient Greeks, 30.
- Peaks, Francis C., sec. Piscataquis Hist. Soc., 341.
- Pease, Theo. C., survey of Ill. local archives, 355, 369.
- Pellicier, Guillaume, and Turco-Venetian negotiations (1540), 167.
- Pelzer, L., of general com. (1915), 19, 52, 61, 72.
- Pemberton, W. Y., librarian Mon. State Library Hist. and Misc. Dept., 343.
- Pennsylvania, legislation on archives, 363, 365.
- Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies, organization and activities (1914), 345.
- Pennsylvania Genealogical Society, organization and activities (1914), 345.
- Pennsylvania Historical Society, acknowledgment to, 245; policy on use of hist. materials, 316; organization and activities (1914), 346.
- Pennsylvania History Club, organization and activities (1914), 346.
- Pennsylvania State Library, policy on use of hist. materials, 315, 322.
- Pennypacker, S. W., pres. Pa. Hist. Soc., 346.
- Pensax, J., contested elec. (1404), 173.
- Pepper, prices (13th-16th cents.), 128, 132.
- Perkins, Simon, papers, 344.
- Petitions, Minn. records, 400, 476.
- Petty, W.: *See* Shelburne.
- Pharmacy, Minn. records, 396.
- Pharos, Babylonian prototype, 107.
- Phelps, H. Warren, librarian Old Northwest Geneal. Soc., 345.
- Philadelphia, A. H. A. to meet at (1917), 71.
- Phillips, H. B., pres. Cal. Geneal. Soc., 339.
- Phillips, Paul C., proposed report on Mon. archives, 353.
- Phillips, Ulrich B., of exec. council (1915), 14, 52, 53.
- Philosophy, Renaissance and individualism, 81; Holbach's, 82.
- Phoenicia, Egyptian origin of writing, 11, 109.
- Photostat, use in hist. investigations, 327-328.
- Pierce, Roger, sec. Harvard Commission on Western History, 341.
- Pike County (Mo.) Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 343.
- Pillow, Gideon J., as polit. leader, 248; in Nashville convention, 253; vice pres. candidacy (1852), 254.
- Pinchot, Gifford, corresp., 401.
- Piscataquis (Me.) Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 341.
- Pitt, W.: [1]. *See* Chatham.
- Pitt, W.: [2], commercial policy in W. I., 35; and Belgian coast, 37.
- Plots, studies of Napoleonic era, 216-217.
- Plumbers' board, Minn. records, 396.
- Police, studies of Napoleonic, 216-217.
- Politics. *See* Elections, Tennessee.
- Polk, Jas. K., cabinet meetings, 231-242 [*see* Cabinet]; earlier career, 232; political principles, 233; organ of admin.,

- 233; persistency of labor, 235; sabbatarianism, 236; and lt.-generality, 239; and absorption of Mexico, 240; character, 241; campaign for gov., 247; control of Tenn., 247, 248; vice-pres. candidacy, 248; and Tyler's cabinet, 247; and Bell, 249; and Cal., 288; diary transferred to Library of Congress, 298.
- Polo (Ill.) Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 340.
- Popular sovereignty, support in Tenn., 249; influence of compromise of 1850 on Kan.-Neb. bill, 265.
- Population, depopulation and decline of ancient culture, 31.
- Populist party, adoption of measures advocated by, 80.
- Porphyrius, on Mithras cult, 122*m*.
- Portland *Oregonian*, influence, 83.
- Portugal, studies of Napoleonic era, 189, 204.
- Powell, Sir J.; on parl. privileges, 175.
- Praetors, codification of edicts, 119.
- Preparation of teachers of history in schools, com. discontinued, 74.
- Presbyterian Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 346.
- President, of A. H. A., Stephens (1915), 13, 52; of P. C. B., Bolton (1914-15), 15, 39; list of A. H. A. (1884-1914), 17; address by McLaughlin, 29; by Meany, 87.
- Press, Oxford University, 81; studies of Napoleonic era, 182, 215. *See also* Public printing.
- Preston, Howard W., sec. R. I. Hist. Soc., 346.
- Prevention of cruelty, Minn. records, 396.
- Prevesa, naval battle (1538), 161.
- Price, G. W., sec. Salem Co. Hist. Soc., 343.
- Prices, standard, in Assyria, 102; pepper (13th-16th cents.), 128, 132.
- Priestley, Herbert I., on the log of the *Princessa*, 79; of P. C. B. com. on nominations (1914), 89.
- Primer of Archival Economy, work on, 356-357.
- Princessa*, log, 79.
- Princeton University, policy on use of hist. materials, 316, 319.
- Principe de la provenance, defined and discussed, 374-376, 381.
- Prison, Minn. records, 394, 396, 400, 432-433.
- Prilli, Girolamo, on Turks and Oriental trade, 129.
- Privy council, hist. value of cases before early, 33; change by Charles II (1679), 34.
- Prizes. *See* Herbert Baxter Adams, Justin Winsor, Military history.
- Probate records, care in Conn., 369, 382.
- Proclamations, Minn. records, 393, 396, 400.
- Program of annual meetings, com. (1915), 19, 52, 61, 73; (1914), 44; com. on special meetings (1915), 19, 52, 61, 73; character (1914), 30; for 1914, 41-44.
- Province, character of medieval poetry, 81.
- Public archives commission, members (1915), 19, 51, 61, 72; informal report (1914), 48; *REPORT* (1914), 349-357; reports on state archives in preparation, 353; primer, 356-357; services, 369; MINN. ARCHIVES, 385-476.
- Public debt, Minn. records, 399, 439. *See also* Bonds, Finances.
- Public examiners, Minn. records, 396, 433.
- Public lands, homestead act, 81; Minn. records, 398, 402, 409, 418-424, 439. *See also* Drainage.
- Public printing, Minn. records, 409, 433.
- Public Record Office, closed archives, 323, 324.
- Public records commissions, work in Conn., 354-355; supervision over state archives in Mass., 355; national assoc., 356.
- Public utilities, Minn. records, 401.
- Publications of A. H. A., general index, 7, 71, 75; com. (1915), 19, 51, 61, 72; report of com. (1914), 48, 63-64; issues (1914), 55.
- Putnam, Bertha H., on minimum wages for Eng. priests (1346-81), 32.
- Putnam, Herbert, of local com. (1915), 19, 52, 61, 73.
- Putnam, Ruth, of local com. (1915), 19; of program com. (1915), 19, 52, 61, 73.
- Quaife, Milo M., on accessibility of hist. materials, 40, 321, 329-332; sec. Wis. Hist. Soc., 347.
- Queen's University, policy on use of hist. materials, 316, 324.
- Railroad and warehouse commission, office in Minn., 458; records in office, 459-464.
- Railroads, Douglas and development, 39; Minn. records, 397, 398, 402, 406, 407, 411, 417, 433, 437, 439, 460-461; Minn. land-grant records, 418, 419, 422, 424. *See also* Pacific railways.
- Rammekamp, C. H., of com. on nominations (1915), 19, 55; of auditing com. (1914), 48; *LEGISLATION FOR ARCHIVES*, 361-369, 373.
- Ramsdell, C. W., of com. on resolutions (1914), 53.
- Ramsey County, Minn., militia roll, 443.
- Rassam, Hormuzd, discoveries at Asshur, 96.
- Ray, C. H., and Chicago Hist. Soc., 294; career, 295.
- Ray, P. Orman, *GENESIS OF KAN.-NEB. ACT*, 261-280 (*abstract*, 39).
- Raymond IV of Toulouse, oriental principality, 143.
- Read, Conyers, of com. on bibl. of mod. Eng. history (1915), 19, 52, 61, 74.

- Receipts, Minn. records, 401, 438-441, 456.  
 Redwing Training School, records, 397.  
 Reeder, J. T., pres. Keweenaw Hist. Soc., 342.  
 Referendum, working in Oregon, 83.  
 Reform, Minn. records, 397, 400, 411, 422, 430, 433.  
 Reformation, econ. aspects of anticlericalism, 34.  
 Regional history, value of Pacific coast, 85.  
 Relief, Minn. records, 399.  
 Religion, change after War of 1812, 38;  
   Hadrian's policy, 120; studies of Napoleonic era, 211-212; Minn. records, 407. *See also* Mohammedanism, Roman Catholic.  
 Renaissance, and individualism, 81; maritime discoveries not influenced by rise of Turks, 127-133.  
 Requisitions, Minn. records, 393, 394.  
 Research, and historiography, 88. *See also* Historical materials.  
 Resignations, Minn. records, 398, 400.  
 Resolutions, com. (1914), 53; adopted (1914), 53; of P. C. B., 85, 89.  
 Respect des fonds. *See* Principe de la provenance.  
 Revere House, St. Paul (?), 426.  
 Revolution of 1688-89, and suspension of habeas corpus act, 35.  
 Rhode Island, legislation on archives, 362, 363.  
 Rhode Island Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 346.  
 Rhodes, Jas. F., life counselor, 14; and com. of nine, 55.  
 Rice, H.: M., statue, 402.  
 Rice, W. C., Minn. dairy and food commissioner, 470.  
 Richards, F.: B., sec. N. Y. Hist. Assoc., 344.  
 Richards, H.: M. M., pres. Lebanon Co. Hist. Soc., 345.  
 Richards, L.; pres. Berks Co. Hist. Soc., 346.  
 Richardson, Ernest C., of com. on pubs. (1915), 19, 51, 61, 72; of com. on bibl. (1915), 19, 51, 61, 72; report of com. on bibl., 48, 64-65; at meeting of council, 69.  
 Richardson, Oliver H., reads Hulme's paper, 81; presides at P. C. B. dinner, 83.  
 Richmond, invitation to A. H. A., 75.  
 Rincon, —, French envoy to Turkey, anti-Spanish, 163; and Turco-Venetian negotiations (1539), 154.  
 Ritchie, T., and Polk, 233, 238.  
 Roads, Minn. records, 396, 430.  
 Robinson, Doane, on oversight of investigators, 325; sec. S. D. Dept. of History, 347.  
 Robinson, Edgar E., of P. C. B. auditing com. (1914), 89.  
 Robinson, Jas. H., ed. *Am. Hist. Review* (1915), 19, 51, 61, 74.  
 Robinson, Morgan P., of general com. (1915), 19, 52, 61, 72.  
 Robinson, Virginia M., sec. Confederate Memorial Lit. Soc., 347.  
 Rochester Hospital, Minn., records, 434.  
 Rockwell, W.: W., of com. on bibl. (1915), 19, 51, 61, 72.  
 Rogers, Robt. W., *FRESH LIGHT ON EARLY ASSYRIAN HISTORY*, 30, 95-102.  
 Rogers, Thorold, on price of pepper, 128; on influence of Turks on maritime discoveries, 132.  
 Rogniat, Jos., *vicomte*, on Moscow campaign, 226*n*.  
 Roherr, Dan, Minn. records on, 400.  
 Roman Catholic Church, minimum wages for Eng. priests (1346-81), 32; feudal lord and, 149-158 [*see* Feudalism]; Minn. records, 407. *See also* Papacy, Reformation.  
 Rome, origin of triumphal arch, 107; polit. ideas of Hadrian, 115-124; Hadrian's deification, 120.  
 Roosevelt, Theodore, life counselor, 14.  
 Root, Winfred T., of com. of nine (1915), 20, 55.  
 Rose, J. Holland, on Napoleon's generalship, 223.  
 Rosenwald, Julius, of com. on entertainment (1914), 44.  
 Rowell bill, petition for passage, 437.  
 Rowland, Dunbar, motion by, 49; proposed substitute for com. of nine, 49; of com. to select com. of nine, report, 50, 54-55; on voting for officers, 52; in vote for pres., 52; in vote for councilors, 53; report on coop. search of French archives, 301-304; on respect des fonds, 375.  
 Roxbury (Mass.) Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 342.  
 Roxolani, Hadrian's alliance, 119.  
 Rubens, Harry, of com. on entertainment (1914), 44.  
 Rumania, studies of Napoleonic era, 207.  
 Rush, R.; conference with Polk, 239.  
 Rusk, T.: J., and Pacific railway, 272*n*.  
 Russia, Nationalist party, 37; studies of Napoleonic era, 188, 205-207.  
 Rutland contested election case (1404), 173.  
 Ryerson, E.: L., of com. on entertainment (1914), 44.  
 Ryerson, Martin A., of com. on entertainment (1914), 44.  
 Sacraments, attitude of feudal lords, 152-153.  
 St. Cloud Normal School, records, 432, 448.  
 St. Louis, invitation to A. H. A., 71.  
 St. Louis County, Minn., records, 405.  
 St. Paul and Duluth Railroad, land records, 422.  
 St. Paul and Pacific Railroad, land records, 418, 422.  
 St. Paul and Sioux City Railroad, land records, 418.  
 St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railroad, land records, 422.

- St. Paul Mutual Hail and Cyclone Insurance Company, records, 455.
- St. Peter's Hospital, Minn., records, 434.
- St. Vincent Hospital, Minn., records, 434.
- Salem County (N. J.) Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 343.
- Salley, Alex. S., *fr.*, of public archives com. (1915), 19, 51, 61, 72; *REPORT OF PUBLIC ARCHIVES COM.*, 349-357.
- Salt springs, Minn. records, 418.
- Sammuramat (Semiramis), stele, 97.
- San Francisco, meeting of P. C. B. (1914), 85-91; A. H. A. special meeting, 89; Minn. records on relief, 399.
- San Francisco Bay, Am. desire for, 286-288.
- Sauborn, J. B., sec. Newport Hist. Soc., 346.
- Sanders, Euclid, pres. Iowa State Hist. Soc., 340.
- Sandusky County (Ohio) Pioneer and Historical Association, organization and activities (1914), 344.
- Sanitation, Minn. records, 400. *See also* Health.
- Sanuto, Marino, *younger*, on Turks and Oriental trade, 129.
- Sargon II of Assyria, Ashur Temple, 97.
- Sauk County (Wis.) Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 347.
- Sayres, E. S., sec. Pa. Geneal. Soc., 345.
- Scammon, Franklin, and Chicago Hist. Soc., 294.
- Scammon, Jon. Y., and Chicago Hist. Soc., 294; career, 296; pres. of Chicago Hist. Soc., 296.
- Schafer, Jos., of exec. com. of P. C. B. (1914-15), 15, 89; of program com. for special meeting (1915), 19, 52, 61, 73; report of com. on nominations, 67-69; on basis of interest in history, 82.
- Schiller, Hermann, on Hadrian's army, 119.
- Schleiden, J. M. R., diplomacy during Civil War, 80.
- Schmidt, Otto L., of local com. (1914), 44; of com. on entertainment, 44; presides over conference of hist. socs., 293; *CHICAGO HIST. SOC.*, 293-300; sec. Ill. State Hist. Lib., 340.
- Schnure, W. M., sec. Snyder Co. Hist. Soc., 346.
- Schoolcraft papers, 342.
- Schools. *See* Education.
- Schouler, Jas., life councillor, 14.
- Scott, A. W., thanks of P. C. B. to, 89.
- Scott, Austin, pres. New Brunswick Hist. Club, 343.
- Scott, Winfield, Polk on Trist controversy, 236-237; candidacy in Tenn., 247, 254.
- Scriptores Historiæ Augustæ, value, 115*n*.
- Scroggs, W. O., of hist. MSS. com. (1915), 19, 51, 61, 72.
- Seaton, W. W., before Polk's cabinet, 240.
- Seattle, meeting of P. C. B. (1914), 79-85.
- Secretary of A. H. A., letter of transmittal, 7; for 1915, 13, 52, 53; list (1884-1914), 18; report (1914), 47, 55-56.
- Secretary of the council, for 1915, 13, 52, 53; report (1914), 59-61.
- Secretary of state, state, and archives, 364; office in Minn., 402; records in his office, 403-412; Minn. financial records, 434.
- Secretary-treasurer of P. C. B., for 1914-15, 15, 89.
- Sectional history, value of Am., 306-309.
- Sectionalism, F: J. Turner on, 37.
- Securities, Minn. records, 441.
- Selim I and Oriental trade, 129.
- Sellery, G. C., of advisory board of *History Teacher's Mag.* (1915), 20, 52, 61, 72; motion by, 50; in vote for councilors, 53.
- Semiramis, *see* Sammuramat.
- Sennacherib of Assyria, Ashur Temple, 97.
- Senning, J. P., survey of Ill. local records, 369.
- Serapis, Hadrian and cult, 122.
- Serbia, studies of Napoleonic era, 207.
- Severance, Frank H., sec. Buffalo Hist. Soc., 344.
- Seward, W. H.: on Pacific railways, 267*n*.
- Sexton, Mrs. Clara E., sec. Billerica Hist. Soc., 341.
- Shaler, Robt., and Cal., 286.
- Shalimakhum of Assyria, 101.
- Shalmaneser I of Assyria, tablets, 95; palace, 96; Ashur Temple, 97.
- Shalmaneser III of Assyria, Anu-Adad Temple, 96; stele, 97.
- Shambaugh, B. F., in vote for councilors, 53; report on coop. search of French archives, 301-304; classification of archives, 376; supt. Iowa State Hist. Soc., 340.
- Shamshi-Adad I of Assyria, Anu-Adad Temple, 96; Ashur Temple, 97; reign, 101.
- Shamshi-Adad V of Assyria, 97; tomb, 98.
- Shangu*, Assyrian title, 99.
- Sharpe, E. S., pres. Salem Co. Hist. Soc., 343.
- Sharru*, Assyrian title, 99.
- Sharruken I of Assyria, 101.
- Shaw, Howard v. S., of com. on entertainment (1914), 44.
- Shearer, A. H., sec. of conference of hist. socs. (1915), 20, 52, 61, 72; work on *Collections on European History*, 65; report on Vt. archives, 353.
- Shelburne, W.: Petty, *2d earl of*, and Holbach, 82.
- Sheldon, Edwin H., pres. Chicago Hist. Soc., 296; career, 296.
- Shelley, Percy B., and Holbach, 82.
- Shepherd, W. R., of com. on Herbert Baxter Adams prize (1915), 19, 52, 61, 72; on accessibility of Span. archives, 324.
- Sherborn (Mass.) Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 342.
- Sheriff, material on history, 33; Anglo-Saxon, 86-87; Minn. records, 434.
- Shields, Jas., before Polk's cabinet, 240.
- Shiloh, battle of, Minn. records, 410.
- Shipman, H. R., *HOUSE OF COMMONS AND DISPUTED ELECS.*, 171-177 (*abstract*, 34).

- Shippee, L. B., on commission govt. for states, 83.
- Sholz, R. T., of P. C. B. com. on nominations (1914), 89.
- Show, Arley B., of program com. for special meeting (1915), 19, 52, 61, 73; of P. C. B. com. on nominations (1914), 89; on four-year course in history, 91.
- Sicily, studies of Napoleonic era, 203.
- Sièyès, Abbé, and Senate, 36.
- Smillis, and Hadrian, 120.
- Simonson, R. B., pres Pike Co. Hist. Soc., 343.
- Sim-Shamash Temple at Asshur, 97.
- Sloussat, St. G. L., of advisory board of *History Teacher's Mag.* (1915), 20, 52, 61, 72; on genesis of Kan.-Neb. bill, 39; TENN. AND NAT. PARTIES (1850-60), 245-258.
- Sloux war, Minn. records, 398, 444.
- Skinner, Mark, and Chicago Hist. Soc., 294; career, 296.
- Slade, W. A., of com. on bibl. (1915), 19, 51, 61, 72.
- Slavery, and decline of ancient culture, 31. *See also* Compromise of 1850, Kansas-Nebraska bill, Wilmot proviso.
- Slavophilism, 37.
- Slidell, J., Mex. mission and Cal., 288.
- Sloane, W. M., life councilor, 14; course on Napoleonic era, 220.
- Smallwood, W. A., and Chicago Hist. Soc., 294.
- Smedley, Caroline W., sec. Frankford Hist. Soc., 346.
- Smedley, Franklin, pres. Frankford Hist. Soc., 346.
- Smith, Justin H., of hist. MSS. com. (1915), 19, 51, 61, 72; of com. on pub. of archives of Am. Rev. (1915), 52.
- Smith, Orson, of com. on entertainment (1914), 44.
- Smith, Solomon A., of com. on entertainment (1914), 44.
- Snyder County (Pa.) Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 346.
- Social conditions, law and opportunity in U. S., 83. *See also* Art, Civilization, Charity, Crime, Economic conditions, Education, Feudalism, Government, Health, Insurance, Labor, Literature, Philosophy, Religion, Society, Theater, War.
- Society, studies of Napoleonic era, 215.
- Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, organization and activities (1914), 341.
- Soldiers' home and relief, Minn. records, 397, 434.
- Sources, kinds of hist., 89; feudal literature as, 149-150. *See also* Archives, Historical materials, State universities.
- South Carolina, legislation on archives, 363, 366.
- South Dakota Department of History, policy on use of hist. materials, 315, 325; organization and activities (1914), 347.
- Southern California Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 339.
- Southern Minnesota Railroad, land records, 418.
- Spain, Nootka Sound controversy, 79; and Venice (1538-39), 161-164; studies of Napoleonic era, 180, 204; accessibility of archives, 324.
- Spanish-American War. and nationalism, 80; Minn. records, 398.
- Spaulding, Oliver L., of com. on milit. and naval history (1915), 20, 52, 61, 74.
- Spire, Babylonian prototype, 107.
- Spoor, J. A., of com. on entertainment (1914), 44.
- Sprague, Albert A. [1], of com. on entertainment (1914), 44.
- Sprague, Albert A. [2], of com. on entertainment (1914), 44.
- Sprague, C. A., on Span.-Am. War and War of 1812, 80.
- Sprague, J. F., pres. Piscataquis Hist. Soc., 341.
- Stallion board, Minn. records, 397.
- Stannard, W. G., sec. Va. Hist. Soc., 347.
- Stark, J., relics, 343.
- State, oriental origin of divinity, 110-112.
- State fair, Minn. records, 396.
- State libraries, as custodian of archives, 365; Minn. records, 396. *See also* National Association.
- State universities, research in state history at, 304-314 (*abstract*, 40); not a particular obligation, 304, 309; obligation on the state, 304; question of state history courses, 305; extent of aid and coöper. on state materials, 305-306; control of such work, 306; national value of research in state history, 306-308, 309; coöper. in pub. and preservation, 307; agencies in advancing the work, 309; need of specialist at head of work, 310; and coöper. with hist. socs., 310, 313; from research in living docs., 311; neglect, 312; standard, 312-313; character of pub., 313-314.
- States, commission govt., 83; research on, at state universities, 304-314 [*see* State universities].
- Stationery, standardization of A. H. A., 69; Minn. records, 409.
- Stearns, A. Warren, pres. Billerica Hist. Soc., 341.
- Stearns, Ezra S., pres. Fitchburg Hist. Soc., 341.
- Stearns, Irving A., pres. Wyoming Hist. and Geol. Soc., 346.
- Steinman, G., pres. Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc., 345.
- Steiner, Bernard C., of com. on bibl. (1915), 19, 51, 61, 72; to edit. bibl. of Am. travels, 64.
- Stelae, early Assyrian, 97.
- Stephens, H. Morse, pres. of A. H. A. (1915), 13, 52; on Napoleonic studies, 36; report on P. C. B., 48; presides, 54;



- report on plan for special A. H. A. meeting (1915), 62-63, 71; at meetings of council, 69, 72, 74; course on Napoleonic era, 220; acknowledgment to, 220.
- Stephenson, Natl. W., of general com. (1915), 19, 52, 61, 72.
- Stevens, Maude F., of exec. com. of P. C. B. (1914-15), 15, 89.
- Stevenson, W. F., pres. Western Pa. Hist. Soc., 346.
- Stiles, Cassius C., classification of archives, 378-380.
- Stockdale v. Hansard, contested elec. case, 176.
- Stokes, Annie, sec. Muskingum Co. Pioneer and Hist. Soc., 345.
- Stone, Alfred H., of com. on nominations (1915), 19, 55.
- Storage of A. H. A. records, 69.
- Streeter, Frank S., pres. N. H. Hist. Soc., 343.
- Stubbs, W.; on Rutland contested elec., 173.
- Sugar beets, Minn. records, 440.
- Suleiman II, and Venice (1538-40), 161-167 [see Turco-Venetian].
- Sullivan, Jas., of com. of nine (1915), 20, 55; of advisory board of *History Teacher's Mag.* (1915), 20, 52, 61, 72; of com. on history in schools (1915), 20, 52, 61, 72.
- Sumerian remains at Asshur, 98.
- Sumu-abu of Babylon, Assyrian war, 101.
- Superintendent of education, office in Minn., 446; records in his office, 447-451.
- Supreme court, Minn. records, 397, 412, 445-446.
- Swamp land, Minn. records, 402, 409, 413, 419, 421, 422, 424. *See also* Drainage.
- Swayze, Francis J., pres. N. J. Hist. Soc., 343.
- Sweden, studies of Napoleonic era, 205; accessibility of archives, 321, 327, 374.
- Switzerland, studies of Napoleonic era, 189, 201.
- Sybel, Heinrich von, Napoleonic studies, 187.
- Syria, and Kingdom of Jerusalem, 139-140.
- Talbot, G. F., pres. Nevada Hist. Soc., 343.
- Talleyrand-Périgord, C. M. de, and Belgian revolution (1830), 37.
- Taussig, Rudolph J., and plans for special meeting of A. H. A. (1915), 63.
- Taxation, papal (1274), 32; Minn. records, 397, 400, 401, 415-416, 435, 439, 453, 462. *See also* Licenses.
- Teggart, F. J., of com. on bibl. (1915), 19, 51, 61, 72; of program com. for special meeting (1915), 19, 52, 61, 73, and plan for special meeting of A. H. A. (1915), 63, 87; on components of history, 88.
- Telegraph, transcontinental question before Congress (1852), 271.
- Telephone, Minn. records, 439.
- Temple, H. J.: *See* Palmerston.
- Temple, Sir W.; and change in privy council (1679), 35.
- Tennessee, St. G.: L. Sioussat on, and nat. parties (1850-60), 245-258; polit. characteristics, 245-247; in elec. of 1852, 247, 254; Polk's control, Dem. factions, 247-248; Dem. leaders in 1850, 248-249; Whig leaders, 249; and Wilmot proviso contest, 249-251; leaders and compromise of 1850, 251-252; and Nashville convention, 252-253; Dem. split, Whig success (1851), 253; Whig quarrel, 253; elec. of 1853, Andrew Johnson's success, 255; Knownothing issue, Johnson's re-elec. (1855), 256; elec. of 1857, Johnson in Senate, 257; final attitude of Bell and Johnson, 258.
- Tennessee Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 347.
- Territorial government, Minn. records, 393-394, 398, 403, 404, 411.
- Texas, proposed division (1850), 251; Waddy Thompson on value, 287; legislation on archives, 363, 365; working of permissive centralization of archives, 370.
- Texas State Historical Library, and coöper. search in French archives, 303.
- Text books, Minn. records, 434.
- Thanksgiving, Minn. records, 400.
- Theater, studies of Napoleonic era, 215.
- Thompson, Anna B., of advisory board of *History Teacher's Mag.* (1915), 20, 52, 61, 72.
- Thompson, F. L., of program com. for special meeting (1915), 19, 52, 61, 73; at P. C. B. dinner, 87.
- Thompson, Jas. W., as chairman of program com. (1914), 30, 44; in vote for councilors, 53; at meeting of council, 69; acknowledgment to, 220.
- Thompson, Waddy, and purchase of Cal., 287.
- Thorne, L. C., pres. Whiteside Co. Hist. Soc., 340.
- Thorpe, T.; contested elec. (1404), 173.
- Thwaites, Reuben G., policy on use of hist. materials, 319.
- Tiglathpileser I of Assyria, annals, 96.
- Tiglathpileser II of Assyria, Ashur Temple, 97.
- Tiglathpileser III of Assyria, stele, 97.
- Timber, Minn. records, 397, 400, 422-423, 439. *See also* Forestry.
- Tinkham, E. I., and Chicago Hist. Soc., 294.
- Todd, D.; sec. Amherst Hist. Soc., 341.
- Todd, Mrs. Mabel L., pres. Amherst Hist. Soc., 341.
- Tombs, royal Assyrian, 98.
- Tonnage, Minn. record, 439, 462.
- Toronto Public Library, policy on use of hist. materials, 326.
- Toronto University, policy on use of hist. materials, 316, 320, 325.
- Toucey, I.; as atty-gen., 234. *See also* Cabinet.
- Township Mutual Insurance Company, records, 453.

- Townships, Minn. records, 436.  
 Trade. *See* Commerce.  
 Trade-marks, Minn. records, 408.  
 Training school, Minn. records, 397, 435.  
 Transit Valley Railroad, records, 417, 437;  
 land records, 418.  
 Transportation. *See* Commerce.  
 Transubstantiation, early oriental, 111.  
 Trask, W. Ropes, sec. Mass. Military Hist.  
 Soc., 341.  
 Travelers Insurance Company, records, 453.  
 Travels, bibl. of Am., 64.  
 Traverse Sioux, treaty, 397.  
 Treasurer, Minn. records, 411, 425, 426,  
 435, 438-441; office in Minn., 437.  
 Treasurer of A. H. A., for 1915, 13, 52, 53;  
 list (1884-1914), 18; annual report  
 (1914), 47, 56-58, 70.  
 Treat, Payson J., of program com. for  
 special meeting (1915), 19, 52, 61, 73,  
 and plan for special meeting of A. H. A.  
 (1915), 63; at P. C. B. dinner, 87.  
 Treaties, Turco-Venetian (1540), 161-167.  
 Tree bounties, Minn. records, 437.  
 Tree planting, Minn. records, 435. *See also*  
 Forestry.  
 Treitschke, Heinrich von, Napoleonic  
 studies, 187.  
 Trenholme, Norman M., on munic. aspects  
 of Wat Tyler rising, 83.  
 Tributes beginning in Assyria, 102.  
 Trimble, W. J., on study of agrarian his-  
 tory, 39.  
 Trist, N: P., Polk on Scott controversy,  
 236-237; before Polk's cabinet, 240.  
 Trousdale, W., campaign (1849), 246n.,  
 250; and Nashville convention, 252.  
 Tucke, J., monument, 343.  
 Tukulti-Ninib I of Assyria, palace, 96;  
 stelae, 97, 98.  
 Turbo, and Hadrian, 120.  
 Turco-Venetian treaty (1540), T. F. Jones  
 on, 161-167; war, 161; Gritti's prelimi-  
 nary negotiations, 161-163; Venice and  
 her allies, 162-164; Cantelmo as inter-  
 mediary, attitude of France, 163-165;  
 Badoer's instructions, treaty, 165; dou-  
 ceurs, 165; aftermath, arrest of Badoer,  
 166-167.  
 Turkey, studies of Napoleonic era, 207.  
*See also* Ottoman Turks, Turco-Venetian  
 treaty.  
 Turner, E. R., on privy council of 1679, 34.  
 Turner, F. J., life counselor, 14; ed. *Am.*  
*Hist. Review* (1915), 19, 61, 74; paper  
 on sectionalism, 37; of com. to select  
 com. of nine, report, 50, 54-55; at meet-  
 ings of council, 69, 72, 74; pres. Colon.  
 Soc. of Mass., 341.  
 Turner, Jos. B., sec. Presbyterian Hist.  
 Soc., 346.  
 Turney, Hopkins L., candidacy for reelec.  
 (1849), 245n.; elec. (1845), 248; and  
 compromise of 1850, 252.  
 Tyler, J., Polk and cabinet, 247; and  
 Cal., 287.  
 Tyler, Lyon G., chairman of conference of  
 hist. socs. (1915), 20, 52, 61, 72.  
 Typewriter ribbons for public records, 355,  
 369.  
 Ughtred v. Musgrave, 33.  
 United States, and Brit. commercial policy  
 in W. I. (1783-93), 35; studies of  
 Napoleonic era, 189, 208. *See also*  
 American history.  
 Universities, study of Latin-Am. history  
 in Am., 83. *See also* Colleges, State  
 universities.  
 Usher, Ellis B., pres. Wis. Archaeological  
 Soc., 347.  
 Ushpia of Assyria, remains, 97, 100.  
 Utah State Historical Society, organization  
 and activities (1914), 347.  
 Van Dyke, H., pres. Presbyterian Hist.  
 Soc., 346.  
 Van Dyke, Paul, of com. on Herbert Baxter  
 Adams prize (1915), 19, 52, 61, 72.  
 Van Laer, Arnold J. F., on respect des  
 fonds, 374.  
 Van Tyne, Claude H., motion by, 50; in  
 vote for councilors, 53.  
 Vendée, studies on revolt, 217.  
 Venice, Oriental trade and rise of Turks,  
 129; Turkish treaty (1540), 161-167  
 (*see* Turco-Venetian).  
 Vermont, report on archives, 353.  
 Vetoes, Minn. records, 393.  
 Vice-presidents of A. H. A. (1915), 13, 52,  
 53; list (1884-1914), 17-18; of P. C. B.  
 (1914-15), 15, 89.  
 Vicksburg, siege, Minn. records, 397, 410.  
 Vignaud, H., on motives of Columbus, 131.  
 Villa, Mme., Léa, and search in French ar-  
 chives, 302, 303.  
 Viles, Jonas, REPORT OF PUBLIC ARCHIVES  
 COM., 349-357.  
 Viminacium, Hadrian's policy, 117.  
 Vincent, J. M., of exec. council (1915),  
 14, 52, 53; at meetings of council, 69,  
 72, 74.  
 Vineland (N. J.) Historical and Anti-  
 quarian Society, organization and activi-  
 ties (1914), 344.  
 Violette, Eugene M., of general com. (1915),  
 19, 52, 61, 72.  
 Virginia, legislation on archives, 365.  
 Virginia Historical Society, organization  
 and activities (1914), 347.  
 Virtue, Ethel B., PRINCIPLES OF CLASSIFI-  
 CATION FOR ARCHIVES, 373-380 (*abstract*,  
 41).  
 Visitors' board, Minn. records, 397.  
 Vital records, of Conn., 370.  
 Vitry, Jacques de, on Syrians, 139.  
 Vouchers. *See* Accounts.  
 Voyages, period of discoveries not influ-  
 enced by rise of Turks, 127-133; mo-  
 tives, 131.

- Wacker, C: H., of com. on entertainment (1914), 44.
- Wages, minimum for Eng. priests after Black Death, 32.
- Walcott, C: D., letter of submittal, 3.
- Walker, Edmund, pres. Champlain Soc., 348.
- Walker, J. Knox, and cabinet meetings, 240.
- Walker, Robt. J., as sec. of treasury, 233; and lt.-generalcy for Benton, 239; and Trist's treaty, 241. *See also* Cabinet.
- Walker amendment (1849), 250, 251.
- Wall, of city of Asshur, 100; Hadrian's, 117.
- War, attitude of ancient Greeks, 30; Napoleon's generalship, 223-227. *See also* Army, Military.
- War of 1812, social and econ. development after, 38; and nationalism, 80.
- Ward, S: D., and Chicago Hist. Soc., 294.
- Warehouses, Minn. records, 411, 433, 463.
- Warner, Clarence M., of general com. (1915), 19, 52, 61, 72; invitation to A. H. A., 74.
- Warner, Ezra, jr., of com. on entertainment (1914), 44.
- Warrants. *See* Accounts.
- Washburne, Elihu B., pres. Chicago Hist. Soc., 296; career, 296.
- Washington, G.; cabinet meetings, 232.
- Washington, legislation on archives, 363, 366.
- Washington County, Minn., lands, 424.
- Washington State Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 347.
- Washington Union, Polk's organ, 233.
- Wat Tyler rising, munic. aspects, 33.
- Waukesha County (Wis.) Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 347.
- Way, Royal B., on Eng. and the Northwest, 38.
- Webster, Danl., and Cal. and Asiatic trade, 286, 287.
- Webster, Jos. D., and Chicago Hist. Soc., 294; career, 296.
- Weekes, J: A., pres. N. Y. Hist. Soc., 344.
- Weeks, Stephen B., *Hist. review of N. C. records*, 356.
- Weights and measures, Minn. records, 435, 468-470; office in Minn., 468.
- Weller, J: B., on Rusk and Pacific railway, 272n.
- West, development of nationalism, 38, 80.
- West Indies, British, commercial policy (1783-93), 35.
- West Virginia, legislation on archives, 363, 365, 366.
- West Virginia Bureau of Archives, 365, 366.
- Westermann, W: L., on decline of ancient culture, 31.
- Western Pennsylvania Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 346.
- Western Railroad, records, 422.
- Western Reserve Historical Society (Ohio), organization and activities (1914), 344.
- Westervelt, Mrs. Frances A., pres. Bergen Co. Hist. Soc., 343.
- Wheaton, Horace, before Polk's cabinet, 240.
- Whig party. *See* Tennessee.
- White, Albert B., of com. on Herbert Baxter Adams prize (1915), 19, 52, 61, 72.
- White, Andrew D., life councilor, 13.
- White, Hugh L., as a milit. candidate, 247.
- White, J: B., pres. Mo. Valley Hist. Assoc., 342.
- White Earth Indian reservation, records, 418.
- Whiteside County (Ill.) Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 340.
- Whitney, Asa., and Pacific railway, 271.
- Wier, Jeanne E., sec. Nevada Hist. Soc., 343.
- Wilby, Joseph, pres. Ohio Hist. and Phil. Soc., 344.
- Wilkes, J.; and Holbach, 82; contested elec., 176.
- Wilkinson, Jas., papers, 298.
- Willard, Jas. F., of program com. for special meeting (1915), 19, 52, 61, 73; in vote for councilors, 53.
- William de Marchia. *See* Marchia.
- Williams, D.; sec. Huron Institute, 348.
- Williams, Sherman, pres. N. Y. Hist. Assoc., 344.
- Williams, Mary W., prize essay, 49.
- Willmot proviso, Tenn. and contest, 249-251.
- Wilt, J. Andrew, sec. Bradford Co. Hist. Soc., 346.
- Winkler Ernest W., on permissive centralization of archives, 41, 370.
- Winona and St. Peter Railroad, land records, 418.
- Winona Normal School, records, 432, 448.
- Wisconsin, legislation on archives, 365.
- Wisconsin Archaeological Society, organization and activities (1914), 347.
- Wisconsin Historical Society, policy on use of hist. materials, 315, 319, 321, 330-331; organization and activities (1914), 347; and state archives, 365.
- Wolf bounties, Minn. records, 435.
- Wolseley, Garnet J., *viscount*, on Napoleon's generalship, 223.
- Wolsey, T., *cardinal*, and Oxford Press, 81.
- Women's Canadian Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 348.
- Woodburn, Jas. A., on Kan.-Neb. bill, 39; RESEARCH IN STATE HISTORY AT STATE UNIVERSITIES, 304-308 (*abstract*, 40).
- Woodford County (Ill.) Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 340.
- Woods, H: E., REPORT OF PUBLIC ARCHIVES COM., 349-357; on protection of records from fire, 355; pres. Nat. Assoc. of Public Records Supervisors, 356.

- Woodworkers Mutual Fire Insurance Company, records, 453.
- World's Fair, Minn. records, 401, 411, 436.
- Wright, Silas, and Polk's cabinet, 234.
- Writing, origin of European, 108-110.
- Writings on American History*, A. H. A. appropriation, 71.
- Wrong, G. M., sec. Champlain Soc., 348.
- Wyandot Indians, and Neb. bill, 261, 274*n*.
- Wyer, Jas. I., jr., on permissive centralization of archives, 41, 370.
- Wyoming Historical Society, organization and activities (1914), 348.
- Wyoming (Pa.) Historical and Geological Society, organization and activities (1914), 346.
- Yale University, policy on use of hist. materials, 316, 326.
- Yapp, T., in Minn. railroad commission, 459.
- Young, Levi E., at P. C. B. dinner, 84.
- Zeno, Piero, and Turkish negotiations (1539), death, 163, 164.
- Zeus-Hadrian, 121.
- Zikurrat, temple of, 96.















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